THE BIBLE IN SLAVIC TRADITION

Edited by Alexander Kulik,
Catherine Mary MacRobert,
Svetlina Nikolova, Moshe Taube,
and Cynthia M. Vakareliyska

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The Bible in Slavic Tradition

Studia Judaeoslavica

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PREFACE

This book is a product of an international conference of scholars held 11–16 September 2009 in Varna, Bulgaria, within the framework of a joint project of the same title made possible by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Cyrillo-Methodian Research Centre of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in Sofia. The book contains 24 articles by participants in the conference, including both senior scholars of distinction and young researchers from Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Germany, Great Britain, Israel, Italy, and United States. The authors come not only from the institutions that organized the conference but also from renowned and important centers of Slavic studies such as the universities of Vienna, Oxford, Rome (La Sapienza), Bologna, Antwerp, Salerno, the University of Oregon (USA), Sofia St. Kliment of Ohrid University and the Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-University in Greifswald (Germany).

The thematic focus of the research includes various aspects of Bible translation in the Slavic Glagolitic and Cyrillic traditions beginning in the ninth century. The analyses mostly cover aspects of Slavic Bible translations during the Middle Ages that have not been studied or that have been the object of insufficient scholarly research, both in the canonical Old and New Testament and in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. An important place has been given to the first translations of the books of the Bible from Greek into Slavonic by SS. Cyril and Methodius, creators of the first Slavonic alphabet in the ninth century, and to the development of these translations during the Middle Ages, on the basis of research into medieval Slavic manuscripts from the tenth to the sixteenth century. The papers present analyses of Exodus, the Psalms, the Book of Jeremiah, the Book of Job, the Book of Jesus Son of Sirach, the Story of Adam, and the Story of Melchizedek. Attention has also been paid to later fourteenth- and fifteenth-century translations of Old Testament books into Slavonic, not only from Greek texts, but also from the Hebrew Massoretic text (the Song of Songs, the Proverbs of Solomon). Several of the articles discuss issues in translation of the New Testament, mainly of the Gospels, and its textual tradition during the Middle Ages, elucidating the links between the Slavonic translation and the Greek textual

tradition. The articles also raise theoretical questions concerning the relationship between the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint, the source of the oldest translation into Slavonic by SS. Cyril and Methodius.

The volume also includes several articles on key issues concerning the work of Cyril and Methodius that are closely linked to the interpretation of their Bible translations, such as the Church Council at Preslav in 893, which provided a strong impetus for the development of the Cyrillo-Methodian translations in medieval Slavdom; the main primary Slavonic sources for the work and lives of SS. Cyril and Methodius, including *Vita Constantini* and its critical edition, and other previously unstudied issues.

The articles are informed by methodologies from various fields of research, and their analytical approach is frequently interdisciplinary, applying approaches from the standpoints of textual criticism, philology (linguistics, literary history, palaeography), cultural and political history, and theology (biblical studies and exegesis) to issues in Hebraic, Byzantine, and Slavic studies.

We hope that this collection of English-language articles will be of interest not only to Slavists, but also to Hebraists and Byzantinists who study Bible translations and who have so far not had the opportunity to study the Slavic Biblical tradition because most of the Slavic sources and studies have been written in Slavic languages. The book should also be useful to both postgraduate and undergraduate students, and to a broad range of readers who are interested in the traditions of Bible transmission through the ages.

The Editors

SLAVONIC BIBLE

HEBREW BIBLE OR SEPTUAGINT: LATER PREFERENCES AND THE STANCE OF NASCENT CHRISTIANITY

Serge Ruzer

The issue of respective authority and superiority of the Hebrew Bible or its Greek version (the Septuagint), in other words, which version should be preferred as the trustworthy source, was highly relevant and sometimes hotly discussed in the history of the Old Testament translations, e.g. into Slavic languages. A telling – and relatively late – example is the 19th century project of creating a Russian translation of the Old Testament. Ilarion Chistovich, a keen observer of the enterprise, sympathizing with its initial tendency to rely mainly on the Hebrew text, quotes a number of reasons for that preference. He is, however, fully aware of the theological problems involved. Trying to find a supporting argument in the attitude of forerunners from within the Church, he observes: "In spite of the fact that the ancient Church used the Septuagint [for liturgical purposes, as its foundational sacred text], it did not regard the Hebrew version with any enmity whatsoever. On the contrary, the Hebrew Old Testament was readily put to use when the Greek was obscure to clarify the meaning…. However, the Hebrew text was never referred to as authoritative…when passages of dogmatic importance were at issue" (Chistovich 1899: 1–11).

In this essay, which continues the line of investigation probed in an earlier study of mine (Ruzer 2008), I shall first review, in a roughly chronological order of available sources, a variety of early Jewish, Christian and Judaeo-Christian elaborations on the issue of language preferences with regard to the Jewish Scripture. It stands to reason that some of them, coming from the Christian side, were at the back of Chistovich's mind. Subsequently, I shall discuss a few representative instances from the New Testament, where Old Testament passages are referred to, while trying to elucidate what kind of "language politics" characterized the earliest stage of the history of Christianity.

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(a) PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA, *THE LIFE OF MOSES* 37–40

> Sitting here in concealment with none present save the natural elements, earth, water, air, heaven, the mystery of whose genesis they were on the verge of expounding first, for the creation account constitutes the beginning of the laws, they became as it were possessed and interpreted the divine word … all of them employing precisely the same words and phrases, as though dictated **(**ἐνηχεῖν**)** to each by an invisible prompter… The Greek words used corresponded exactly to the Chaldean, perfectly adapted to the things signified… The clearest proof of this is that, if the Chaldeans have learned Greek, or Greeks Chaldean, and read both versions, the Chaldean and its translation, they marvel at them and respect them as sisters, or rather one and the same, both in matter and words, and designate the authors not as translators but as prophets and hierophants, to whom it was granted in the purity of their thought to match their steps with the purest of spirits, the spirit of Moses. [English translation by D. Winston from *Philo of Alexandria: The Contemplative Life* (New York, 1981)]

The passage reflects the situation of the enlightened Alexandrian Jewry of the 1st century C.E. These Jews seem to have lacked a proper command of Hebrew and used the Greek version of the Torah and the prophets (and some other biblical or para-biblical books as well) as a supplementary aid for public reading in their synagogues (Rajak 2009: 143–152; Edrei, Mendels 2007: 95–101). Philo's polemically flavoured argument aims to elevate the status of the Greek translation, thus overcoming the Greek-speaking community's inferiority complex (Rajak 2009: 139–142, 152–156). According to our author's tour-de-force argument all the meanings implied in the Hebrew (=Chaldean) original are faithfully expressed by the Greek! As a result, any need for the original is for all practical purposes eliminated. Moreover, it is emphatically stated that the revelatory miracle granted to the compilers of the Septuagint (the "seventy translators") equalled the revelation to Moses at Sinai. Such a perception echoes the earlier (late second-century B.C.E.) *Letter of Aristeas*, which described at length the trans-

lation enterprise (De Crom 2008). Moreover, it has been argued that according to the *Letter* (probably a widespread Diaspora Jewish opinion) the Jews of Egypt were not any more in need of a "liberating exodus", since the true liberation, including the spiritual one, was now possible without leaving the country, thanks to the benevolent attitude of the kingdom's authorities and to the fact that the Greek-speaking Jews now had their "own Torah" (Hacham 2006). Returning to Philo, one should take notice that, unlike some later Christian authors discussed below, the polemical strategy here does not go beyond the claim of the two versions' *equal* status; no attempt is made to brand the Hebrew text as inadequate.

(b) JUSTIN MARTYR, *DIALOGUE WITH TRYPHO* 66, 67, 71

> And I, resuming the discourse where I had left off at a previous stage, when proving that He was born of a virgin, and that His birth of a virgin had been predicted by Isaiah, quoted again the same prophecy… It is as follows 'And the Lord spoke again to Ahaz, saying, … Therefore the Lord Himself will give you a sign; Behold, the virgin shall conceive, and shall bear a son, and they shall call his name Immanuel'….And I continued: "Now it is evident to all, that in the race of Abraham according to the flesh no one has been born of a virgin, or is said to have been born [of a virgin], save this our Christ."
>
> And Trypho answered, "The Scripture has not, 'Behold, the virgin shall conceive, and bear a son,' but, 'Behold, the young woman shall conceive, and bear a son,' and so on, as you quoted. But the whole prophecy refers to Hezekiah, and it is proved that it was fulfilled in him, according to the terms of this prophecy… And if you prove from the Scriptures that He is the Christ, and that on account of having led a life conformed to the law, and perfect, He deserved the honour of being elected to be Christ, [it is well]; but do not venture to tell monstrous phenomena, lest you be convicted of talking foolishly like the Greeks."
>
> …But I (Justin) am far from putting reliance in your teachers, who refuse to admit that the interpretation

> made by the seventy elders… is a correct one; and they attempt to frame another. And I wish you to observe, that they have altogether taken away many Scriptures from the translations effected by those seventy elders who were with Ptolemy, and by which this very man who was crucified is proved to have been set forth expressly as God, and man, and as being crucified, and as dying… [English translation by A. Roberts and J. Donaldson from *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1975)]

The still debated question whether Trypho of the *Dialogue* is a real person or a literary fiction (Boyarin 2002; Roqeah 2004), as well as the extent to which the *Dialogue* addresses, in fact, intra-Christian apologetic needs (Rajak 2001: 511–533), does not have an immediate bearing on our discussion. What is important, however, is that, in the mid-second century C.E., in instances of theological importance the Christian author of the *Dialogue* perceives the Greek (Septuagint) version as reflecting the true theological meaning of the Hebrew Bible. According to Justin, the use of παρθένος as the translation of העלמה from Isa 7:14 removes the ambiguity of the Hebrew and highlights the intention of the prophet, which was here to indicate the future virgin birth of Jesus the Messiah by Mary. It may be surmised that in the case of Isa 7:14, the Hebrew text, even if not clear enough, still reflects an authentic biblical tradition: no accusation of forgery is put forward. Justin does claim, however, that elsewhere the Hebrew Bible was actually doctored by "you teachers (rabbis)" with the intention of suppressing passages which supposedly speak of the Messiah-event. This argument, although ostensibly not directly connected to the "virgin birth" verse under discussion, is clearly tailored to undermine further the credibility of the Hebrew biblical tradition.

It should be noted that the linguistic difference functions here as a religious distinguisher: those reading the Old Testament in Greek are meant to be Christians, whereas Jews are defined by their allegiance to the Hebrew text. Those "Jews" might have included Jewish followers of Jesus, in whose beliefs Justin seems to have taken considerable interest, as exemplified, e.g., by chapters 128 and 47 of the *Dialogue* (Pines 1987). In chapter 47, moreover, an indication can be discerned that Trypho – or his literary image for that matter – was somehow connected to such a "Judaeo-Christian" group. We note that in this

setting, Justin's polemical strategies, unlike Philo's, do involve branding the Hebrew Bible as partially inadequate.

(c) ORIGEN, *HOMILIES ON GENESIS* 3.5

> In Exodus where we have written in the codices of the Church (*in codicibus ecclesiae*) (about) Moses responding to the Lord and saying: "Provide, Lord another whom you will send. For I am feeble in voice and slow in tongue (ἰσχνόφωνός καὶ βραδύγλωσσος)", you have in the Hebrew copies (*in Hebraeis exemplaribus*): "But I am uncircumcised in lips" (ואני ערל שפתים *wa-ani arel sefataim*). Behold you have a circumcision of lips according to your copies which you say to be more accurate. If, therefore, according to you Moses still says he is unworthy because he has not been circumcised in his lips…apply the pruning-hook also to your lips and cut off the covering of your mouth since indeed such an understanding pleases you in divine letters. But if you refer circumcision of lips to allegory and say no less that circumcision of ears is allegorical and figurative, why do you not also inquire after allegory in circumcision of the foreskin? [English translation by R. E. Heine from *Fathers of the Church*, vol. 71 (Washington, DC, 1982)]

We encounter here the same distinguishers as in Justin Martyr's elaboration above: "you Jews" read the Holy Writ in Hebrew, whereas "we Christians" read it in Greek. The possibility cannot be excluded that these distinguishers first and foremost represented our author's polemical strategies rather than the real situation in Origen's 3rd century C.E. Caesarea, where such clear-cut "identity badges" might have been lacking (De Lange 1976; Clemens 2000). In fact, many Jews were still using the Greek version of their Bible not only in Caesarea, but also elsewhere, a situation of which Origen must have been aware (Linder 1983; Tchernetska 2007) and which continued until the Middle Ages (Edrei, Mendels 2007). Paradoxically, it is the Hebrew text that at this particular point turns out to serve better the needs of the Christian polemic with Judaism, since its form allows Origen to demonstrate the inherently allegorical meaning of circumcision. In Origen's

case, as he explains elsewhere (*Letter to Julius Africanus* 5), this reflects a conscious strategy – so different from that of Justin Martyr – of fighting the Jews on their own turf (Kofsky 2000: 89–99).

(d) JEROME, *PROLOGUE TO GENESIS*

> The cause of the error is not for me to explain. The Jews say it was done wisely in deliberation, so Ptolemy, the worshipper of one god, might not yet discover a double divinity with the Hebrews; … [lest he] fall into the dogma of Plato. Accordingly, wherever anything sacred in Scripture is witnessed of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, they have either translated otherwise, or they have passed over all in silence, so they might both satisfy the king, and might not divulge the secret of the faith. [English translation is based on that by C. T. R. Hayward from *Jerome: Hebrew Questions on Genesis* (Oxford, 1995)]

Not unlike the nineteenth-century proponents of the Russian translation of the Old Testament, Jerome in the late fourth-early fifth century is keen to base his Vulgata enterprise on the original Hebrew text form of the Jewish Holy Writ. Accordingly, he strives to strengthen the authority of the Hebrew version vis-à-vis the Greek one which enjoyed dominant status within the Church tradition. It is illuminating that in this context, unlike Origen, Jerome appeals not to a relatively secondary issue like that of the allegorical meaning of circumcision, allowing as it were for the Hebrew Bible's peripheral importance, but to a core topic of Christian theological discourse. He argues that the Hebrew text with its "plural majestic" form of אלהים (*elohim*, lit. 'gods') – a peculiarity lost in the singular of the Greek θεός chosen by the translators in order not to "lead the king astray" – suits better the needs of the trinitarian outlook. Jerome refers here to the tradition claiming that the Jewish compilers of the Septuagint had introduced a number of intentional changes aiming at particular concerns of the intended audience. This tradition is well attested in rabbinic sources (see *Mek. R. Ishmael* 14; *y. Megg.* 1.9 [71d]; cf. *b. Megg.* 9a; *Lev. R.* 13.5) and could have been known to Jerome from his Jewish informants.

(e) Rabbinic sources

One may ask whether, leaving aside the earlier intra-Jewish polemical agenda of Philo, this Hebrew-Greek conundrum occurred in late antiquity exclusively in the setting of Christian-Jewish polemics. The answer seems to be "no", since we can also discern distant echoes of discussions on the issue in classical rabbinic sources. Even if in the final account the Septuagint became identified with Christianity and therefore polemically rejected (Veltri 2009), some rabbinic traditions, blissfully unaware of the anti-Christian polemical agenda, still bear witness to the Greek Old Testament's earlier elevated status. Thus in *Deuteronomy Rabba* 1.1 an older motif quoted by the authority of a dominant first-century sage Rabban Gamaliel is preserved: namely, that the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek had constituted the fulfillment of God's foundational blessing in Gen 9:27: "God will enlarge Japheth, and let him dwell in the tents of Shem" (cf. *b. Megg.* 86a, where a similar tradition is quoted in association with the name of Simeon son of Gamaliel). A high evaluation of the Greek version is also attested elsewhere in the Babylonian Talmud (*b. Sotah* 49b), where it is compared to Aramaic, the dominant language of religious discourse among Babylonian Jews (Simon-Shoshan 2007). The rabbinic tradition thus preserves an awareness of the existence of the two authoritative and influential Bible versions, Hebrew and Greek. As for the Christian-Jewish divide, it appears in Talmudic sources as merely a secondary factor in this basic tension. It should be noted that within the rabbinic discourse – conducted in either Hebrew or Aramaic – the Greek version is never allotted a clear priority over the Hebrew one.

(f) Judaeo-Christian tradition

A number of important studies have provided a basic outline of the history of the early Judaeo-Christian movement and its literary output (Pritz 1992; Klijn 1992; Jackson-McCabe 2007). Yet this outline is still to a large extent based on conjecture and circumstantial evidence, because of the scarcity and mostly late provenance of the available sources. Generally speaking, the term designates those Jewish followers of Jesus of Nazareth who supposedly continued their separate existence on the margins of – increasingly gentile – Christianity, claiming to be the true heirs of Jesus himself and his first disciples (Flusser 2001: 80). Our evidence suggests that even as late as the tenth century certain Judaeo-Christian groups were still to be found, e.g. in Ahwas,

more or less corresponding to today's Khuzistan, and Mosul (Pines 1966: 271–276). The passage below is found in the tenth century tractate "The Establishment of Proofs for the Prophethood of Our Master Mohammad", written in Arabic by a well-known Moslem author, 'Abd al-Jabbār (Pines 1966: 237–238). However, as Shlomo Pines argued, this Moslem theologian incorporated in his treatise, while adapting for his purposes, a composition of Judaeo-Christian provenance (possibly translated from Syriac), which may have reflected a centuries-old tradition (Pines 1966: 271–273). The issue of language features prominently in the strategy of polemical self-identification employed in the Judaeo-Christian material (Pines 1966: 256):

> (71b)… Then there is not among these a Gospel (written) in the language of Christ (Messiah), which was spoken by him and his companions (*ashāb*), namely the Hebrew (*al-'ibraniyya*) language, which is that of Abraham (*Ibrāhīm*), the Friend (*khalīl*) of God and of the other prophets, (the language) which was spoken by them and in which the Books of God were revealed to them and to the other Children of Israel and in which God addressed them. For they abandoned (this language). Learned men (*al-'ulamā*) said to them: "O Christians, give up the Hebrew language, which is the language of Christ and the prophets (who were) before him, peace be upon them, (72a) and (adopt) other languages."… Therefore…the giving-up (of the language) occurred because your first masters aimed at deception in their writings (*maqālāt*) using such stratagems as quotations from counterfeit authorities in the lies which they composed, and concealing these stratagems. They did this because they sought to obtain domination (*ri'āsa*). For at that time the Hebrews (*al-'ibraniyya*) were people of the Book and men of knowledge. Accordingly, these individuals altered the language or rather gave it up altogether, in order that the men of knowledge should not grasp quickly their teaching and their objectives. Accordingly, they…(took up) numerous other languages which had not been spoken by Christ and his companions. (Those who speak these languages) are not people of the Book and have

> no knowledge concerning God's books and commandments. Such were the Romans (*al-Rūm*), the Syrians, the Persians, the Armenians and other foreigners. [Quoted in Pines' translation from Arabic]

The switch from Hebrew, first to the "language of the Romans" (seemingly Greek) and later to languages of other peoples, is viewed by this tradition as the core reason for the decadence of Christianity already during the initial period of its history. It was some of the Jesus movement's first "masters" who, striving for dominion and expansion of the new faith, gave up Hebrew, the means of communication of the chosen people, that "tough minority", which included the Messiah himself and his companions, as well as of God's revelation throughout the history, adopting instead the language(s) of religiously illiterate Gentiles. Elsewhere, the text outlines in detail the process that led to the suppression of the original reliable Hebrew Gospel for the sake of Greek accounts full of inexactitudes and plain inventions (Pines 1966: 253–255). Whereas ostensibly all this pertains first and foremost to the superiority of Hebrew with regard to early Christian tradition, either written or oral, it also has a bearing on the Jewish Scripture. It is stated unequivocally that the Old Testament revelation was given and can be adequately appreciated in Hebrew only. Moreover, as the text seems to indicate – contra Justin Martyr (see above) – it is the appeal to quotations from non-Hebrew versions of Scripture ("counterfeit authorities") that allowed the introduction of "theological lies" into the pristine Christian message.

***

To sum up, in all sources discussed above the issue of the relationship between the Hebrew and Greek versions of the Old Testament was the focus of contention, with conclusions obviously informed by the particularities of a concrete polemical situation. What is always at stake is the "witness value" of each of the two versions, and the problem arises when there is an awareness of their parallel existence (Philo, rabbinic sources). This basic conundrum acquires additional acuteness when invoked in the context of the never-ending Jewish-Christian polemic, with positions ranging from that of Justin Martyr (Septuagint's clear superiority) through the more nuanced approach of Origen and the pro-Hebrew inclinations of Jerome to the uncompromising rejecttion of the Greek Bible – and the Greek Gospels! – attested in Jewish Christian sources.

THE NEW TESTAMENT EVIDENCE

In light of the preceding discussion, the following question suggests itself: Do the first-century C.E. New Testament texts bear witness, like later Christian compositions, to a conscious position regarding the relationship/tension between the existing Greek and Hebrew versions of the Jewish Scriptures? There seem to be good reasons to expect an awareness of the problem, since (a) nascent Christian tradition propagated an innovative interpretation of the Old Testament, which had to struggle for legitimacy against competing Jewish interpretations; and, as we have seen, it was primarily exegetical concerns that engendered either Greek or Hebrew preferences with such authors as Justin Martyr, Origen and Jerome; and (b) nascent Christianity addressed a mixed audience: Hebrew-, Aramaic- and partly Greek-speaking in the Land of Israel (Safrai 2006), and Greek-speaking, both Jewish and non-Jewish, in the Hellenistic Diaspora. Again, we have seen that such a divide provided a natural setting for a language-oriented construction of identity.

However, it turns out that this expectation of "linguistic politics" in the New Testament may be frustrated. The last few decades of research have changed our understanding of the nature of the "conversation with the Old Testament" characteristic of the earliest Christian sources, and this is directly relevant to our topic. Whereas earlier there had been an understandable tendency to see the New Testament authors as appealing to the Septuagint, later on it became clear that one cannot find here a systematic reliance on any one of the Old Testament versions, with many of the quotations being of a rather free type (Stendahl 1954/1968; Gundry 1967). It seems that the New Testament authors often cited Scripture from memory, referring to "stock quotations" routinely discussed in their Jewish milieu, and that in so doing they related not so much to the biblical text as such, but rather to its "exegetical envelope", the cluster of interpretations transmitted by oral tradition, inter alia, that of the Aramaic paraphrase, so-called Targums (McNamara 1966; Di Luccio 2006; Ruzer 2007: 11–34). It should be noted that the conclusions of modern scholars thus corroborate the opinion of Jerome, who in his *Letter to Pammachius* [*Letter 57*] observed that, when quoting the Jewish Scripture, the earliest Christian writers freely used paraphrase which did not exactly overlap with any written version of the Holy Writ (Schaff, Wace 1979: 112–119).

This may already indicate a certain lack of awareness of the Greek-Hebrew conundrum, but on checking the New Testament evidence, one discovers also an additional – and crucial – indication in this direction. Unlike the traditions discussed earlier in this study, throughout the New Testament corpus a statement or discourse relating to the existence of two authoritative versions of the Holy Writ, the Hebrew and the Greek, can hardly be found. Nowhere is it claimed or hinted that one of the above is better suited for the innovative interpretation propagated by the Jesus movement. The example of 2 Corinthians 3:12–18 aptly demonstrates this disinclination to engage in language politics:

> Since we have such a hope, we are very bold, 13 not like Moses, who put a veil over his face so that the Israelites might not see the end (ultimate meaning?) of the fading splendor. 14 But their minds were hardened; for to this day, when they read the old covenant, that same veil remains unlifted, because only through Christ is it taken away. 15 Yes, to this day whenever [the Torah of] Moses is read a veil lies over their minds; 16 but when a man turns to the Lord the veil is removed. 17 Now the Lord is the Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom. 18 And we all, with unveiled face, beholding the glory of the Lord, are being changed into his likeness from one degree of glory to another; for this comes from the Lord who is the Spirit. [English translation is according to the Revised Standard Version]

Here Paul, addressing a Greek-speaking audience in Corinth, claims that the Jews who read the book of Moses in their synagogues (in the Land of Israel?) are tragically unaware of its deep messianic meaning. The apostle wants us to think that their understanding is, as it were, blocked by the veil which Moses put on his shining face on Sinai (Stockhausen 1989: 71–85, 125–132), whereas that veil has been lifted from the eyes of Jesus' true followers. It is illuminating that even in such an explicitly polemical setting, one of whose elements is the distinction between the Land of Israel and the Hellenistic Diaspora, no appeal to the Greek version of the Torah is made; the discovery of the Christological meaning of the Scripture is derived completely from the enlightening action of the Spirit and has no need to be supported by textual variants (Ruzer 2007: 222–229).

However, even if there is no *explicit* sign of awareness of the Hebrew-Greek conundrum, the question lingers, to what extent the various earliest Christian writers really needed, say, the Septuagint to buttress their hermeneutical claims. I will now deal with a few instructive instances of interpretation of the Jewish Scripture found in different strata of the New Testament, where usually the helping hand of the Greek version is assumed. I will demonstrate that, in fact, the exegetic tour-de-force performed by an early Christian author in each of those instances could have been accomplished on the basis of the Hebrew Old Testament text.

(1). MATTHEW 1:18–23 QUOTES ISA 7:14

> Isa 7:14 Therefore the Lord himself will give you a sign (אות-*oth*, LXX: σημεῖον). Behold, a young woman (העלמה - *ha-almah*) / or: virgin (LXX: ἡ παρθένος) shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call (you will call: וקראת - *we-qara'ta*, LXX: καὶ καλέσεις) his name Imman'u-el. [English translation is according to the Revised Standard Version]
>
> Matt 1:18–23: Now the birth of Jesus Christ took place in this way. When his mother Mary had been betrothed to Joseph, before they came together she was found to be with child of the Holy Spirit;… 22 All this took place to fulfill what the Lord had spoken by the prophet: 23 "Behold, a virgin (ἡ παρθένος) shall conceive and bear a son, and his name shall be called (καλέσουσιν) Emmanuel" (which means, God with us). [Revised Standard Version]

The passage in Matthew is of particular interest because, starting from Justin Martyr, (see above) the future generations of Christian exegetes would claim that the reading "virgin" here is dependent on the Septuagint version as opposed to the Hebrew text with its rather ambiguous העלמה (*ha-almah*, the young girl/woman). The opinion that the quotation here is specifically indebted to the LXX is also widespread in modern research (Stendahl 1954/1968: 97–98; Gundry 1967: 89–91; Davies, Allison 1988–1997, 1: 213–214). It should be noted, however, that παρθένος also retains a certain measure of ambiguity: at least, according to the usage attested in a second-century

B.C.E. composition *The Exagoge of Ezekiel* (Jacobson 1983), it could also designate a female that had already given birth. But, in fact, there is also a much weightier argument against Matthew's use of Isa 7:14 being necessary dependant on Septuagint, since a closer look at the biblical usage of *ha-almah* does not support it at all. It turns out that in quite a few instances *ha-almah* unequivocally stands for a virgin; and in these instances also the Septuagint duly translates it as παρθένος (Davies, Allison 1988–1997, 1: 214). For example, this is the description of Eliezer's encounter with Rebekah (Gen 24:43–44):

> Behold, I am standing by the spring of water; let the young girl/lady (העלמה, *almah*; LXX: (ἡ παρθένος) who comes out to draw, to whom I shall say, "Pray give me a little water from your jar to drink", 44 and who will say to me, "Drink, and I will draw for your camels also", let her be the woman (האישה, LXX: ἡ γυνή) whom the LORD has appointed for my master's son. [Revised Standard Version]

As it is crystal clear that Abraham's servant is to choose a virgin as the future bride of his master's son, it turns out that the word *almah* in the Hebrew Bible is capable of acquiring the unequivocal meaning of "young virgin" (cf. Prov 30:18–19). Moreover, as the opening of the oracle in Isa 7:14 suggests ("the Lord himself will give you a sign"), we are to expect that the prophet here speaks of something marvellous. Accordingly, Matthew, who was looking for exegetical backing for the story of Jesus' miraculous conception/birth (Davies, Allison 1988–1997, 1: 214–215), located that miraculous element in the particular circumstances of the pregnancy predicted in Isa 7:14.

Interestingly enough, he seems not to have been alone: about one thousand years later the famous medieval Jewish exegete r. Shlomo Itzhaki (Rashi) reported that some Jewish interpreters, obviously working on the basis of the Hebrew text, discerned the sign in the fact that the king's daughter (in their opinion, the subject of Isaiah's oracle) was at the time of the prophecy a virgin before maturity and at that stage it could not be known whether she would ever be capable of childbearing. For all the difference in the crux of the interpretation, both Matthew and the medieval Jewish exegete bear witness to understanding *ha-almah* of the Hebrew text here as designating a

virgin. The plausible conclusion, therefore, would be that Matthew *did not need* the Septuagint in order to create his *midrash* on Isa 7:14.

(2). ACTS 15:15–17 WITH REFERENCE TO AMOS 9:11–12

> Amos 9:11–12: "In that day I will raise up the booth of David that is fallen and repair its breaches, and raise up its ruins, and rebuild it as in the days of old; 12 **that they may possess the remnant of Edom (**למען יירשו את שארית אדום**, LXX:** ὅπως ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων – that the **rest of men will seek** [the Lord]**) and all the nations** (τὰ ἔθνη) who are called by my name", says the LORD who does this. (Revised Standard Version)
>
> Acts 15:15–17: And with this the words of the prophets agree, as it is written, 16 After this I will return, and I will rebuild the dwelling of David, which has fallen; I will rebuild its ruins, and I will set it up, 17 that **the rest of men may seek the Lord**, **and all the nations** (τὰ ἔθνη) who are called by my name. [Revised Standard Version]

The quotation from Amos here clearly serves a central idea of Acts, namely, that now is the time for Gentiles to join the end-of-days Jewish messianic movement of Jesus' followers (Conzelmann 1987: xiv-xvii). The text form seems to be that of LXX (Conzelmann 1987: 117): that in the Hebrew Bible as it now stands does not suit the intended message, as it portrays the days of messianic salvation as characterized by Jewish dominance over the "remnant of Edom and all the nations" and not by the "remnant of humanity and all the nations" seeking the God of Israel. However, as has been convincingly argued, the reading attested in the Septuagint might have reflected an existing textual Hebrew variant, which read אדם (Adam, humanity) instead of אדום (Edom) and ידרשו (will seek) instead of יירשו (may possess) (Bauckham 1996: 157). If so, as in the previous example, the New Testament exegetic tradition interpreting Am 9:12 as "that the rest of men will seek [the Lord]" (למען ידרשו שארית אדם) did not have to rely on the Greek version of Amos, but could have reflected an exegesis based on an alternative Hebrew version.

(3) JOHN 1:1–5

> In the beginning (ἐν ἀρχῇ) was the Word (ὁ λόγος), and the Word was with God (πρὸς τόν θεόν), and the Word was God. 2 He/it was in the beginning (ἐν ἀρχῇ) with God; 3 all things were made/came into being (ἐγένετο) through him/it, and without him/it was not anything made/came into being (ἐγένετο) that was made/came into being (ὅ γέγονεν). 4 In him/it was life, and the life was the light of men. 5 The light shines in the darkness, and the darkness has not overcome it. [Based on Revised Standard Version with a number of authorial suggestions]

Unlike the previous two cases, this passage does not contain a proper Old Testament quotation, but is rather an exegetical elaboration on a cluster of biblical motifs, most prominently those from Genesis 1 and Proverbs 8 (Borgen 1969/1970; Anderson 1990; Boyarin 2004: 93–98). The mighty ἐν ἀρχῇ ("in the beginning," Hebrew: בראשית) that opens the passage and reappears in John 1:2 is combined here with the recurring mention of God (θεός), recurrent use of ἐγένετο/ὅ γόγονεν ("came into being", Hebrew: ויהי) in John 1:3, and the light-darkness imaginary in John 1:4–5; all these clearly indicate that the passage refers to the first lines of the Torah creation narrative (Phillips 2006: 110, 127, 137–139). The underlying religious ideas, e.g. Wisdom as the agent of creation, circulated broadly among the Jews at the end of the Second Temple period and throughout late antiquity (see, for example, Ben Sirah 24:1–23–29; *m. Avot* 3:17, 5:1; *Avot de R. Nathan* B 36; *Gen. R.* 1). However, the key motif and terminology of the divine Word (ὁ λόγος), which constitute the distinguishing feature of our passage, seem to correspond more specifically to Hellenistic Jewish ideas developed by Philo of Alexandria, e.g., in his treatise *De opificio mundi* (Tobin 1980: 252–259; Phillips 2006: 107–114). This is what, at first sight, suggests dependence on the Greek text of the Old Testament.

However, a closer look at the LXX version of Genesis shows that it never uses the term ὁ λόγος in connection with creation. On the other hand, the tradition of interpretative translations of the Torah into Aramaic does introduce into the creation account an intermediary agent between God and the created order, which is called מימרא (word,

λόγος), e.g. *Tg. Neophyti* ad loc. (cf. *m. Avot* 3:17, 5:1; *Avot de R. Nathan* B 36). Therefore, instead of looking for a non-existing link to the Septuagint, one should rather embrace the suggestion raised in research that here also the John 1:1–3 exegetical paraphrase on the opening lines of Genesis is, in fact, related to the midrashic patterns attested in the Aramaic Targums (Borgen 1969/1970; Anderson 1990).

CONCLUSION

We have discussed three instructive New Testament examples containing exegetical "acts of power" of core importance for the nascent Christian outlook. It was suggested that, contrary to first impressions, these exegetical "maneuvres" did not have to rely on the alternative (Septuagint) version of the Old Testament, but could plausibly have been developed on the basis of the Hebrew original perceived in the context of its existing *midrashic*/*targumic* elaborations. The earliest Christian interpreters of the Jewish Scripture seem to have worked along the lines of an accepted approach to the interpretation of the Holy Writ: namely, referring not so much to the textual authority of this or that Bible version but rather to the variety of constantly developing exegetical possibilities which existed in their Jewish milieu and which they further reworked. We have observed that the New Testament authors never refer to the "competition" between the "witness value" of the Hebrew and Greek Bible texts respectively – namely, to the question which of the two better reflected God's will. If a proof of authority was needed, it was provided by appeal not to a particular written version, but to the revelatory hermeneutical power of the Holy Spirit. Of course, the argument *ex silentio* is a risky business, but this lack of attention to the linguistic divide was very much part of the reality of nascent Christianity and seems to be significant. In this respect, our authors differ substantively from Justin Martyr and later generations of Christian exegetes.

Of course, the possibility cannot be excluded that the New Testament writers had encountered some elements of what was to become the basis for their foundational exegesis through the mediation of the Greek Bible. However – and in my opinion, this is what really counts – we hardly find any awareness in the New Testament of the specifics of the Greek text form, i.e. of a meaningful gap between it and the Hebrew counterpart, not to speak of integrating such an awareness

into the strategies of polemical boundary marking, be it between the Jewry of the Land of Israel and that of the Hellenistic Diaspora, or between Jews and Christians, of the kind that features prominently in the traditions discussed in the first part of this study.

The polemical strategies of the earliest Christian authors are thus substantively different, as was also, apparently, their social situation. Even when addressing a Diaspora – and also non-Jewish – audience they show no interest in linking their programmatic interpretation of Scripture specifically to its Greek version. This may be viewed as one more indication that these authors wrote before the split with the Judaism of the Land of Israel (already evident in Justin). Their emphasis is not yet on separation but rather on belonging to the Jewish world, including its Hebrew-speaking parts, though this belonging is, of course, charged with polemical tension (Ruzer 2007: 1–9). So they subscribe to the idea of exegesis inspired by the Holy Spirit, but not to preferences for this or that written version of the Bible as a marker of division. In other words, the problem of the relative value of the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint respectively, which already exists in Philo and appears later in Justin Martyr, is characteristically absent from the New Testament. In this sense, even the traditions of supposedly Judaeo-Christian provenance with their uncompromising preference for Hebrew seem to represent a later reaction, from the times of "parting the ways" already reflected in Justin Martyr's stance, foreign to those early followers of Jesus who were behind the writings that found their way into the New Testament.

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PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC *PSALTERIUM DEMETRII SINAITICI*[1]

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Dedicated to the memory
of Marija Pantelić (sister Agnezija)

1. The sensational manuscript find in St. Catherine's monastery on Mt. Sinai in 1975 has not only yielded a large amount of new, important sources, but also raised many questions about their development, the origin of their scribes, and the monastery as an international centre of Christianity and culture. Complex, comparative investigations are needed to answer these questions and to draw a conclusive picture of the various traditions which co-existed and mutually influenced each other there.

This concerns especially the Old Church Slavonic-Glagolitic tradition which has left its traces in the Sinaitic centre. Altogether nine Glagolitic manuscripts of the Old Church Slavonic (OCS) period are still preserved in St. Catherine's library, three of them in the old collection and six in the new one. A larger, still undefined number of former Sinaitic manuscripts can be found in other places to which they were transferred mainly during the 19th century, such as the Kiev Folia and the liturgical fragments of St. Petersburg[2].

As outlined in earlier publications, we are presently engaged in the analysis and edition of three of the new findings: the new portion of the Sinaitic Euchology (Sin. slav. 1N, which is part of Sin. slav. 37 – EuchSin), the so-called Missal or Sacramentary (Sin. slav. 5N – MissSin), and Demetrius' Psalter (Sin. slav. 3N – PsDem)[3]. Here we will

[1] It is our pleasure and duty to express our sincere thanks to H. E. Archbishop Damianos, and the brethren of St. Catherine's monastery, especially father Nilus and father Justin, for permission to work with the mss. and for their kind help!

[2] Cf. the preliminary list in Miklas 2011: 50–52.

[3] Cf. Miklas 2000; Sadovski 2000; Miklas 2008a; and Miklas, Gau et al. 2008; see also the latest studies on the Euchology-Sacramentary-complex EuchSin, MissSin and the Petersburg fragments: Паренти 2009, Тончева 2009; Parenti 2011; Афанасьева

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deal with the last of the three manuscripts, PsDem, which has not been described in much detail so far. On the basis of the digital and, to some extent, multispectral images of the manuscript made during an expedition to St. Catherine's in autumn 2007[4], A. N. Sobolev and M. Gau have produced a first transcript of the text, which has been reviewed by H. Miklas, while C. M. MacRobert is studying the textology and providing the critical apparatus[5]. In addition, D. Hürner has taken up a comparative analysis of the palaeography and the graphemics of PsDem in the framework of the Sinaitic tradition[6].

2. Fortunately, Demetrius' Psalter is better preserved than the other newly found manuscripts, particularly the Missal, so its decipherment rarely poses extraordinary problems. Nevertheless, it offers other difficulties, including the epithet of Demetrius, after whom I. Tarnanidis named the manuscript (1988: 92–93, 95–96). As Tarnanidis discovered, this scribe added some notes and prayer texts to the Psalter, including also two entries with his name (henceforth: subscriptions) and a parallel Greek-Latin-Glagolitic *abecedarium*. On the basis of the description and an image given in Tarnanidis' catalogue, Demetrius was then identified with the hitherto anonymous scribe who wrote the first page of the Kiev Folia, inserted some lines and a whole page in MissSin (hand B), and added the Cyrillic name list and a Glagolitic paschalion in the Petersburg liturgical bifolio РНБ глаг. 2[7].

According to Tarnanidis' reading and interpretation of Demetrius' first subscription, at the top of f. 1r (fig. 1a), its (corrupted or suspended) end *ol-* may have to be resolved as *Ol<tarnik>*, characterizing Demetrius as a *Bematares*. Doubts about the attribute *olъtarьnikъ* have been voiced, amongst others, by Vojtěch Tkadlčík and Borjana Velčeva, who have proposed other readings (Велчева 1999: 92). None of these, however, is supported by the new images; instead they disclose two important details: first, *ol-* is followed by at least one more

2011; Шнитер 2011, and cf. footnote 84. For the other Glagolitic findings, see Schaeken, Birnbaum 1999: 105–110, 122–125 and bibliography.

[4] Cf. Miklas 2008a.

[5] See her article in this volume.

[6] In her PhD-thesis "Palaeography und Graphemics of the Western Old Church Slavonic-Glagolitic Folia of Kiev and Prague in the Context of the Sinaitic Tradition", see Hürner 2011. For this article work was divided mainly as follows: codicology, phoneme-language, technical tasks – M. Gau and H. Miklas, palaeography, graphemics, cultural history – D. Hürner and H. Miklas.

[7] See Miklas 1999: 207–209 and Marti 1999: 189–190. For the whole Petersburg (Krylov–Uspenskij) fragment see footnotes 17, 84, 88.

letter, resembling an *e*; and secondly, there is no trace of an abbreviation mark above these letters. Consequently, the phrase may be read as азъ дъмтръ [грѣш]никъ оле. If we take the word оле for the OCS exclamation, we can translate the phrase as "I, Dmitărь a sinner, alas!"

When and where Demetrius inserted his entries into the Psalter, Tarnanidis could not yet determine; but from certain hints in the prayer-cycle[8] he concluded that (1) his patron saint was Demetrius of Thessalonica; (2) he may have lived in a mountain Skete named after the Theotokos and surrounded by wild animals from which he had to defend himself and his flock (prayer 1–2); and (3) the Skete could have belonged to a monastery dedicated to St. Gregory (prayer 3). Furthermore, the contents and structure of the prayers indicate that (4) he was a monk-priest who composed his texts making partial use of ready elements from the New Testament and prayers for priests. While the first and the last conclusions are beyond doubt, we will propose different interpretations for the others in the last section of this article.

2.1. Other difficulties concern the physical make-up of the manuscript. While a thorough description will be given in the critical edition, here we will add only the most important codicological details.

As rightly stated by Tarnanidis' (1988: 91), the 145 folios of the manuscript are gathered in 19 *quires*, of which only the last quaternio is incomplete, missing the penultimate folio (2x8+1x4+1x6+14x8+1x7 [8-1]). Thus we have to do altogether with 72 bifolios and one single folio, the former partner of f. 140. The missing folio after f. 144 (=144') seems to have remained blank, as there are no gaps within the text of the Psalter. Tarnanidis assumed that PsDem also contained the usual Cantica and a number of prayers, as is the case with the well known Sinaitic Psalter (Sin. slav. 38+2N – PsSin); thus, the original manuscript would have contained at least three more quires. Since the last page is partly covered with brown leather constituents from the broken lower cover, to which it had been stuck, the loss of the quires must have taken place rather early.

[8] See Tarnanidis 1988: 93–94 (texts) and 94–97 (comments). The text of this prayer cycle can be divided into four units: 1. 1r2–17; 2. 2r2–13; 3. 2r14–20, 3r14–21, 34v1–4 (with alleluia and psalm versicle); 4. 34v4, 140r13–23, 140v1–9, 144r1–24.

The *ordering* of the quires is not consistent[9]: Although type f/f//f/f prevails in 10 instances, there are also four instances of type h/h//h/h (among them in the binio), three of the type f/h//h/f (among them in the ternio), and two of type h/f//f/h (quires 1 and 12). The same is true of the so-called *Rule of Gregory* that predominates in 13 cases (quires 6–10, 13–15, 17–18 – type f/f//f/f; quires 3, 11, 16 – type h/h//h/h), while the rest of the quires do not follow the rule (nos. 1, 4, 5, and partly also nos. 2, 12, and 19).

It is also difficult to determine the *ruling* of the folios, as it too is not homogeneous and shows traces of an earlier use of the parchment. Depending on the size and character of the gathering, there is one (in the case of the binio), two or, more often, four rulings per quire, usually from the top (middle bifolio) to the bottom, although there are instances where the order changes within the quire. In rare cases we also observe bifolios which were ruled from either side (partly due to contaminations of old and new rulings) or in a folded manner (e.g., ff. 4v←5r, 43v←50r), and even folios which were ruled *singulatim* (ff. 13r, 66r). Although ruling from the hair side predominates, there are only one or two quires where it was exclusively executed from the hair-side (no. 14 and, possibly, no. 19). Out of the many different formulas to be observed here the most typical is HFHF/FHFH, extant in the quires 7, 9, 10, and 15. Consequently, the *relief* changes very often and shows various types and subtypes, the only more frequent being (<<)<<‖>>(>>) (quires 3–4, 7, 9–12).

Most difficult to establish are the *ruling (layout) schemes* (fig. 2) and the rows of *piqûre*, as the layout is executed mostly in a rather irregular and uneven manner, and part of its variation is also due to contaminations of earlier and later features. Regarding the schemes, most often there is a single vertical line on each side of the page (scheme *1*); less often we observe two verticals on the outside (*2*) and one on the inside or *vice versa* (*5*). The horizontal lines may either be limited by the verticals (subscheme *a*) or, more often, cross the verticals on one (*b* or *c*) or both sides (*d*) and be expanded partly or fully to

[9] f (F)=flesh-side, h (H)=hair-side, seen from the bottom and top of each quire; the sequence within the quire may vary. For a comparison of the following codicological peculiarities with other (O)CS and Greek instances see Джурова 1997: 82–87 (quires), 93–100 (ruling), and Джурова 2007: 252–253 (quires), 253–254, 315–318 (ruling). Still lacking in these overviews are, however, the closest examples for comparison, i.e. PsSin and the Medical Folia (MedSin, cf. fn. 119).

the folio edges. Taken together, there are more than ten different subschemes, although the majority seems to derive from contaminations.

Many folios at first sight seem to be re-used, but on close examination, only a few definite cases of a lower (palimpsest) layer can be established. While old lines are visible very often, remnants of (Glagolitic, Cyrillic, and non-Slavic?) letters appear at least on ff. 1v, 4v, 9r, 11r, 13v, 14v, 16r, 21, 26r (in red), 27v, 30r, 34v, 36r, 43r, 59r, and 99v. Their legibility is hampered by several factors, mainly by the fact that the better part, if not all, of these pages has been scraped rather than washed off, or both (as, for example, f. 9r, where only tiny remnants of the previous text remain), and also by emendations, marginalia, the thin quality of some folios or parts of the folios which results in bleedthrough, and the "floating" manner in which such passages are sometimes written.

2.2. As regards the palaeography of the manuscript, the differentiation of the scribes is crucial. In the text of PsDem Tarnanidis (1988: 92) distinguished two hands: A – on ff. 1v–2r, 3r, 35v–141v, 142r–145v, and B – on ff. 2v, 3v–24r (i.e. 34r). A thorough examination has led us to differentiate altogether three scribes in the Psalter (except for a few lines on f. 36r) and a hitherto uncertain number of emenders. This is reminiscent of the PsSin, in which the last counts amounted to four major, six minor scribes and several emenders (cf. Fetková 2000).

All these scribes have much in common – palaeographically, linguistically, and in the way they were working. Common palaeographic features are a rather tiny (character height 1–2 mm), predominantly rounded and practised, but not calligraphic script, with a certain tendency to square forms, monochrome headlines and initials, often with secondary coloration in yellow – best comparable to PsSin[10] –, and interspersed Cyrillic characters. Stylistically the text ductus of these hands may be compared to the Ochrid Folia[11] and parts of

[10] As the X-ray fluorescence analysis (XRF) of Manfred Schreiner, E.-G. Hammerschmid and Martin Melcher has shown (see Miklas et al. 2008: 28–31), in both cases an organic dye was used, although in certain instances the elements arsenic and sulphur have also been detected, indicating the presence of orpiment (Realgar). Unlike in our ms., in the second part of PsSin (Sin. slav. 38) we observe also secondary colorations in red (minium) and green (malachite or verdigris).

[11] See only Schaeken, Birnbaum 1999: 103 and bibliography, the entry of Дограмаджиева 1995: 903–905, and Джурова 1981: plate 30.

PsSin[12], while the large initials at the beginning of the psalms show geometric embellishment, sometimes with further elements, typical mainly of the PsSin[13]. The colour of the text-ink varies between slightly faded black (B) and different nuances of brown (A and B).

Hand A (app. 80.8% of the whole text: ff. 1v, 3r1–13, 35r–140r13, 141r–143v, 144v–145v, cf. fig. 3) is slightly smaller than the other hands and principally hanging, in some lines also standing or floating, with irregular distances between the lines (cf. esp. f. 66r). Its specific variation concerns the letters ⱎ, ⱁ, ⱋ, ⱗ, the *uk*-ligature and the younger *frt*. Special mention must be made of closed ⱑ-variants, reminiscent of a Latin minuscule *e*. As M. Žagar has recently pointed out (2010: 176), in (later) Croatian manuscripts this letter indicated the pronunciation of /e/ without preceding on-glide at the beginning of loan-words. Headlines and small initials are with open ("yellow wash"), larger initials also with closed coloration. Both the large initials at the beginning of the psalms and many small initials are in double contour, geometrically embellished (esp. braiding), sometimes with phytomorphic or zoomorphic additions. There is a wide variety of interpunction-marks consisting mostly of two or, within the text, sometimes also four dots. At the end of sentences two, three or more strokes (*obelus*) can be added or replace the double dot. Towards the end of part A we also find strokes accompanied by several dots, forming a simple ornament to fill up the rest of the line.

The Cyrillic characters and passages of the A-part seem to be mostly written by the same scribe, but some definitely derive from the hand of an emender (cf. later). In rare instances (ff. 95v, 103v) we find a Cyrillic (or Latin?) initial *M* among them, while we miss the *T* typical of the older Glagolitic Sinaitic manuscripts. Altogether there are app. 448 Cyrillic units of which some 228 are to be found in (mostly longer) emendations and often appear in end-position, 215 in headings and incipita, and only 5 in the running text. 22–28 lines p.p., gradually increasing towards the end of the manuscript.

Hand B (app. 6.1% of the whole text: ff. 2v, 3v–14r11, cf. fig. 4) is almost exclusively hanging. Typical are a remarkably large ⱘ, ⱚ with

[12] Cf. Schaeken, Birnbaum 1999: 105–106 and bibliography; Пенкова, Карачорова 2003: 616–622; and Джурова 1981: plates 20, 22.

[13] As to the large(r) initials cf. similar, but not identical examples, mainly from PsSin, in Джурова 1981: table I, nos. 9, 13, 15; 17–18 (EuchSin); 25–26, 31–32; 45 (Enina-Apostolus) on the one hand, and the simple forms in tables II no. 26, V no. 73–76, and VII no. 109 (EuchSin) on the other.

loop to the right side (cf. also PsDem-C and MissSin-C), wide variation of ѳ, ѣ, ѵ, ѳ҆, and *Ik* for /u/ (cf. below). The headlines and initials are either uncoloured or with closed coloration, the large initials show geometric embellishment. Here the variation of interpunction-marks includes the long, even obelus with sharp hook at the beginning, three points, rarely also colon with obelus, thus differing from all other scribes. B has also a smaller amount of Cyrillic characters (app. 37), of which 22 appear in headings, 11 in end-position, and 4 in the running text (all ѧ). There are 17–21 lines p.p. (average 18.7).

Hand C (11% of the whole text: ff. 14r12–34r, cf. fig. 5) is principally standing, but single lines are often hanging or floating. It is characterized by the variation of the letters ѳ (comprising also a few instances of wide ѳ in heteromorphic sequences[14]), ѡ, ѿ, ѵ, ѳ҃, and ѳ҆, an asymmetric ѿ, some peculiar instances of ѳ looking like a corrected ѳ. Most initials are with closed coloration, while the headlines usually show the more typical yellow "wash". Large majuscules are with geometric embellishment, often braided, seldom also with zoormorphic elements. The interpunction is stylistically remarkable and contains also the semicolon with one to four dots, reminiscent of contemporary Latin manuscripts from Dalmatia[15].

In this part the number of Cyrillic units is comparatively higher and reaches app. 146 elements, of which 129 appear in headings, 14 in the running text, and the rest in end-position. There are 16–23 lines p.p. (average 18.7).

The *hand of Demetrius* (*X*[16]: ff. 1r, 2r, 3r14–21, 34v, 140r11b–23, 140v, 141r marg., 144r, cf. fig. 6) is quite large (character-height app. 3–6 mm) and of an irregular ductus, less practised than that of the scribes of the Psalter-text, hanging or floating, with wide variation in the characters ѧ, ѳ, ѡ, ѳ҃, ѧ, ѿ and simple punctuation. Headlines and

[14] Yet the function of this variant is still too rudimentary to be counted as a separate graphemic unit.

[15] See especially the Beneventan examples with two dots in Novak 1980: 162 and the facsimiles of the Zagreb Passionale MR 164 as well as later entries in the Evangeliarium Spalatense, in: *Hrvatska i Europa* 1, 339, 351. This goes hand in hand with certain elements of illumination in early Glag. mss., as stated already by Pantelić 1985: 33, fn. 68 (with reference to Fučić 1964: 28).

[16] See the apt characterizations of Marti 1999: 188–189 and, concerning Demetrius' entry in the Kiev Folia, Pantelić 1985: 29–32. We have renamed this scribe "X" in order to leave room for the emenders, once their number is finally established.

initials are undecorated and uncoloured, defined only by a slight difference in size.

Finally, there is the *scribe of the (second) Latin alphabet* on top of f. 2r (fig. 7). As already rightly observed by R. Marti (1999: 187–188: ASinL2), this hand differs from Demetrius'. While Demetrius uses also structurally identical majuscules for his Greek and Latin Abecedaria which apparently derive from his Cyrillic way of writing (cf. ch. 3)[17], this scribe writes a rather sophisticated Carolingian minuscule, quite similar to the second hand of the Freising Folia[18], although some elements can also be compared to the script of the famous Sinaitic Latin Psalter (cf. Vezin 2010).

Apart from erased or washed off letters and whole passages, the place of which sometimes remains blank, there are numerous *corrections* in the text of the Psalter, both in plain Glagolitic and in a mixture of Cyrillic and Glagolitic characters. The hands of the emenders are partly identical with the main scribes, partly they disclose specific features.

The *Glagolitic corrections* consist either of retouchings of faded or erased passages or additions of single characters or passages:

Retouchings occur both in the main text (part C: ff. 17r12–13, 21r9; part A, e.g.: ff. 75r2, 137v13, 140r1) and in one of Demetrius' additions on ff. 140v1 and 140v3, 6 etc. While these emendations in part A remain unclear for a lack of specific character features, and on f. 21r9 they most likely derive from Demetrius (judging by their position and the rather uneven, large ductus), on f. 5v7 we note a closed ⱋ written in brown ink over an erased letter, possibly deriving from hand A. On f. 17r we observe specific traits in the case of the characters ⱎ, ⱔ, ⱘ (while others such as ⱋ, ⱂ etc. are rendered quite identically with the underlying forms). The ductus of this hand is more skilful, and as in the case of most other retouchings its intensive black ink differs from the previous text. It seems that this hand is identical with the one who redrew a few letters in the Demetrius-passage on f. 140r-v (cf.

[17] The same is true of a Greek prayer most probably written by the hand of Demetrius on a small sheet found between ff. 18v and 19r in MissSin, cf. Miklas 2000: 118, 127.

[18] The three Old Slovenian texts with OCS elements incorporated in the missionary handbook of the Bavarian bishop Abraham (Munich, State library, No. Clm 6426) are thought to have been written between 972 and 1039 either at Freising or in one of its possessions in Upper Carinthia, cf. i.a. Schaeken, Birnbaum 1999: 131–132 and *Brižinski spomeniki* 1992 and 1993.

esp. the form of ѧ) and overwrote his text in line 140v4 with the letters ѣѧ᷍ѧ. In any case the latter is different from all other scribes[19] and is to be regarded as the latest hand in the manuscript, belonging probably to the beginning of the 12th c.

Glagolitic *additions* appear frequently in all parts and derive mainly from the main scribes of the Psalter. But there is yet another hand distinct from all hands observed so far. Compared to its closest counterpart A it is sometimes slightly larger and differs in the letters ѱ, ѫ, ѧ as well as in its use of ѕ and ѧ. In part A this hand appears, e.g., on ff. 42v10, 18, 46r13-15, 47v12-13, 50v13, 16, rarely also in mixed Cyrillic-Glagolitic additions as the one of f. 101v marg., continued between line 9 and 10 (cf. fig. 8). In part B the same hand can be observed on ff. 3v8, 4r1, 7v16, 8r13, 10v1-2, and in part C only once on f. 30r10.

Corrections with interspersed Cyrillic letters: Since Cyrillic characters can be found throughout the manuscript, it is difficult to differentiate real corrections in cases where they are not executed in the line-space or the margins and there are no obvious traces of deliberate erasure. It seems that here we have to do with four hands: two who are obviously identical with the scribes A (as, e.g., on f. 60v) and B (ff. 6v18, 11v11, 13v5); another, who probably wrote the correction of f. 35v; and a fourth, who did most of the Glagolitic and mixed corrections in part A (main emender).

The most interesting case is the correction over an erased passage on f. 35v12-13 (fig. 9) which is continued in the adjacent line-space: According to the ink, character-size and the variants of χ, ⱪ, ⱸ, ⱦ, and ⱷ, this hand clearly differs from scribe A. The characteristic ⱪ, closed ⱸ, and ⱳ can be compared to the forms we find in the Latin alphabet on f. 2r. And since the passage contains also Glagolitic characters (ь, ѣ, ѧ), its scribe was obviously versed in the Latin, Glagolitic, and the Cyrillic script.

[19] This applies also to the hand of the inserted Medical Prescriptions (MedSin, cf. fn. 119), and to the scribes of PsSin.

Other highly interesting cases are the additions on ff. 60v13 and 95v24–25 (fig. 10). In spite of the somewhat larger letter size and distance, they show typical traits of A: the hanging ш, the inverted form of Cyrillic оі, the „abbreviated“ saddle-м, and, less strikingly, the shapes of т, о, ж, the rounded upper part of ч, and, to a certain degree also в. Variants of є with closed upper part link this graph to the correction on f. 35v13, while the shapes of ρ, и, and н instead resemble hand C, and the characteristic д resembles the heading of f. 9v in part B[20]. While some of the mentioned features remind us of the Humac-Inscription[21], the portion by the main scribe in the Slepče Apostolus[22], the Menaeum-palimpsest in the Dragotin Apostolus (Sofia НБКМ 880)[23], early Cyrillic entries in the codices Zographensis (f. 224v) and Assemanianus (inscription of pop Stan, f. 157v), the Enina-Apostolus and the main hands of the Dobromir-Gospel[24], it is difficult to find examples for the overall style of the Cyrillic passages. Yet, in spite of its Cyrillic similarities it is doubtful whether both passages derive from the same hand; rather do the Glagolitic variants indicate that the first passage belongs to scribe A, and the second one to the emender responsible for most of the Glagolitic corrections in part A.

Finally, there are some *Glagolitic marginalia* of various origins and functions. Clearly the work of the main scribes is the psalm num-

[20] There are also certain similarities to the scribe of MedSin (cf. the Cyr. passage on f. 141bv – fig. 11): esp. *Č* and *E*, but also *I*, *T*, *R*, *V*. But since there are clear differences between the Glag. ductus of the same hands, one might think of a common Cyr. education. The scribe of MedSin seems to have been less trained in the Cyr. script, as he made a mistake concerning the letter *Z*.

[21] See, *inter alia*, Damjanović 2002: 175.

[22] See Ильинский 1912, facs. of f. 3v. This hand differs in its forms of *Z*, *jor*, *R*. Since the Slepče Ap. was partly written over a Greek palimpsest, a Sinaitic origin cannot be excluded. Further common traits with PsDem are the prevailing *jor* redaction, *ou/u* in the place of *ypsilon* (cf. also *ju* in *Kjuril-*), and some instances of *ik*, the merger of *jor* – *o*, *jer* – *e*, cf. Ильинский 1912: XVIII–XIX.

[23] Cf. Христова-Шомова 2009: 17–22. Judging by its language, some specific, “provincial” contents (both in the Menaion and the Apostolus layers), the convergence of a Greek (Oktoechos of the 11th/12th c.) and a Slavonic palimpsest part, as well as a certain Glag. (initial *U* in the shape of a Glag. *V*), Romance and, possibly, Northern Russian influence (oscillation of *č* ~ *c* in connection with the rendering of Greek *theta* as *f*), this ms. may well have been written on Mt. Sinai.

[24] Cf. Джурова 1981, plates 12, 15, 51–56, 57–59.

berings, in which some of the numerals have titlos and others are surrounded by a circle; the same applies to the rare notes ѧмѧ on f. 70v10 and д҃ѣ on f. 70v12, for *dětpsal'ma*, which too are surrounded by circles. The other entries belong to different hands, including tests of the pen on ff. 18v and 37r and two faded remarks, on ff. 34r (тѣвѣ сѣ мѳ<лимъ>) and 43r15 (ѧ above, ..ѧ҂ at the end of the line). From their size, both the tests and the remarks seem to have been written by Demetrius, but the ductus of the test characters does not sustain this impression.

2.3. Let us turn to the linguistic peculiarities of the manuscript. On the basis of Tarnanidis' remarks and a transcript of his facsimile of f. 126v, B. Velčeva[25] has already tried to integrate the *orthographic data* into the framework of the OCS systems. Taking into consideration the predominant use of *jor* and four jusy, ш҃ and ѫ for /št/, and certain peculiarities in the rendering of /i/, she has concluded that the Psalter represents a late stage in the development of the classic type IIc (=cyr. IIв, represented by Zogr., Cloz., Sav., and Supr.[26]). This allows her to reconstruct a link (III) between her types I and II, most likely belonging to the late 11th century.

This classification is, of course, rather rough and does not include scribe C, who uses a two-jer-system, with four *jusy* and ѫ only exceptionally (ницѧ f. 14r13), instead of the usual sequence ш҃.

The number and distribution of the *i* graphemes is too diverse to be reduced to a common denominator: While scribe A uses ѕ only in numerals[27], ҁ after C_, V_ and at the beginning of words, ѯ word-initially, and *jery* in the combination ѣҁ, scribe B has ѕ in all positions, ѯ word-initially, no ҁ, and *jery* in the combination ѣѕ. Scribe C also shows ѕ in all positions, ҁ only at the beginning of words, and ѯ

[25] Велчева 1999: 92–96, esp. pp. 94, 95.

[26] Cf. also the classification according to the jers and jusy in Miklas 2008: 140 (here group 1). For the OCS mss. mentioned here *et passim*, see the data in Schaeken, Birnbaum 1999: 95sqq., ch. III.2.

[27] The only exception in гѱовн f. 60r17 is a correction which cannot with certainty be attributed to scribe A.

in all positions, whereas *jery* is represented by the two variants ѣꙑ and ѣы.

This example shows that in spite of a certain amount of variation in the manner of writing and the size of their text-portions, the graphemics of the three scribes display not only some important common traits, but also some significant idiosyncracies. Taken together, they support the impression that in addition to differences in their education, the scribes also differed in age:

PsDem-A: 2 *i*- (ꙑ, and ы word-initially), 3 *o*-graphs[28], *u*-ligature (besides rare instances of connected *ou*-digraphs), 1 *jer* (ѣ), ѣꙑ, 4 jusy (with ѧ҄[29]), CѣV/C*i*V[30], ѡ/шᵐ; line-endings usually V/ and only exceptionally C/[31].

PsDem-B: 2 *i*- (ѕ, and also ы word-initially), 1 *o*-graph, *ik* for /u/, 1 jer (ѣ), ѣѕ, 4 jusy (with ѧ҄), CѣV/C*i*V, ѡ/шᵐ; line-endings V/ and C/.

PsDem-C: 3 *i*-, 3 *o*-graphs, *u*-ligature, 2 jers, 4 jusy (with slight predominance of ѫѣ҄, ѿѣ҄ over ѧ҄, ѿ҄), ѣꙑ/ѣы, C*i*V, (ѡ)/шᵐ; line-endings V/[32] and C/.

Granting some differences both in the antigraphs of the relevant parts and in the scribes' behaviour and attitude towards these originals[33], we

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[28] Including the broad ѳ as an equivalent of cyr. ѻ, which is used also by the common scribe of EuchSin (cf. Stankovska 2000), MissSin (where it appears also instead of initial *omega*), and, possibly, the Petersburg fragments.

[29] I.e., the rendering of the front nasal vowel /ę/ in the reflexive pronoun сѧ.

[30] I.e., CѣV vs. C*i*V in forms such as желанъе vs. желание.

[31] Cf. Miklas 2008: 140 (group 3 instead of 5 according to new data). The same applies to MedSin and, possibly, MissSin-B, where there seems to be an exceptional example of ѣ҄ in [ꙗ]же҄ (f. 46v7).

[32] Also in unorthographic cases such as ѕслъ/ıши f. 28r13-4, and помъ/ıслишл f. 29r11–12.

[33] Cf. Temčin's statistical investigation of ѡ vs. шᵐ (Темчин 1998) and of the *o*-graphemes (Темчин 2004) in PsSin, which he bases on the division of *antigraph-centered* vs. *canon-centered* (i.e. *canonofugal* and *canonopetal*) scribes, on the basis of their preservation vs. alteration of antigraph-peculiarities according to their own

may conclude that C is the eldest scribe, A very close to him in age, and scribe B is the youngest among his brethren and less influenced by the Cyrillic (and indirectly, Greek) tradition.

Most of the cited features can also be found in other Glagolitic sources, but there is one feature we had not come across in them before, except for single instances in part A, B and C of PsSin[34], and in the Cloz-Miscellany[35], where they seem to be simply accidental. This is one of the renderings of /u/: While the other scribes write /u/ usually in the same way as the various hands of PsSin, i.e. as a ligature, scribe B regularly uses the so-called *ik*, the second component of the *ou* digraph, instead[36].

So far only Cyrillic counterparts of this rendering (ꙋ) have been observed, mainly in East Slavic sources from the 12th century onwards, and occasionally also in the earliest Zeta-Hum-codex, the Miroslav Gospel[37]. Even so, there is some Glagolitic evidence for comparison, namely the instances where /u/ is rendered by normal *ypsilon* (Slavic *ypostas*, later *ižica*). These instances appear in MissSin, and have already been treated in this context[38]. Thus, hand C of the MissSin writes, for example, ⱃⰻⰰⱅⱆ ⱄⰲⱁⰵⰿⱆ, ⱆⱄⱅⱏ, intermingled with some *u*-ligatures that were probably copied from his antigraph.

A similar and yet unique rendering of /u/ can also be attested in the second subscription by Demetrius at the top of f. 141r of the Psalter (fig. 1b), where he writes: ⱘⰵ ⰴⷬⱆⰻ ⰽⰻⱄⰘⱈ ⱄⰵ ⰽⰵ ⰻⰿⱏⱏⱑ (“I, Demetrius, wrote this, being unable”). As he confesses, at this time he was still quite illiterate in the Glagolitic script, and as a result he contaminated the *ypostas* form with the *ik*!

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orthographic school. In our corpus none of the scribes can be characterized as canonopetal (at least not in the same way as, e.g., the scribe of EuchSin and MissSin).

[34] I.e., von Arnim’s hands “A” and “B”; cf. Arnim 1930: 286–287, who, despite regarding such examples as omissions of *-o-*, observed that they are found only in portions where *mne* often stands for *mene* (see p. 287 sub Bc).

[35] See the facsimile edition by Dostál (1959) and the overall description by Schaeken and Birnbaum (1999: 112–114).

[36] Exceptionally the same occurs also in part A of our Psalter, cf. ⱁⰾⰻⱆⰻⱏ in the head-line of f. 141r1.

[37] See Pantelić 1985: 38; for the ms. see the edition by Родић, Јовановић 1986.

[38] At the Zagreb conference, cf. Miklas 2004.

Taken together, the evidence shows, that at a certain time and in a certain region, both "monographic" solutions for *u* co-existed and were mingled. While the *ik*-rendering can be seen against the background of the development of Cyrillic, the *ypostas*-solution seems to reflect a Latin influence, possible only in an area without direct Greek contact[39], where the Slavic pronunciation of the Greek *ypsilon* developed similarly to Slavic *ü* → *ju/'u*.

Better than other cited features the *u*-graphs can also serve as dating criteria, because of their wide variation. While the disconnected *ou*-digraph is typical of the most ancient Glagolitic manuscripts, i.e. the Kiev Folia and Zogr., the connected *ou*-digraph can often be found in the classical codices Mar., Ass., EuchSin and MissSin-A, the Ochrid Folia, Cloz., and the Rila-Folia (here already on the verge of becoming a ligature), and the *u*-ligature occurs throughout PsSin, in the later parts of MissSin (B, C), the Bojana and Zographensis palimpsests, and in early Croatian manuscripts such as the Vienna Folia and Mihanović's Apostolus[40]. Remarkable is its presence in the Glagolitic amulet of Varna[41] and the most ancient Croatian inscriptions[42].

Since Demetrius added his notes only after the Psalter had been finished, his graphic habits may also serve as a valuable base for the dating, cf.:

PsDem-X: 1 *i*- (ⱘ), 1 *o*-graph, *u*-ligature, 1 jer (ⰻ), ⰻⱘ, 4 jusy (with ⱔⰵ)[43], C*i*V, ⱙ; line-endings V/ and C/[44].

Judging by these data, the chronological distance between Demetrius and the scribes of the Psalter should be roughly the same as that dividing scribe B from C and possibly also from A: Thus, while B was probably Demetrius' contemporary, the two other scribes belonged to the generation before him. Speaking in absolute figures, Demetrius' portions may tentatively be dated to the last decade of the 11th century, whereas PsDem itself was probably written in the third quarter of the

[39] Except for certain archaic, peripheral dialects.

[40] For the latter mss. cf. esp. Велчева 1999: 101, 102, 138, 139–140 and bibliography.

[41] See Попконстантинов, Миклас 2009: 394.

[42] Especially the Bašćanska ploča and the recently found inscription of St. George's churchyard in the Župa of Dubrovnik, cf. the palaeographic overview in Čunčić, Perkić 2009: 84, 98, 103.

[43] However, on f. 1r of the Kiev Folia and in part B of MissSin (with the possible exception of [ⱏⱑ]жⰵ f. 46v7) the same scribe uses only three such graphs.

[44] See also unorthographic ѕслъ/ишитъ f. 1r5–6.

same century, a generation later than the PsSin. However, it must be acknowledged that establishing a chronology of OCS Glagolitic manuscripts still represents a major problem for the lack of dated sources[45].

2.4. In order to put the dating on a firmer basis and to shed some light on the provenance of the scribes, we will cast our view on their *phonology*. Among the general features of the three Psalter scribes, we find frequent examples of (1) the loss of the jers, (2) lowering of strong jers to /e/ and /o/, (4) denasalization of the back nasal vowel in /u/, and, less often, also (5) missing epenthetic *l* and (6) hardened or simply unclassified soft sonants[46]. In particular, examples of ю for ѭ are so common that we can compare the Psalter in this respect only with Cloz. and parts of PsSin. Both in part A and part B we find (7) some rare instances of *ę* ~ *e*. Only in the larger part A do we register also (3) examples of *secondary jers*, (8) *z* instead of *dzělo*, (9) *e* ~ *ě*, and (10) *i* ~ *jery*, which indicate uncertainty in the rendering of the relevant vowels. Many of these traits are also present in Demetrius' additions (X) which will therefore be treated together with the main parts.

To illuminate these features, let us cite the following examples:

A: (1) Смоцарѣтъ 100r19, в 145r6; (2) денъ 1v8, 58r6, 101r27 etc., честъно 80r18, правєдънаго 83v6, силене 56v19, конецъ 88v21, бже҃і 58r6 – but also восъ (денъ) 41v2, 56r19, 66r12, 13–14, 93v14, etc. (!); сонъ 130r9, Со 116r23, ѲГОДА 69r13, отоцвътетъ 105v26, прорѣнецъ 132r22 for *-prъ-*, морѣскоі 86v9, ѕемъноі 92r4, се/лъноі 105v25–26, лжѣ/жъноїї 107r8–9, прѣмѫдроїї 112v17, въѕнесѫто ї 112r22, Облъѣлоі / есі 97r16–17, etc.; (3) сѣломі

[45] In order to put it on a stable basis, we have worked out a quantitative approach to the relative dating on the basis of graphemic features which will be presented in our comparative analysis of the Sinaitic Glagolitic tradition.

[46] Forms like помолѫ сѧ are too widespread in mss. of different ages and provenances to be connected exclusively with a hard(er) pronunciation of the relevant sonant (cf. also, e.g., H. Kuna's comment in Damjanović 2002: 174). Thus, in early mss. we have to reckon with remnants of the old classification via supralinear (as in Zogr.), i.e. помолѫ̑ сѧ, cf. also the data in Diels 1963: 141–146, Arnim 1930: 220–225 and Гаджиева 2008.

111v19, сѫрѣтеніе 68v1 and нізъвс/де 86r11–12, нізъходатъ 112r10, обѫстоѣніѣ 112v20 with artifical opening of the syllable (vs. із домовъ 114r4, іс камені 86r11 etc.)[47]; (4) обидѧ 36r5, ѣростъю 49r14, тобою 49v9, въздѧ^ѧдоуѭ сѧ 71r21–22, Въспою 107v7, правжю 138r13, etc.; cf. also the reverse change in ЛЖ/ДѢМЪ A 72r13–14 (*lou-* Pog, *lju-* Bon[48]), and ижтрѧ 72v12 (*jutru* Pog., *utro* Bon.)[49]; (5) зємі 1v17, 71r5, 87r1, 131r23, 135r4, etc.; only exceptionally also ЗѢМѢ 101v25[50], G.sg. зємиѧ f. 69v21, отюпѣні 80r6, възлюбенаго 74v25, Любѧ(бѧ)щеі (!) 102r20, Із[в]авѣющаг-о-тъ 105v1, възлю/бені 113r6–7, възлюбеніе 113v17[51]; (6) ѣвлж 53v8, глж 56v11 etc., землж 79v25, 105r11 etc., грѣдъінж 82r10, огнѧ 87v5, съхранж 124v11, 125r6–7, поклонж / сѧ 133v9–10 etc., ворѫщеі сѧ 66r14, сіцарѧ 92r1; (7) ефрѧм- 69v5, 85v21, 89v6–7[52] (vs. ефрѣмотѣ 130r14), Бждѣтѧ 129v9; (8) стъзж 56r8–9, вра[ѕ]зі corr. 104v1, зѣло 106r20, 108v3, 112v8, etc.; (9) мѣне 52r23, тебе 37r6, 76v3, себе 53r5; (10) Оуслъі(слі)шаті (!) 104v25, ѕ/крілъ сѧ вімъ 65r22–23, скъінію 88r6 (скініж PsSin), L.sg. тъімѣнѣ 76r5 (тимѣнии Pog., Bon.); cf. also възїдѧе 86r23.

B: (1) възгорит / сѧ 3v9–10, створи 9v10; (2) ден 9r16; левъ 8r13, праведънаго 9r7, правъдень 9r9, 13–14, конецъ 11v4; собъраша сѧ

[47] Vs. нізовіеші f. 66v2, ісходіца f. 112r25, etc.

[48] Hereafter these abbreviations refer to the Psalter mss. edited or compared in Jagić 1907.

[49] See also the explication of на полї танѣвсѣ: Іма полжда_неосъ f. 86r4.

[50] It may be that the scribe intended to combine *m+l* into a ligature.

[51] Vs. благословдение f. 92v12, благ[с]влж f. 130v9 etc.

[52] So far registered only in PsSin еф(ρ)ѭмови, cf. Arnim 1930: 74 (scribe "B").

2v6, вꙋзъвахъ 4r7, отꙋ 8r10, вꙋ 8v7, вꙋнъми 5v11–12, тꙋштъ 8v3, таинꙋи/хъ 10v15–16, съ/мрътъвꙋихъ 12r14–15, гр҃шънꙋи 13v1–2, 5; (4) а҃шѫ моꙋ 8v5, 8v8, 11r13, въс/поꙋ 11r4–5, въздѫ/радꙋꙋ сѧ 11r3–4; осквръньꙋ/т сѧ 13v10–11; (5) зе/ми 8v6–7, 10r1, etc.; (6) помолѫ сѧ 5v15, избавлѫщꙋ᷑ 8r14, Възвеселѫ сѧ 11r3, поклонѫ сѧ 6r16; (7) мѫне 7r7.

C: (1) створи 15r19; (2) чѣстъю 10r19, правѣдьн/аго 15v4–5, правьдѣнъ 15v11, конѣць 24v15; отꙋ 16v18, 25v18, избавитꙋ и 30r4[53]; (4) моеꙋ 23v19; (5) земи 15r9, etc.; (6) авлѫ сѧ 21r12.

X: (1) отца, сна 1r2; (2) пѣсъ 2r9, дѣнъ 2r15, крѣстъ (bis) 3r16–17 при/шѣлъ 140r14–15; вонъзѫ 1r14, кротокъ 140v2; (3) изъбранъиѧ 144r3 (vs. ис капи 1r16); (4) hypercorrect ѫдѣлѣти 144r9–10; (5) земи 3r6, 140v17 (vs. вгословдени 140v1); (6) вседръж/ителꙗ 140v9–10, [г]лаглѫщ[ъ] 140r23, мл/ѫ 140v13–14; (7) ис-хѧ pro ис-хе 144r15; (9) *Jat* for *e* in дондъньшънѣго 144r13 (pro до дьнешьньго)[54]; cf. also *jat* for *ę* in A.sg. тѣ 144r5.

While most of these traits speak for the scribes' provenance from northern Macedonia, the instances of *z* instead of *dzělo*[55], of *-o-* in the place of the front jer in восъ, and of the back jer in forms like прѣмѫдрои, възнесѫтꙋ і[56] seem not to fit into this picture. Since the former are more typical of mss. from Eastern Bulgaria, they could be connected to the antigraph(s) from which the Psalter was copied. The latter examples, on the other hand, need not necessarily be the result of a normal linguistic development. Although *o* for both jers reminds us of certain Rhodope-dialects, and although *-oj* for **-ъjь* is present not only in the Slavic East, but also in Balkan dialects of the Thessa-

[53] Concerning the rendering of the jers, it seems that C is influenced by the so-called Jagić's Law, e.g., in вь лихвѫ 18v5.

[54] Obviously caused by haplography/contamination of *donьde(že)* and *dьnešьn-*; for ш in the place of ш see below.

[55] See alone Diels 1963: 128/2 and 47/39.

[56] They occur also in the parts "A" and "B" of PsSin, cf. Arnim 1930: 34, 39.

lonica region[57], these forms may also be explained partly palaeographically as unfinished *jor*[58], partly as a consequence of wrong word division in the copying process: вьсь дьнь → во съ денъ. However, we also note the resemblence of these examples to others in which *o* stands for the back nasal vowel: cf. хвало 63r4, 22, содꙗ, лѣпото 99v14, правъдо 102v5, пиꙗо 107r22, пѫти 119v21, дшо 138r8 in A, лѫкъ 9r19 in B, and сѫтъ 18v14, сѫдъба 19v18, 20r14, рѫцѣ 24v8 in C. Von Arnim also observed similar instances in parts "A" and "B" of PsSin, regarding them partly as mere blunders, and partly as a dialect feature of his scribe "B"[59].

If we consider also forms like і ѣзъ A 51r4, 104v7[60], ѣсвръ A 91v23, Ї ѣкрато/мъ 116v18–19 (cf. а҃крѡѡѡмъ Pog), ѣште A 56r13, 61v17, 65r21, 134r1 (bis), and C 17r15, 28r14, ѣвитъ C 21r15[61] in connection with rare examples of *a* for the back jer in азъ A 39v24, and of *i* for *jat* in прідъ A 101v6, L.sg. лиці A 145r6, we are tempted to place the origin of the relevant scribes rather in the adjacent area of Zeta-Hum instead. Accordingly we observe frequent examples of заютра A 60v3, ютро A 97v15, B 5v16, 17, and *u* for *o* in ікоунзы A 81v5, таиѣѕсѣ A 86r4, амоуниъ A 91v21, сллъ/мѕнѫ A 92r4-5, ерѡ/мѕнъ A 95v22-23, арѕн- A 103r10, 108v7, 117r17, 118r20, олокавътѕмата C 27v13, reminiscent again of PsSin, but also дѕмѕ A 63v21, 76v1, прізѕвемъ A 83r11. Furthermore, oscillations between voiced and un-

[57] Although examples for *-*ьjь* like говъзвюцеїхъ 75r12, говъзвю/цѕімъ 127v11–12 (vs. говъзоужѫ/цнймъ Bon) and заемодавецъ seem to point in this direction, cf. the discussion in Arnim 1930: 134–135, and Diels 1963: 64–69 (esp. fn. 2 on p. 65 and 5 on p. 68), and 194, where he registers *svętoi* to be rare in Mar., Zogr., EuchSin, and less rare in PsSin.

[58] Cf. Arnim 1930: 77sqq. with respect to instances like *vъznesetо sję*, *kоto*, *pokroich-* in PsSin.

[59] See the ample discussion in Arnim 1930: 68–73.

[60] Cf. the commentary on such examples in Arnim 1930: 181.

[61] Cf. also съѣстъ A 76v2 without *-n-*, indicating the pronunciation of an on-glide with *jat*. Concerning *jat* in post-consonantal position, we should mention мъ/ножѣшаıѣ A 86v16-17.

voiced consonants occur in Ѵеⷠбⷬравъдѫ A 81r1, сѫтъ/бѫ A 105v6–7[62], loss of bilabial /w/ in мъножъ/стѣ A 73r6–7, благовѣствующеі A 74v24, по мъно/жъствꙋ B 6v10–11[63], *u* for Greek *ypsilon* in скⷭменъ A 67r11, *сꙋрияⷬ*[64] A 69r14, ⷭпостасъ A 97r16, егюпетъ A 108v1, 109r5, егюпътѣ A 109v13, еѣюпътескъ A 131v2, еѣⷭпъте A 131v5 (esp. as in Cloz.), for homophonic Greek *οι* in ⷭникⷯсъ A 99v5 (vs. *i* in ипостⷯсъ A 134v17–18, for homophonic *jery* in давъıдⷭ A 95v4, скъıменъ B 20v16), *p* for Greek *phi* in асⷯпотов- A 60v23, АСⷯПОⷭ A 91v17, іосіповъı A 85r1, іосіпъ A 108r17[65], and assibilized чісовѣ A 92r2 for кісовѣ PsSin[66]. Probably to be cited under this rubric are also instances of *sc* instead of habitual *st* in аравъщı A 80r9, ѕемъщıı A 80r11 (vs. лива/нъсти 106v24–25, вавілⷭнъстѣ A 133r1 etc., ѕе/мъсти B 2v1–2)[67], the formes Смоⷦⷬрѣетъ A 100r19 for *-trěet-* Pog.[68], чловѣⷦⷬъска A 100r22 for чловѣчьска, Їⷦⷬрѣва A 115r1 for Їѕ чрѣва, ѕъдѣ A 104r26 for съдѣ, the *e* – *i* alternation in селомъскѫ A 88r6, еродово A 107r1 (cf. also Pog. vs. Bon *i*-)[69], the N.pl. сн̄овı A 70v10, 105r17, 114r1, 2[70],

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[62] Most of these features can be found in Dalmatian documents influenced by the Italian Beneventan tradition (see Novak 1980: 163), and in later Bulgarian mss. most likely influenced by the same tradition (cf. Miklas 1988: 450sqq.).

[63] See similar examples in part "B" of PsSin and the commentary in Arnim 1930: 235–236. Apart from the above-cited forms and instances like чловѣчъстıı 46v11, чл̄вчъстı 67v9, in A we observe also рᵃᵐстıтъ 75r4, отрⷱѕеши 63r3, ЧЄТЇРОКЪ 100r1, where the loss is not caused by the following bilabial.

[64] Cyrillic characters in the original are represented in italics.

[65] Corrected in іосіᶠово 88r1, while the scribe left епрѣмова in the same line.

[66] See also rare examples of *o* for *a* like кротꙋ/фома A 130r9–10 (vs. кротаф- PsSin), дѫбровъı A 130r15 (vs. *-a-* Pog, Bon).

[67] Contrary to PsSin, see Arnim 1930!

[68] Miklosich (1862–1965, s.v.) cites an example from Gorskij–Nevostruev and reconstructs съмаⷦⷬıати.

[69] In most other cases they appear in endings such as G.sg. камени A 86r11, небеси A 86v7 (cf. homographic D.sg. небеси A 86v2), and can be explained morphologically. Here, as in many other linguistic and/or textological instances, PsDem follows PsSin. See also 3.sg. Aor. ѕаповѣдѣ, unflected A.sg. мана, ѕападенъ, врашънⷭ сѫщю A 86v1, 3, 8, 15, to cite just a few examples.

[70] As in PsSin, parts "A" and "B", cf. Arnim 1930: 34, 40.

and людї A 105r3[71], and the relatively frequent replacement of short forms of personal pronouns to long forms[72].

On the other hand, there are also examples without glide such as а҃ростію A 38r15, а҃вѣ A 61r1, а҃вилъ A 62v5, а҃влѫ сѧ C 21r12, and of *a* for *jat* as in к҃ѳ҃оз҃а A 73v6, жа҃гаама A 73v8 (vs. Въсесъжѣга҃ма 73v12), бесе҃да 107v9, Въз҃іща҃те A 107v22 (vs. Въз҃їщѣте 107v21). Here too, these could be taken as interferences from the Old Bulgarian source(s) from which the relevant parts were copied. Most likely this is also the case with отвръз҃ъшю A 107r24, С҃творъшю҃мѵ A 132r13, 18, гото/ваюшт҃ю҃мѵ A 142v3–4, живѫщ҃ю҃емѹ B 12r4, с҃р҃ц҃ю C 15r4, благода҃тъвъш҃ю҃мѵ C 17r5, uncontracted forms like гр҃а҃дѫщ҃ю҃емѵ A 79r15 and отъемл҃ѫ/щ҃ю҃емѵ A 84r13–14 (although contraction predominates in various morphological forms: cf. въ/нез҃а҃пѫ A 81v1, въ обѣтова҃нı A 66v5, G.pl. съвѣда҃ѣнı A 125r19, Impf. благословл҃ѣхѫ, клън҃ѣхѫ A 70r23–24, ѕвїва҃ше A 86v23, etc.[73]), and the remarkable form ѭнъдор҃ѣ 92r3 (cf. the same form with -ь- in PsSin vs. ѐндор҃ѣ Pog., Bon. for ’Αενδών). Interference of Old Bulgarian is definitely the explanation for the instances of the use of ѫ for /š/ both in A (ѕслъı/щ҃ѫ 36r5–6, ꙁовѫ҃щтю 41v2, боѭщтımъ сѧ 69r22), and X (дондън҃ѣщънѣго 144r13), because this solution must have come into being in the late ninth century[74]. а҃/лъч҃ѫщ҃ѫ 111v6–7, алъч҃ѫщ҃ѭѧ 112v5, however, may be contaminations, whereas the rare instances of в҃ѫ/жемъ A 87v21–22 for

[71] See Mihaljević 2004: 629/20, 633.

[72] A special case is пono/слщїхъ тебе A 76v2–3, where we would expect тебѣ. Another interesting morphological example would be the L.sg. *věku* in the phrase пр҃ѣбъївлетъ въ вѣкѯ҃ A 115r17, if it was not a mere omission, cf. въ вѣкъ вѣкѯ: A 115v1.

[73] See Arnim 1930: 142sqq., 145sq., 259–261.

[74] See Miklas 2008: 145–146. Of course, as in most other cases, we cannot be sure how long this solution was still in (parallel) use after ѫ and щ had been finally connected with /št/. Remnants of this convention can be detected even in the fourteenth century.

ѫжемъ[75] and of the alternation beween the nasal vowels in важѫи X 1r8 (vs. важѧи 1r9)[76] may be more instances of interference from the Old Bulgarian source. As to the provenance of the antigraph(s), let us also mention the imperative даждъ 113r23 *et pass*., since the manuscript does not contain the marked form *daždi* typical of EuchSin and MissSin.

Naturally, as in other Psalter manuscripts, we also detect traces of the Moravian and/or perhaps Pannonian ancestor(s) from which the Old Bulgarian source derived, as in братр- pass., рѣснотѫ 51v24, and цѣстахъ 139r10 on the one hand, and on the other, СОБОТЪЇ 99v13, СОБОТѢ 100r1, алътар- 36r5, 54v13, алътарєвънъіхъ 119r9[77] vs. олътарь 63r18, and ѦѦ҆ѦѮѦ 105r22, 107v13, ѦѦ҆ѦѺѴѦ 116r26, ѦѦ҆ѦѮѢ 132r6 vs. ѦѦЇѦѺѴѪ 115r10, ѦѦІѦѮЇѢ 117r26, ѦѦЇѦѰЇѢ 141v1 or with rendering of the Greek "irrational *gamma*" according to the Glagolitic in ѦѦЇѦѮѪЇѢ 117v18, 10, 118r15, 119r16, and the Cyrillic tradition in ѦѦІѦѮГЇѢ 131r9[78].

2.5. As stated above, both the main scribes and the emenders also make use of the Cyrillic script. Even if we cannot always determine with certainty the scribe of the relevant passage, the frequency, function, and palaeographic features of the Cyrillic insertions vary considerably over the manuscript. While in older manuscripts such as Zogr. the rare use of Cyrillic letters is a natural consequence of bialphabetism and an eventual deliberate choice caused by deficiencies of certain Glagolitic characters, such as the preference of the form *T* for large initials in EuchSin and MissSin, in our manuscript the use of Cyrillic it is no longer confined to single letters. Apart from two instances of a (Cyrillic or Latin?) initial *M* (ff. 95r23, 103v1), as in early

[75] It seems the earliest example in a CS document originates from the Skopje Prolog; see Miklosich 1862–1965, 1163: вѫже; for modern equivalents in Bulgarian and Slovenian cf. BER 1: 201–202 (*въже*).

[76] See also the morphological change in Живѫи B 2v8 for -ѧи.

[77] So far unrecorded in OCS documents.

[78] See also ДѦѮГЇДѮЪ 102v23, левъгі/нъ 132r2-3, etc.

Croatian epigraphy[79], and some unmotivated changes, the deliberate use of Cyrillic predominates and is motivated mainly by aesthetic-technical reasons.

Thus, the majority of the headings in part C (ff. 18v, 19v, 28r, 28v, 29v, 32r, 32v, in addition to mixed instances as on ff. 21r, 26r) are written in Cyrillic majuscules forming a kind of early *vjaz'* (cf. fig. 5). This is in line with the Cyrillic influence on the graphemic habits of scribe C, such as the use of C*i*V, broad *o*, and *theta*.

Scribe B is less influenced by the Cyrillic tradition and uses the Cyrillic script only occasionally for whole words, as in the heading of f. 9v (ПСΛМ̄Ъ Д̄Б̄Х̄).

Similarly, part A contains only a few headings with Cyrillic words (toward the end of the manuscript on ff. 107v, 109r, 115v, 166r, 132v, 136r), and the ductus of these passages is quite irregular. One wonders why their scribe used the Cyrillic script at all, as we detect an awkward copying of the letter ⱗ resembling ⱂⱗ in the word *moja* on f. 107v13[80] and several wrong transliterations of Glagolitic characters in the antigraph, which do not speak in favour of his familiarity with the (Bulgarian) Cyrillic tradition. From the fact that he uses the Cyrillic script mostly for the words *slava* and *aliluia*, it becomes plain that for this scribe Cyrillic plays mainly the practical (or, rather, technical) role of a marker of liturgical rubrics (cf. Миклас 2005). The scribe's peculiar transliterations deserve our full attention (fig. 12):

(1) f. 69r14-15: ѿѦѯѲѡ҃ѿиⷭ҇ сѹрискѹ҆ѧ҇ сѹриѧ҇: совѣлѹ҆ѧ҇ и . /... солиштъскѹ҆-ѧ҇:– (for ѿѦѯѲ<ѡ҃>ѡ҃ѿиⷢ҇, сѹрискⷢ҇ѧ҇, совѣлⷢ҇, солиштъскⷢ҇)

(2) f. 70v21-22: ВЪ СПТЧИⷢ҇ ІДОУ/мⷣискѹ҆ѧ҇ (-стѹ҆ѧ҇?);– (cf. въ поустъıни ıдоумѣсцѣи PsSin, Buc., … йдоумѣйст·ѣй Bon.)

[79] As, e.g., in the Bašćanska ploča from the island of Krk, see http://www.svkri.hr/izlozbe/baskatablet.html and http://de.academic.ru/ pictures/ dewiki/66/ Bascanska_ ploca.jpg. In this context cf. also Žagar 2010: 175 and the distribution of Cyrillic inscriptions in the western Balkans, in Fučić 1997: 276.

[80] The result either of an antigraph variant of ⱗ with high horizontal, or, more likely, of the alternation of *g*- and *i*-graphs typical of the Beneventan tradition; see Novak 1980: 163 and Malić 2004: 551.

(3) f. 73r2: ПРѢКРАЩЄНІѺЄ (cf. ѡ въскрѣшени PsSin, вьскрѣшению Pog., Sof., Buc., въскрѣшенїꙗ Bon.)

While the first two passages obviously display separate renderings of the components of the nasal digraphs – first ѧє → сѧ, then ѧє → оѧ (in the third example already combined with a hyphen: о-ѧ) –, in the last passage both the form of the rendering (-ѺЄ, -ѺЄ or -Ѥ with enlarged loop?) and its function remain unclear. Morpho-syntactically we would expect the rendering of an antigraph -ꙗ, but formally the composition seems to imply -ѧє, even if its left side resembles the reversed Cyrillic оı in the correction of f. 95v24–25. Together with the instances of ꙗ in соуриискоѧ and соуриꙗ, this reminds us of the Macedonian Cyrillic Folio, where *ju* is always rendered with the Glagolitic ꙗ (see Hansack 1986: 342–346). On the other hand, the renderings of ѧє → сѧ and ѧє → оѧ indicate that in his transliteration the scribe followed the principle governing the structure of the Glagolitic compositions. This implies that he still knew the original function of the nasal indicator Ѥ (as in PsSin ѧѤгєл-), but was also acquainted with its new function and correlation with Cyrillic ѧ. While it remains puzzling why the scribe ventured to transliterate the Glagolitic character for the back nasal vowel immediately after writing (copying?) its normal equivalent in сптниѫ[81], we may conclude that he came from an area where the knowledge of the Cyrillic script in its Bulgarian variant was not widespread among the clergy.

3. One wonders in which tradition Demetrius started his literary education? Judging by his own words on f. 141r, he felt quite illiterate when he added his notes in PsDem, although Tarnanidis (1988: 96–97) has rightly stated that this scribe never mingles the Glagolitic with the Cyrillic system, unlike the main scribes of the Psalter[82]. Moreover, he strove to become (better?) acquainted with the other scripts that

[81] Cf. also съгрѧсѧѫщаго on f. 38v10.

[82] This is also true of his entries in MissSin and the Kiev Folia, which show a growing grasp of Glagolitic.

were used in his new surroundings. Thus, after finishing his first text with an invocation to his patron saint Demetrius of Thessalonica (f. 1r2–17), the scribe added the tripartite Greek, Latin and Glagolitic *abecedarium* (f. 1r20–25)[83]. In spite of his previous efforts, most likely documented also by a Latin alphabet in the older Sinaitic Psalter (Sin. slav. 38, f. 9v), his Latin ductus was not up to standard yet, so he engaged a nearby expert, who repeated the Latin alphabet on the next folio in more elegant minuscules (f. 2r upper margin – cf. fig. 7).

3.1. Since the majority of Demetrius' Greek and Latin characters are shaped similarly to Cyrillic majuscules, we shall turn to a Cyrillic trace which he left in a Sinaitic manuscript, i.e., the name list in the liturgical fragment which Porfirij Uspenskij (bifolio РНБ, глаг. 2) and N. P. Krylov (folio БРАН 24.4.8, Срезн. 55) took to St. Petersburg[84]. If Maria Pantelić was right, then the name list in the Uspenskij portion (currently f. 1v, but actually the verso side of the last of the Krylov-

[83] See Marti's extensive description (1999) and Veder's synopsis (2004: 376). These two scholars rightly note the close affinity of Demetrius' Glag. alphabet to the *Abecedarium Monacense*. Marti states that the latter is xenographic, but it must be conceded that despite some mistakes, the *AM* was apparently written by a scribe from the Western Balkans whose Cyr. forms strikingly resemble the ones we find in PsDem, esp. among the corrections; cf. the picture in Велчева 1985: 24 or Vajs 1932: 10/fig. 1. In part this is also true of the Glag. forms, esp. of *dzělo* with right-sided loop, and the specific *frt*-variant.

[84] See SK XI–XIII, No. 34–35. The old order of the folios, according to which БРАН 24.4.8 is the first, and РНБ глаг. 2 the second part of the fragment, was recently re-established; see Афанасьева 2005 and cf. Паренти 2009: 12. On the basis of its text and the head-ornament at the beginning of Krylov's folio, it has long been thought that it formed the beginning of an euchology (cf. SK XI–XIII, 76) which was sometimes identified with EuchSin (cf. Tarnanidis 1988: 66–70, Miklas 2008: 56/fn. 7). Other scholars divided it from EuchSin, partly because of slight codicological and palaeographical differences, partly because of its textological specifics (cf. Паренти 2009: 24–25, with reference to M. Arranz). Considering the new detection of parts of St. Basilius' and St. James's liturgies in MissSin (Паренти 2009: 23, 24), it seems that in the days of Demetrius the Krylov-Uspenskij fragment was part of MissSin. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the common scribe of EuchSin and MissSin uses the broad *o* as an initial both in MissSin and the Krylov-Uspenskij fragment, whereas in EuchSin he still uses *omega* word-initially. Unaffected by all this is, of course, the other Glagolitic liturgical fragment of St. Petersburg, РНБ глаг. 3 (SK XI–XIII, No. 36), which was transferred there by N. P. Kondakov and which is known to constitute f. 10 of the main part of EuchSin (Sin. slav. 37).

Uspenskij folios) represents a diptychon with *nomina defunctorum*[85] that displays many typical features of the Zeta-Hum redaction[86] (fig. 13): петрꙋ · павелъ · дм/итрꙋ · дмтр · петрꙋ / маркта · маріѣ : и/ванъ : семеон : кꙋзм : / павелъ : ћеоргћи : / масталъ : ана : пет/ꙗниѣ : софиѣ : *ро/малдꙋ*.

Mainly on the basis of the Western names *Mastalъ*, *Petruniě* and *Romaldъ*, the latter two of which she has identified with the saints *Petronilla* and *Romuald*[87], Pantelić is inclined to seek the origin of their scribe in the surroundings of Dubrovnik, most likely on Pelješac, and she ingeniously identifies the scribe with the priest who added the Glagolitic Paschalion in the same manuscript and wrote the first page of the Kiev Folia!

In the early 1980s Pantelić could not foresee that the same scribe would also be identified in two later-discovered manuscripts; otherwise she might have connected him with the second of the two *Demetrii* in the name list[88]. For the list is not homogenous: (1) among the

[85] See the comprehensive analysis in Pantelić 1985: 33–41.

[86] See also Miklas 2004: 392–393.

[87] Pantelić's identification of *Petruniě~Petronia – Petronilla* (1985: 34–35) is based, *inter alia*, on the fact that Petronilla's relics were transferred (together with the relics of four other saints) from Rome to Dubrovnik around 920. This hypothesis has been challenged by B. Velčeva (Велчева 1999: 107–111, here p. 110), who sees a second possible root in the common Bulgarian name *Petruna* (from Gr. Πετρώνια). Cf. also the male equivalent *Petronije* (from older *Petronij*), which is widespread in Macedonian Proscomidy lists (see Гергова 2006: 96, 97, 98, 129, 139), and hypocoristic *Petronja* in Croatian (see, e.g., Katičić 1999: 496, 498, 500). For *Mastalъ*, Pantelić could only think of It. *mastello* "barrel" and the toponym *Mastelica* (Vukovar area), while Velčeva has proposed a possible Slavic formation **maz-tъ* > *mast+al'ъ* > *mastalъ* (cf. драгалъ, *Radal*, *Černal*). Moreover, Werner Seibt/Vienna (personal communication to H.M.) has recently detected a Byzantine seal with the inscription *Masglav* (**mast-+glav-*?). Finally, Velčeva localizes the combination of the names John, George, Demetrius and Paul in the eastern rather than the western Balkans.

[88] Referring to Nahtigal (1925: 270), Pantelić (1985: 33) pointed to the rubric *Diěkъ diptucha o umerъšichъ. porъ tai* in the Petersburg fragment (here РНБ глаг. 2, f. 2v9–26 *des. mut.*, see the editions by Frček 1939: 610 and Nahtigal [2] 1942: 345) in order to support her statement that this is a diptychon with (Christian) names of the dead. Moreover, in the Petersburg fragment (РНБ глаг. 2, f. 2r23–v6) an interpolation in the liturgy of St. Chrysostom lists "our brethren who died in the faith" and divides them into ten different categories, starting with the Church Fathers and ending with "martyrs, confessors, fasters and every righteous spirit (soul) who has died in the faith"; see Паренти 2009: 16–18. Even so, the absence of an introduction makes it difficult to define the exact type of the list (cf., *inter alia*, the rubrics "Memento [Lebendengedächtnis]" and "Memento [Totengedächtnis]" of *Missa Mediaevalis*, at

17 names the first seven are separated from the others by the use of one versus two dots; (2) there are twelve men and five women; and (3) the last name is written in red, larger characters, in Pantelić's view[89] because it refers to Romuald of Ravenna, who exerted great influence on Benedictine monasticism in Dalmatia, and was thus particularly venerated by the author of the list and his community[90].

In the Sinaitic context Romuald stands together not only with the Roman martyr Petronilla (2nd/3rd c.) and the hitherto unidentified Mastal(us), but also with two monastic saints of Italian origin: abbot Aligernus of Monte Cassino († 986), to whom MissSin bears testimony (Tarnanidis 1988: 105), and the founder of the Grottaferrata monastery, Neilos of Rossano († 1004), to whose school St. Parenti

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http://www.uni-muenster.de/Kultbild/missa/, Гергова 2006: 11–15, and Шнитер 2009) and, in light of the specific punctuation, the different name groups in it. The whole complex deserves a comparative analysis that takes into account contemporaneous samples such as in Zogr. (cf. fn. 95). Since the name list appears in an ornamental frame heading the epicletic prayer of the Prothesis ascribed to St. Basilius (Афанасьева 2005; Паренти 2009: 12–16), on the recto side of which Demetrius had added the paschalion (РНБ глаг. 2, f. 1r, *olim* f. 3r of the whole Krylov-Uspenskij fragment), the entry may have been made in connection with the celebration of Easter or, rather, Pentecost (cf. also fn. 153). Thus, during his pilgrimage (dated 1104–07 or [earlier and rather unlikely] 1117, cf. Бибиков 2003: 46), at Easter Abbot Daniil prayed for the Rusian princes and princesses, their children, clerical and non-clerical dignitaries and all Christians, according to a list mentioned in his *Choždenie*, which he arranged to be copied in order to secure its commemoration in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (see Seemann 1976: 185; Podskalsky 1982: 199; Stavrou, Weisensel 1986: XXX).

[89] The question is whether this reference is to be understood directly or indirectly: if it refers to the saint as a patron, the namebearer may have been, for example, an abbot of one of the monasteries founded by St. Romuald. Even so, R. Nahtigal's determination that the last name was added somewhat later by the same hand (cf. Pantelić 1985: 33) need not be considered conclusive.

[90] See Pantelić 1985: 33–34 and Katičić 1999: 411sq., 425 (with bibliography). Born around 952 in Ravenna, and died on June 19th, 1027 in Val di Castro, Romuald became a monk at S. Apollinare in Classe, from where he went to Venice, Catalonia (S. Michele in Cuchá) and back to Italy (987/8). After a short period as abbot of S. Apollinare in 998/9, he moved to various places and founded numerous hermitages and monasteries, among them Camaldoli, the later centre of the rigorous Benedictine branch of the Camaldolese. See also Freund 1994; Stadler, Ginal 1996: 133–136; Schaubner, Schindler 1999: 626; Köckert 2010; Frank 1999; and Alberigo 1996. In contrast to St. Romuald of Ravenna, other well-known namesakes, such as the archbishops Romuald I (1121–1136) and Romuald II (1153–1181) from Salerno, seem to be too late and hardly relevant in the given context; see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Romuald_I_(Archbishop_of_Salerno), http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Romuald_von_Salerno, and Loud 1985: 281.

has attributed the Italo-Greek liturgy of St. Peter, which was first translated for MissSin (Паренти 1994; Паренти 2009: 22–23, 26). Since Romuald spent some time at Monte Cassino[91], where he was also entreated to conduct a mission to Hungary[92], and Neilos was given a shelter for his flock by Aligernus in the monastery's metochion at Valleluce[93], these three figures are connected with Monte Cassino. Monte Cassino and Romuald's Camaldolese centre played a major part in the Benedictine reforms in Dalmatia during the 11th century. Romuald's pupil Gaudentius became bishop of Osor (1020–1042) on Cres and founded several monasteries in Northern Dalmatia, among them the monks' monastery of St. Peter and the nunnery of St. Mary, and one of his Cassinense contemporaries, Peter of Tremiti, is said to have erected a monastery in the name of the Virgin on the island of Lokrum opposite Dubrovnik in 1023[94]. During the second half of the 11th century the founding of Benedictine monasteries greatly increased and was often influenced by Camaldolese monks.

Turning back to the name list, for which Demetrius may have chosen the Cyrillic script for practical reasons[95], we notice that it shares

[91] According to Franke 1913: 209, between 999–1000 in a nearby hermitage. Although Romuald had studied Eastern asceticism from the works of John Cassian and others, it was only here that he came under the direct influence of Greek monasticism and encouraged his pupils to go to Egypt, Syria, Mt. Sinai and Mt. Athos in order to conduct ascetic studies (ibidem, pp. 120sq., 135, 155–158; cf. also Ciggaar 1996: 256–257).

[92] Which according to Peter Damiani's vita (see fn. 147) he started in 1015 together with 15–20 companions, but from which he had to retreat soon for reasons of health. Köckert (2010: 12, 19–21) doubts whether this mission ever occurred, as missionary work was not part of Romuald's anachoretic ideal. Thus at Pereum in 1001, before his departure to Istria, Romuald had to be convinced very hard by Emperor Otto III and Brun of Querfurt to send his pupils John of Monte Cassino and Benedict of Benevento to Poland, where they were slain shortly thereafter. Even so, since the Kiev Folia are claimed to be written in a "Greek" monastery in Hungary, it should be mentioned in this context that King Stephen I opened the pilgrimage route to the Holy Land a few years later and founded a hostel in Jerusalem (see the entry of K. Bakay, in: Reuther 1999: 550–551, and Röhricht 1901: 10–11).

[93] Where he spent the years 979–994 and composed a kontakion on his patron, St. Neilos of Sinai (N. the Elder of Ancyra), cf. Beck 1977: 607–608. The majority of his fellow monks remained at Valleluce, where St. Peter's liturgy was composed (St. Parenti, personal communication to H.M.). Cf. also Frank 1998.

[94] See Katičić 1999: 411–413; cf., however, Klaić 1967, who considers the early dating to be based on a falsification (written communication by J. Reinhart, Jan. 2011).

[95] As the deacon who was going to recite them may not have been accustomed to the Glagolitic script. The same applies, for example, to two name lists of Slavic (f.

many features of Demetrius' Glagolitic entries: *jor*-redaction[96], ѣ for ѣ, one *i*- (ѯ) and *o*-graph, *g´een'na* in ћеоргъћи, C*i*V, line-endings on consonant, and *e* for the front jer in павєлъ. The only difference is the *ik* for /u/ instead of the ligature ȣ in пет/рунивъ[97] and кузъм, probably under Latin influence[98]. Furthermore, both forms show the typical rendering of the relevant foreign vowels in early Croatian[99], while the *e*-rendering (of /i/ for Gr. *y*) in сємеон is rather unspecific and cannot be traced back to a specific origin. Typically Croatian again is the vernacular stem *Kuzъm* (instead of *Kozma/Kos'ma*) which is built on the Latin form of the name[100]. The same applies to *Mastalъ*, which apparently derives from Lat. *Mastalus* or It. *Mastalo*. Most relatively well known medieval bearers of this name are from Amalfi[101], namely the

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76v) and Greek (f. 224v) nuns and monks in Zogr., written in hanging Cyrillic of the 11th/12th cc., cf. V. M. Zagrebin's renderings in SK XI–XIII, 60 (sub 3–4) and the facs. of f. 224v in Загребин, Левшина 2009: 488. Similarly, certain notes in OCS-Glag. mss. are written in a simplified Cyrillo-Greek orthography in order to be understood by non-Slavic readers (such as illuminators), cf. Станчев 2000.

[96] As in the oldest Croatian epigraphic sources, whereas a few of the earliest mss. are still written in a two *jer*-redaction; see Mihaljević 2000.

[97] Although modelled on Lat. *Petronia*, from which the hypocoristic form *Petronilla* derives, the vernacular form *Petrunija* may have been chosen in correspondence to the Croatian male hypocoristic form *Petrunja/Petronja* often found in the period, cf. fn. 87.

[98] And possibly a concession to the simplified Cyr. redaction of epigraphy and diplomatics, as we observe it also as a variant in the first large Cyr. inscription in St. John's monastery on Brač from the late 12th c., see Katičić 1999: 543–544.

[99] See Pantelić 1985: 38 and Šimunović 1997: 402sq.

[100] Following the same model, according to which Slavic *opatъ* and Engl. *abbot* derived from Lat. *abbat(em)*, cf. the contaminated G.sg. косъмъта (from *Kosъm(ъt)*, *-ta* for vernacular *Kuz'm(ъt)*, *-ta*) in the Bašćanska ploča. (Although the transcripts of this source contain a few misreadings due to mistakes of the stonemason, who rendered ѧ and ѫ alike, carved PR(I)NEBGA for PR(I)NEBŽA in line 6, and SIT for SIJu in line 10, this name has been transcribed correctly; see, e.g., Katičić 1999: 488sq., and Damjanović 2002: 192–196.) The form *Sveti Kuzam* is found several times as a toponym, e.g., in Bakar south of Rijeka.

[101] See http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/SOUTHERN%20ITALY,%20PRE-NORMAN.htm#_Toc145141787. According to Skinner (1995: 50–51), Mastalus I ruled with his father Manso from 900 until the latter retired in 914 and retreated to the monastery of St. Benedictus at Scala. He erected the dome of Amalfi by 937. Mastalus II also ruled first with his grandfather after his father John had retired in 947. Apart from general ties between the Amalfitans and the Byzantine Balkans, in both cases we are left to speculations: Mastalus the elder may have been connected with

two patricians – Mastalus I (prefect 914–953/4), and his grandson and successor, Mastalus II (prefect 953–957, duke 957–958), who was assassinated only a year after his coming of age –; and bishop Mastalus (960-ca. 987)[102]. Nearer to the Croatian lands is bishop Mastulo or Mastalo of Sabena (Sabiona/Säben in Southern Tyrol)[103], who is dated to the 7th century, when his bishopric was still under the rule of Aquileia, before being associated with the archdiocese of Salzburg[104]. He is known for his vehement struggle for the reunification of the Aquileian patriarchate. For lack of further information it is difficult to determine which Mastalus could be meant; we will return on this shortly.

An interesting entry which may be interpreted as a short name list occurs also in the old part of PsSin (Sin. slav. 38 f. 23r). This time it was not Demetrius who wrote it, but a scribe close to the main scribes of PsDem, who mixed Glagolitic and Cyrillic characters (fig. 14)[105]: ⱅомалѣкавар҃ъ – *Toma Lukavarъ* or *Toma Luka Varъ<nava*?> (Barnabas?)[106]. However, on f. 9v in the same manuscript there is a marginal

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Aligernus, who was prior of Capua before leading his brethren back to Monte Cassino after a Sarazene raid. Mastalus II, again, may have maintained relations with Neilos of Rossano, who had lived in Naples before going to Monte Cassino.

[102] The ninth bishop of Amalfi with residence at Scala, where Mastalus' I father Manso had spent his last years, cf. http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_ der_Erzbisch%C3%B6fe_von_Amalfi. In the 11th c. his indirect successor, archb. Laurentius of Amalfi (1030–1049), who had been a Monte Cassino monk (1011–1030), gained great influence as the teacher of Hildebrand, the later reformist Pope Gregory VII and follower of the Cluny movement, cf. Holzmann 1947 (http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Laurentius_von_Amalfi) and Fuhrmann 1978: 60–61.

[103] According to his mention in *De ordine conprovincialum pontificum*; see Sinnacher 1821: 204sq., 216–218, and Wolfram 1986 : 43 (http://prosopographie-id.de/Datei.htm). Cf., however, fn. 150!

[104] Retaining, however, its house in Aquileia until the 13th c.

[105] Letters ⰾ and ⰰ, while the third letter is a strange, latinized ⰽ, cf. the facsimile-edition of Altbauer 1971. The ⰽ resembles the ones in the additions and corrections of PsDem, where ⰽ and ⱅ cannot always be distinguished easily (as in the above-cited example ⰻⰴⱁⱆ/ⰿѣиⱄⰽⱁⰰ [-ⱄⱅⱁⰰ?] on f. 70v20). Palaeographically von Arnim (1930: 4–5) was inclined to identify the hand with scribe B of the surrounding part (ff. 10r–39v). He also notes that this scribe uses far more Cyr. characters than any of the other scribes.

[106] Following Sever'janov, von Arnim (ibid.) proposed the reading *Toma Lukavarъ* which seems less plausible because surnames rarely occur in such documents. If this were the case, the Hungarian component *vár* (hence *Lukavarъ* "Portsburg/castle", cf. *Vukovar* "Wo(o)lfsburg") would indicate a Croatian, rather than Serbian, origin for the scribe.

note which is most likely by Demetrius, as it consists of another two attempts to write the Latin alphabet, in crude letters (fig. 15)[107].

Taken together, the data concerning Demetrius' entries are not fully conclusive. While the contents of the Cyrillic name list, the prayer to St. Mary in the Kiev Folia[108], the address to the Holy Virgin in PsDem, and certain graphemic features of the Cyrillic and Glagolitic additions typical of the Zeta-Hum redaction (but valid also in the Croatian neighbourhood[109]) speak in favour of a Benedictine priest from Dalmatia, other linguistic features and the specifics of the Latin abecedaria do not seem to fit into this picture, as we would expect a Croatian clergyman to have a firmer grasp of the Latin system. Yet it has to be conceded that a weak knowledge of Latin was one of the arguments brought forward against Glagolitic priests of the relevant period[110], and that Demetrius obviously received at least this part of his education rather late and outside his home surroundings. But if we grant that the fellow monk who inserted the second Latin alphabet in PsDem participated in his teaching, we cannot but note that the Carolingian minuscule of his Sinaitic teacher is not in line with the Beneventan style widespread in Southern Dalmatia at the time. While this might be explained by the specific provenance of this scribe and/or his attitude toward Church politics[111], it seems more difficult to account for the Bulgarian traits in the language of Demetrius' Glagolitic entries. As in the case of scribe A and one of the emenders of PsDem, who were better versed in the Latin script, we have to reckon here with influences of Eastern and Western scribal traditions and from the vernacular.

Demetrius' Glagolitic norm was obviously an Old Bulgarian redaction[112]. If he found this norm in his sources, comparatively young forms

[107] Furthermore, on f. 169v11-15 we find a long correction which, according to its palaeographic features, derives from the period of PsDem, if not from one of its scribes himself.

[108] f. 1r21–27, cf. Pantelić 1985: 27–29 and Німчук 1983.

[109] See, *inter alia*, the discussion in Damjanović 2002: 161–164, 171–174.

[110] Especially by the Split Synod of 1059/60, not impartially described by archdeacon Thomas; see Katičić 1999: 475sqq., esp. pp. 480–481.

[111] Although the *Beneventana*, which had spread from southern Italy, esp. Monte Cassino, was the normal script of the period in Byzantine Dalmatia, its Carolingian counterpart could sometimes be found in the same scriptorium; see Novak 1980: 144sqq., esp. pp. 148sq., 221–222. Certain documents indicate, however, that the latter was also used for political reasons; see Katičić's commentary on the Chartulare of St. Petrus in Selo (1999: 452).

[112] See Велчева 1999: 94–95.

like важѫи (PsDem f. 1r8) would indicate that the relevant antigraph was written by a rather late scribe[113], even if its text may have dated from an earlier period. Only in a few instances do we find constructions which exhibit non-Bulgarian features and obviously derive from Demetrius' vernacular, although the lexical material may have been partly borrowed from an older source (such as the Protobulgarism *карь* in the second of the following examples, cf. Добрев 1990: 23, and Велчева 1991: 95). This is the case in Demetrius' remark писахъ [ж]<є с>є /...: в свѣто мѷи[иѫ] on f. 1r18–19. Viewed together with the prayer passage и ножъ в/ъ чрѣнѣ чрѣнѣ вонъѯѫ въ / капи своа on f. 1r13–15, and the hypercorrect form ѫдєлѣти for ѹдєлѣти on f. 144r10, the underlined phrases seem to reflect the Štokavian construction *vъ=u* with the A.sg./L.sg.[114]. Thus they may be understood as "on St. Mary's (day)" or "at St. Mary's", and "in the black handle", respectively[115].

In the broader context of our manuscript, it is interesting to note that nowadays the form *črěn-*[116] is rather untypical of Bulgarian as well as Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian dialects (which usually show initial *cr-*), while it is normal in Slovenian[117]. The case reminds us of *črěmošъ* "allium ursinum" in MedSin 141bv5[118], where it evokes the

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[113] Compare, however, similar examples in earlier mss., including Zogr., Ass., Sav. and the Menaion palimpsest of the manuscript Sofia, НБКМ 880 (Христова-Шомова 2009: 21), and see Добрев 1990: 22!

[114] At least if we compare the variant ножь ѹ чрынъ чрѣнъ in a later Serbian ms. from the Prilep area, where *črěnъ* is definitely not inflected as an *u*-stem (like *domъ* in въ д[ом]ѵ симона прока/женаго on f. 140v4); see Kovačević 1878: 278 (we are grateful to J. Reinhart for pointing us to this source), who in fn. 3 remarks: "Crnokorcem nožem i sad se često baje u Srba", and cf. *Rečnik SKJ* 6: 824 (sub *црнòкорац*).

[115] In the first instance we can rule out the possibility of an exclamation with the interjection *u*, as the latter is usually connected with *gorje* or *ljutě* and there is no doubt about the ending -иѫ.

[116] Except for the parallel mentioned in fn. 114, Church Slavonic *črěnъ* seems to be recorded so far only in Russian manuscripts, cf. Miklosich 1862–1865: 1125 („manubrium"), and Срезневский 3, s.v.

[117] See only Геров (5) 1904: 529 (*црѣнъ*); Skok (1) 1971: 273; Vasmer–Trubačev (4) 1973: 340 (*черен* I), and Bezlaj (1) 1976: 87.

[118] While *čremoš* can be found in certain Slovenian dialects, *čremuš* is also present in Kajkavian and Čakavian Croatian dialects; see Bezlaj (1) 1976: 87 (sub *čre-*

impression of a Pannonian layer. While the alternation *čr* ~ *cr* is widespread in Balkan Slavic dialects, at least since the 14th c., in MedSin[119] we observe also the rendering of the strong front jer as *o* in ꙁ҉ѻ҉дъ 141br14 (for ꙁьдъ, Rosenschon 1994: 333), in addition to мѻ҉кѫ for мѫкѫ 141br3 and the unique attestation of the N.sg. кръı 141ar15[120].

Up to now we have been accustomed to detecting Pannonian traits only in religious texts translated in the Cyrillo-Methodian period. Even if part of MedSin is surely based on an earlier layer – to which the archaic form *kry* might belong –, this is a text concerning everyday

mož), Skok (1) 1971: 272–273 (sub *cremuža*); Vasmer–Trubačev (4) 1973: 339 (sub *черемша*), and Rosenschon 1994: 325.

[119] For an overall characterization, see esp. Birnbaum, Schaeken 1997: 147–148; Schaeken, Birnbaum 1999: 122–124; Велчева 1991 and 1999: 95 with bibl.; cf. also the reading version of MedSin in Славова, Добрев 1995: 66–67. For further information on Old Slavic medical treatises, see Чолова 1988: 286–334; Милтенова, Кирилова 1994, and Anguševa 2005. Even if the authors of the extant editions have tried to emend Tarnanidis' transcription, none of the renderings is reliable. Here we will add only the most important corrections: ко/рение 141av5–6, дрожджьꙗ привлꙁа/ти br3–4, Ѻтоцѣ брѣстѣнъ br6, жлъ҃цъ br10, прилоⷪити br12, Ѧціе *вꙁ ꙁѫбъие чр҃/в*[л]е ѣдатъ bv15, чашѧ 141cr10, цѣлѫ cv11. MedSin was written by a single scribe who possibly continued adding his prescriptions over a longer period. In spite of several similarities (e.g., instances of closed ϵ and є, "Latin" к, failure to differentiate between Glag. *t* and *d*, Cyr. insertions on 141bv15–16, cr1, forms like пѣ҉съ pass., бѣсе҉нъ 141ar20, мѣ҉двѣждѫ 141cv8, кор҉днъе 141bv1, глават҉ı ar11, конъскı br8-9, бѣлı br9, Ѧоуг҃ъ ar11 instead of *-k*) this scribe differs both palaeographically and graphemically from all the scribes in PsDem and is probably somewhat older than Demetrius.

[120] While the oscillation *ž* – *z* in ꙁлъчъ 141cv7 for *жлъчъ, registrated by Rosenschon (ibidem), seems to be irrelevant here, since *z*- in this word is still normal in the OCS mss. and the latter form is actually to be read as жлъ҃цъ, cf. below. On the oscillation *ž* – *z* as possible interference from the spoken language in Romance- (and Italo-Greek-) Slavic contact zones see Novak 1980: 163 and Miklas 1988: 450–452 (with Vakareliyska [2] 2008: 230–234). It is interesting to note that part B of PsSin shows *nevě҉zestva*, *҉zjupelъ* besides *sъchodję҉ste/i* and Moravisms like *osvję҉c*<*enie*>, *rěsnota*, the Moravopannonism *cirъkovь* etc., cf. Arnim 1930: 195–196. Also the alternation *č* – *c*, mentioned by Rosenschon (1994: 333) in connection with жлъщъ 141br10, cannot be taken for granted as the form was corrected by the scribe to жлъ҃цъ. Contrary to her hint at Novgorodian "Cokan'e", *c* for *č* can also be found in Southern Slavic, esp. in 17th c. "Illyrian", see e.g. потлаце, цас, маценикѡ҂ in Filip Stanislavov's *Abagar* of 1651 (Райков 1979) and cf. the recent discussion of the problem in Христова-Шомова 2009: 21 (i.a. with reference to Ивић 2001), and fn. 23.

life and written for a broader public[121]. Thus it appears to be the result of a lively contact that could have taken place only in a bordering area of Croatian and Slovenian dialects, namely on Istria. The most probable location is Dvigrad (Dvagrad/Dvograd, It. Duecastelli/Docastelli) in the Kanfanar district, which was renovated by Benedictines in the second half of the 10th century and where Romuald is said to have restored the abbey of St. Petronilla[122].

Two generations later, in the course of the struggle between the followers of the reformist Pope Alexander II (1061/64–1073) and his pro-German antagonist Honorius II (1061/64–1072), who opposed the decisions of the Split Synod of 1059/60 abolishing the sole use of the Church Slavonic liturgy in favour of the Greek and Latin liturgies, Istria and the Quarner islands became the long-lasting refuge of the Croatian *glagoljaši*[123]. While future analyses will have to elucidate the question of how our "Glagolites" were involved in these events, some of the riddles which we have encountered above may already be answered by Slovenian influence.

As to the other names mentioned in Demetrius' list, quite a few of these can be identified as patron saints of churches and monasteries located either in the Kanfanar district itself, such as Sofia (Dvigrad) and Peter (Kacavanac), or in its near surroundings, as is the case with Cosmas (and Damian) at Kršikla (Chersicla/Carsicola), George the Elder at Plomin (Flanona), Symeon at Guran near Vodnjan (Dignano), Anna at Grdoselo (Gherdosello/Gardassel, Castelverde di Pis), and

[121] As they contain also specific prescriptions for females and children; see Rosenschon 1994: 331. This does not necessarily mean that its compiler belonged to the "white" clergy, even if this may have been the case, as a decision prohibiting monks from providing medical services came into being only in 1130; see Dürrigl 2004: 368, 372.

[122] Cf. Pantelić 1985: 33–34, with bibliography. Furthermore, in 1001–1002 Romuald is said to have erected St. Michael's (Mihovil's) monastery above the Lim fjord, after which he retired for some time to caves in the fjord itself (some 3.5 km off Kanfanar).

[123] Which also found political support in the foundation of the Dalmatian March by Ulrich of Weimar-Orlamünde in connection with the Carniolan lands; see Katičić 1999: 481–482; Halm, Ferluga, Rapanić 1986. For the antecedents, see also the article by B. N. Florja in: Флоря, Турилов, Иванов 2004: 293–310.

others[124]. Missing in this series, however, is the patron saint of our scribe Demetrius[125]. Therefore M. Pantelić (1985: 36) was surely right in thinking that he belongs to the South, where, in addition to Petronilla, she found also the following six names of patron saints: Mary, Cosmas (and Damian), Demetrius, George, John, and Peter. This interpretation is supported by the palaeographic features of Demetrius' Glagolitic entries[126], the graphemics in his Cyrillic name list, the construction ѕ сѣ̀то мр҃и[ѥ҃] discussed above, and, possibly, the specific form *stap-* "scipio, baculum" (here "baculus pastoralis"?) in the phrase [д]а постиг[н]ѫ с[т]а/[п]и о дѣснюѫ on f. 140r20–21. Although Tarnanidis' reading ста/ти (1988: 91) is to be preferred morphologically and phraseologically (cf. similar constructions, e.g. in the *Vita Methodii*, ch. 7, in *Slovník* II, 475sq. sub v. *děsnъ*), the palaeography suggests *stap-*. Initial *st-* in this word has been attested mainly in an area covering Zeta and adjacent parts of Albania and Northern Macedonia, whereas the other South Slavic testimonies usually show initial *št-*, *šć-* and *šč-*, respectively[127]. Nevertheless, from all that has

[124] Many of these contained Glagolitic epigraphic sources, such as the Plomin tablet and the inscription of Grdoselo; see Damjanović 2002: 189–190, 198–199.

[125] Still, we have to bear in mind that in the area there is a wide range of ruins of unknown history, and that some of today's sacral monuments bearing the name of the relevant saints are too recent to be important here (e.g., the monastery of St. Peter *u Šumi*, built around 1130, or St. Silvester's church of Kanfanar from the 13th c.), but that they may have had predecessors. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that there are also other possibilities of tracing the names (see also fn. 153): The place where the new finds were made in 1975 is believed to be the Chapel of St. George. The Katholikon of St. Catherine, until the early 14th c. still known under its former name as the monastery of the Holy Virgin of the Burning Bush (Walsh 2007: 42), contains nine chapels, three of which are dedicated to St. Anne, Ss. Cosmas and Damian, and St. Symeon Stylites, respectively.

[126] Cf. also the comparison of Demetrius' entry in the Kiev Folia with the newly discovered inscriptions in the relevant area, in Čunčić, Perkić 2009.

[127] See Skok (3) 1973: 412 sub v. *štap*, who regards the forms with initial *st-* as contaminated with Old High German *stap (-b)*, while others compare it to Vulgar Latin *stapio(nem)*; the ending *-i* (hence N.sg. **staрь*) in our case would speak for the latter interpretation. Младенов 1941: 607 notes Old Bulgarian штапъ and стапъ, whereas Miklosich 1862–1865: 881 finds this word attested only in later Serbian sources. For Bulgarian, Геров (5) 1904: 252 cites *стапъ*, and Илчев 1974: 477, 580 gives both *стап* and *щап*, but these attestations can hardly be closely compared to **staрь*.

been said in this context so far, it is clear that the area in question can only be Zeta, in those days still called D(i)ocle(i)a (Duklja), which, since the time of Prince John Vladimir († May 22, 1016 at Prespa)[128] had been a crossingpoint for Byzantine, Western and Bulgarian cultural influence. After Bulgarian and Byzantine domination, it was Protospatharios Michael (c. 1055–1080/81) who, on the basis of a renewed treaty with Byzantium, managed to reign the country independently and to enlarge his realm far to the north. Whether he subordinated himself to Pope Gregory VII in order to receive royal insignia, like his Croatian contemporary Demetrius-Zvonimir two years earlier, is still a matter of debate[129]. A ktitor's fresco of Michael wearing a king's crown, however, is still preserved in his patron's church at Ston on the Pelješac peninsula[130]. As Diocleia, at least *de facto*, had remained under the jurisdiction of Dubrovnik until 1089[131], the exact location which Pantelić has proposed for Demetrius may well be accurate,

[128] John Vladimir (or, in today's Montenegrinian view, Vladimir I), after his surrender to the Bulgarian Tsar Samuil around 1008/09, is said to have married Samuil's daughter Theodora Kosara (according to others a misidentification of the daughter of Theodoros Chryselios, Archon of Dyrrachium/Drač; see http:// fmg.ac/Projects/ MedLands/BYZANTINE%20NOBILITY.htm#_Toc20458371, ch. 6), and to have regained his rule as Samuil's vassal. For his Latin vita, an abridged version of which is preserved as ch. 36 in the Chronicle of Diocleia, see: Ћирковић (1) 1981: 166–167, 168–169, 170–171; Данчева 1985: 620–622; Podskalsky 2000: 63, 355sqq., 488; Живковић 2002; see also the new data about the Chronicle in: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chronicle_of_the_Priest_of_Duklja. For a Sinaitic icon of this first Serbian martyr see Острогорски 1935 (presently unavailable to us) and cf. Dobrev 1989-1990: 163sq.

[129] What we know for sure is that in the struggle for his own archbishopric, Michael applied to the pope, who offered in early 1077 to clear the status of his church and *honor regni* in Rome; see Ћирковић 1981: 181, 186sq., 189, 193; Podskalsky 2000: 85. For the further history see, i.a., http://en.wikipedia. org/wiki/Duklja.

[130] Although the fresco cycle Michael had commissioned when renovating the church is not preserved in its entirety (the remnants show St. John the Baptist, St. George, St. Stephen the Archdeacon, and the Evangelists), art historians speak of a Benedictine model and a clear Southern Italian influence (Vujičić 2007); see, *inter alia*, http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/160/, and Vujičić's entry at http://www.montenegrina.net/pages/pages1/likovna_umjetnost/rajko_vujicic_srednjovjekovno_slikarstvo_u_cg_11vijek.html (with a plate). For Ston's longlasting relations with Jerusalem and Sinai see Сперанский 1927: 63–64, 69–70, 71, 75, 76.

[131] See Новаковић 1981: 274–275; Ћирковић 1981: 188, 189, 195; Podskalsky 2000, 85sq.

although with the modification that Pelješac was hardly his birthplace and definitely not the location where he wrote his entries, but instead a place where he probably spent a crucial time of his life.

Keeping this in mind and taking into consideration the differences among the scribes of PsDem, MedSin, and Demetrius, on the one hand, and the variation within Demetrius' own entries, on the other, it seems very likely that there are two groups of scribes: a northern group coming from Istria and characterized mainly by their knowledge of Latin and Latin palaeographic traits; and a southern group originating from Diocleia, rather illiterate in Latin, but with a firmer grasp of Cyrillic. Of this group, the predominant representative was Demetrius.

Concerning Istria, we should add that there is a small place in the northwest called Mastelici (Mastellici/Mastelići), whose name may derive from an earlier Mastalici/Mastalići, as it is obviously connected with this family name[132]. But since the relevant bearer of the name Mastal is probably bishop Mastulo of Sabena, the partial correspondence between the names Mastelici and Mastal may turn out to be coincidental. Hardly coincidental, however, is the above-mentioned Amalfitan connection, which needs to be further elucidated. Thanks to its excellent connections with the Byzantine Empire, the sea republic Amalfi had founded its own quarters in Constantinople as early as in the tenth century, with a church and the monastery "Santa Maria Latinorum", and the Monastery of St. Mary of the Amalfitans on Mt. Athos[133]. Moreover, through its good relations also with the Arabs, in the eleventh century the Amalfitans restored "Santa Maria Latina" Church in Jerusalem, to which they added a convent with a hostel

[132] Among the bearers of the family name Mastalici the following may be connected with the naming of this place: the mighty ninth-century Venetian landowners Mastalici, who are mentioned as leaders of the uprising against the 12th doge, Giovanni I. Partecipazio (829–832, † c. 836); see http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Giovanni_I._Partecipazio; and in the 10th c. Laurentius Mastalico, one of the patriarchs of Grado (between Dominicus, 919, and Marinus Contarini, 933; see http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_der_ Patriarchen_von_Grado).

[133] See Plested 2008: 5–7. Founded at the suggestion of Athanasios around 985–990 by the Amalfitan community of C/pel, the Athonite monastery in the Morphonou Bay can be traced until the 14th c., although it had been handed over to the adjacent Great Laura in the late 13th c. From its beginnings (Leon of Benevento: translation of *Miraculum S. Michaelis Chonis patratum* – BHL 5947) the monastery was a centre of literary activity that stood also in close contact to Monte Cassino, cf. Beck 1959: 219; Thomson 1983: 347sq., Ciggaar 1996: 278; Keller 2002: 6–8, 10–14.

dedicated to St. John Eleemon from Alexandria, which functioned as the chief shelter for Western pilgrims[134]. Furthermore, when Amalfi was building up its landholdings after its surrender to the Normans in 1073, it purchased an estate by the River Strymon in Macedonia[135].

3.2. Having gathered most of the information required, we can finally try to interpret the data contained in Demetrius' prayer cycle (see section 2). Recalling what has just been said in the last section, on the basis of Tarnanidis' conclusions (1) and (2) one might be tempted to seek Demetrius' temporary residence, where he wrote his notes, not far from Thessalonica, at the Amalfitan monastery on Mt. Athos, as the latter was situated right at the foot of the Holy Mountain[136]. Although this interpretation seems possible, there is yet another place where he could have said (f. 1r3–5): "I climb up the high mountain and cry out with a mighty voice" (Rev. 18.2), in order to reach his patron-saint at Thessalonica, namely St. Catherine's monastery[137], as it is situated more than 1,500 metres above sea-level at the foot of Mt. Moses, and in those days was still known under its original name *Panagia* of the Burning Bush. Even so, we cannot be sure that the mention of St. Mary means a location at all, since the relevant phrase писахъ [ж]<є с>є нъ не вѣдат[.] / коли [л- or -ж?]{...}ъ: в с҃вто мр҃и[ѭ҃] on f. 1r18-19 can also be translated, as we have seen, as "I wrote this,

[134] Although the dates vary considerably in literature – obviously because of several stages of relevant Western activities during the 11th c. –, this must have occurred no later than 1078. In due course the Amalfitans added the Convent of St. Mary Magdalene (Sta. Maria parva/minor) with a hostel which served female pilgrims; see Röhricht 1901: 10–12, the article by S. Schein and J. Riley-Smith at http://www.mittelalter-genealogie.de/_kreuzzuege/j/jerusalem.html; Койчева 2004: 24–25; Plested 2008: l.c., and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Knights_Hospitaller. When on the eve of the First Crusade the male hostel, situated opposite the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, was turned into a hospital by its first supervisor, the Amalfitan Benedictine Gérard Tonque (Gerhardus de Saxo/Gerardo di Sasso, born c. 1040 probably at Scala, died on Sept. 3rd, 1120, descended from a French family; see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gerard_Thom), it became the basis of the first hospital order of the Joannites (Hospitallers).

[135] As is known from two documents dating from 1081, cf. Plested 2008: 7.

[136] Cf. fn. 133. Of course, this contradicts Tarnanidis' conclusion (3), that the place where Demetrius wrote these lines belonged to a monastery dedicated to St. Gregory.

[137] As already supposed by Tkadlčík 1989: 176sq., and Велчева 1999: 95–96.

but they do not know when (?): on St. Mary's (day)". In this case it probably refers to the feast of the Annuntiation on March 25 or, less likely, of the Assumption (Dormition) on 15 August.

However, the key to the understanding of Demetrius' poetic cycle lies elsewhere, namely in the allusion "And the knife in the black handle I put back into its sheath" (f. 1r13–15) in connection with the following tripartite abecedarium, and the invocation "Have mercy, O Lord, on these houses and their cattle, day and night, and protect through *St. Gregory and the Mother of God* the poor and the lame…" (f. 2r14sqq.), which precedes the third (second Lord's) prayer. Here it becomes plain that especially the first part of the cycle, ending with the confirmation "Seal, gift of the Holy Spirit" (f. 2r13 – cf. Eph. 1.13, Acts 19.6), is an allegoric and polemic attack with the weapons of "needle and yarn, pen and lead" (f. 1r12–13) against Rome[138] and its personification, the devilish wolf Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085)[139], defending the followers of the Cyrillo-Methodian idea and letters with the aid of Demetrius, Gregory the Great and the Theotokos – as they, because of their faithfulness to God, have been separated from their flock to suffer the *damnatio ad bestia*, similarly to Daniel in the Old Testament (Dan. 6.14–15) and St. Thecla[140] in the New Era (f. 2r4–5).

The real, albeit implicit, hero of the story is, of course, St. Michael the Archangel, whose role (Rev. 12.7) was temporarily taken over by the author to declare the hoped-for end of the plague which had befallen his people, in the same way as God's warrior had once appeared to St. Gregory in Rome and announced the end of the pestilence in Italy by putting the sword of godly anger back into its sheath (Lau 1845: 39). Consequently, in the last prayer Demetrius appeals first to St. Peter and Jesus, and then "to all the holy angels and archangels and … all holy patriarchs and all your (scil. Jesus') holy prophets and all holy apostles and martyrs, / to all confessors and fasters and all the

[138] The scarlet beast of Rev. 17.6, defining the persecuting role of the Roman Church and standing in opposition to Demetrius' monasticism (apparently represented by the black colour of the grip holding the knife, in the alliterative phrase чрънъ чрѣвѣ, f. 1r14).

[139] Actually, in order to express his hatred of Gregory, Demetrius chose the reverse order: вл[ъ]/к[ъ] и влъчицѫ, f. 1r10. On Gregory VII see Struve 1989; the entry of F. W. Bautz, in BBKL 2 (1990): 310–315, and fn. 102.

[140] See fn. 149.

holy virgins and all your holy chosen ones[141], so that they may compose themselves to pray for me, a sinner" (ff. 140v21–27, 144r1–5).

Since the text of the cycle will be edited and commented on in the critical edition, here we will refrain from going into more detail and just concentrate on some general questions. However, let us not forget that Michael the Archangel is the same figure to whom the *Dedicatio Basilionis S. Angeli Michaelis* is directed in the Gregorian Sacramentary[142], who was especially worshipped on Monte Gargano by the religious travellers journeying from Rome before they departed to Palestine[143], and in whose name the Benedictines at Jerusalem took care of the pilgrims after their arrival. He also is the figure whose memory was revived by Romuald, who constructed a monastery on Istria, and by Michael of Diocleia, who decorated the Church of St. Michael the Archangel at Ston.

As is known, Gregory's legendary vision of the Archangel is reported to have occurred above Hadrian's Mausoleum (subsequently renamed in his honour "Castel Sant' Angelo")[144], to which Pope Gregory VII retreated from Henry IV during the Investiture Controversy in June 1083. Since Demetrius speaks twice about Gregory's eventual escape („and until I draw the knife from the sheath, the wolf must not break loose again", f. 1r16–17, and „so that he does not break into the compound", f. 2r4), the latter must still have been in the fortress when Demetrius set to work. So it seems that he began writing his entries in PsDem on 15 August, 1083[145]. In any case we can fix the approximate time when the cycle was composed between Gregory's

[141] The list closely resembles the interpolation in РНБ глаг. 2 f. 2r23–v6, see fn. 88!

[142] From the 8th century onward, see the entry by F. G. Holweck, in the Catholic Encyclopedia http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia_(1913)/ St._Michael_the_Archangel); in general, see Altaner, Stuiber 1978: 470 and Alfred Ehrensperger: *Die ältesten Sakramentarbücher der westlichen Kirche* (http://www.liturgiekommission. ch/Orientierung/III_C_02_%20Liturgiebuecher.pdf).

[143] See Arnold 2000 (http://www.jstor.org/pss/2903396).

[144] For Gregory I and the miracle see Altaner, Stuiber 1978: 466–473; Richards, Gerwing, Heinzelmann, Bierbrauer 1989; the entry of F. W. Bautz in BBKL 2 (1990): 296–304; Rädle 1990; Herbers 2002: 121; Смядовски 2003, http://www.ewtn.com/library/MARY/10275B.HTM, as well as the sources in fnn. 150–151. For the actual development of Hadrian's Mausoleum see Barone 1986.

[145] Or, if the news of Gregory's move had not reached Demetrius yet, a year later, after Robert Guiscard had freed the pope (May 1084) and Gregory had retreated to Monte Cassino.

apparent ban on the Slavonic liturgy in 1080[146] and shortly after Gregory's death at Salerno on 25 May, 1085.

It is remarkable that Demetrius does not oppose the decisions of the Split Synod of 1059–1060; on the contrary, the inclusion of the tripartite abecedarium in the order Greek–Latin–Slavonic confirms his sincere wish to conform to these decisions and to live up to his responsibilities as a priest. Equally noteworthy are Demetrius' qualities as an author: he shows his knowledge of old and contemporary literature, skilfully uses the language of symbols, and boldly draws a picture of current events. Uncommon and progressive as it is, his work has no equal in Old Church Slavonic literature.

Although Demetrius must have used various sources for his prayers, apart from the Books of the Bible it is difficult to identify them, perhaps partly because he may have also relied on oral narratives, such as Peter Damiani's epigram on Hildebrand, in which he calls the future pope a "rapacious wolf"[147], and partly because some of the contents can be found in more than one source. Thus, while Demetrius' Biblical notes are obviously based on the OCS translation[148], and he may have also used an OCS paraliturgical prayer and an apocryphal account of St. Thecla[149], we cannot be certain whether his

[146] See also Tarnanidis 1988: 97–98 on Demetrius' tripartite *abecedarium* (treated also in Tarnanidis 1999); for the sources see Милев 1985.

[147] See Weinfurter 2006: 102. On Peter Damiani (1007–1072), the Camaldolese monk, philosopher and cardinal, see also Schröder 2005: 54–65, and the entry of F. W. Bautz, in BBKL 1 (1990): 1203–1205. Damiani is also the author of the Vita of St. Romuald and is believed by some to have composed the prayer *Kiss of the Cross* (discussed below). Concerning the use of animal symbols, Demetrius may have been acquainted with Damiani's Tropology (*De bono religiosi status et variarum animantium tropologia*; see Schröder 2005: 54), even if only in its original. (While there is no trace of Damiani's works in CS literature, parts of the *Physiologus* had been translated early, cf. Стойкова 1994; Милтенова 2003, and Stojkova's new http://physiologus.proab.info/). On Damiani's correspondence with the Amalfitans in C/pel, see Ciggaar 1996: 266.

[148] Cf. f. 140v7-8: … ѣже нозѣ твои омъи и власъи о/тира: and the OCS text of Lc. 7.38 (following Zogr.): начатъ мочити нозѣ его сльзами. и власы главы своеѣа отираашє; see Старославянский словарь 1994: 424 sub v. *otirati*.

[149] See, e.g., the short Молитва отъ бѣсна пса или отъ влъка, edited by Kovačević 1878: 278 and containing the phrase ножь оу чрьнѣ чрѣнѣ (cf. fn. 114). For the *Martyrium S. Theclae*, part of which has come to us in an 11th century East Slavic ms., see the entry "Апокрифни жития" by D. Petkanova, in: Петканова 2003: 48–49. The invocation to St. Paul of Tarsus on f. 2r4-5 could, however, indicate that his knowledge derived from its original, the *Acta Pauli et Theclae* themselves; see Wesseling 1996.

knowledge of Gregory the Great stems directly from the latter's writings[150] and one of his Vitae (of John the Deacon?)[151], which he could have read only in its Latin original, or from a secondary source[152]. Even so, a comparison of Demetrius' prayers in PsDem and his name list in the Petersburg fragment, on the one hand, and the contents of extant Latin manuscripts, on the other, seems to indicate that one of his sources was a miscellany codex, comprising the relevant contents of such manuscripts as Colon. Metr. 88 (with a version of the Gregorian Sacramentary and a calendar from the end of the 10th century, a mass formulary of St. Petronilla and other additions of the 11th–12th century)[153] and Colon. Metr. 96 from the 11th century (with the Vita of

[150] Regarding the prayer cycle, this concerns Gregory's *Oratio ad plebem* held during the pestilence-procession, to which a short mention of the vision was added later on the basis of a legend. An abbreviated version of the speech is contained in the Register to Gregory's Letters; see the edition by Hartmann 1899 (vol. XIII: ch. 2, 365–367). For the full version see Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, vol. X: ch. 1 (Krusch, Levison ^{2}1951: 479–481, with references to later repetitions on p. 379/1), and the translation and commentary in Lau 1845: 37–39. Secondly, this concerns the entry of *Mastalъ* in the name list, which may derive from Gregory's letter of Mai/June 599, addressed to a certain Mastalo (identified with bishop Mastulo by Sinnacher 1821: 216–217 [text in fn. 2], whereas the editors of the letter in MGH 1899, vol. 2, Lib. IX, pp. 161sq., P. Ewald and L. M. Hartmann, were inclined to think of an Istrian nobleman. For the background, the three-chapter schism of Aquileia, see Speigl 1986, and Müller 2009: 185–187, 201, 206sq.). In contrast, in the prayers themselves we detect only hints at Gregory's writings, such as the interpretation of Lc. 7.36–50 on f. 140v3–8. In general, Demetrius may have been acquainted with two of Gregory's major works in OCS translation, i.e., his Gospel-homilies (*Bešedy*) and his Dialogues (*Paterik Rimski*); see Konzal 2005–2006; Дюлгерова-Христова 2009 on the former, and Дидди 2001, and Reinhart 2009 on the latter.

[151] Both major Vitae contain a report on the pestilence procession of 590 with Gregory's speech. These are the representative Vita of Johannes Diaconus (Hymonides, 825–880/2), composed between 873 and c. 876 (cf. BHL 3641–3642), and the shorter Vita of Paulus Diaconus (c. 720/30 – April 13th, probably 799), written about a hundred years earlier at Monte Cassino (cf. BHL 3639sqq.). Yet, judging by the versions extant in PL 75 (in the Vita of John the Deacon [BHL 3642]: L. I, ch. 41–43 on coll. 79C-81A; in the Vita of Paul the Deacon [BHL 3640]: ch. 11–13 on coll. 46C-48B), none contains the full text of the legend, as preserved in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine (c. 1230–1298), which was composed between 1263 and 1273 (see only Benz 1979: 745sq.).

[152] A short Life of Gregory was early translated into OCS and is preserved in Supr. under 31 March; see Заимов, Капалдо (1) 1982: 119–124, and BHG^{n} nos. 721 (*Vita*) and 721a (*Epilogus brevior*). For further OCS and CS translations see Иванова 2009 with bibliography.

[153] See Schulten 1980: 105 (Kat. 40). With respect to the following conclusions it is to be mentioned that the main part of the calender (ff. 3r-8v) is also from the 10th c., but there are twelfth-century additions linked to Trier; see Zilliken 1910 (sub Kd1)

John the Deacon and Paterius' selection of Gregory's writings)[154]. If this was the case, the consequences were considerable: first, the entry of Symeon in Demetrius' name list would most probably have to be identified with the latest of the *stylitai*, St. Symeon Trevirensis (born c. 980/90 in Syracuse/Sicily; died 1 June 1035 in Trier)[155]; second, the origin of the codex would be at Trier or in the region Trier-Mainz-Cologne; third, the codex could have been the one, from which the prayer *Kiss of the Cross* (*Oratio in tertia genuflexione*) for Good Friday was taken (the OCS translation of which we find partly presserved in the Petersburg fragment BRAN 24.4.8 on f. 1v22–26[156]); and fourth, as a result, the year 1036 would be the *terminus ante quem non* for the

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and Winterer 2009: 90–100 *et pass.* (for the latter information I am grateful to Harald Horst of Cologne). The relationship of the name list and the feast calendar will need to be further analysed, as most of the names in Demetrius' list can be linked to June (a few in some calendars also with the second half of May and Sept., respectively); see Zilliken 1910: 66–78; Сергий 1901: 164–196, and cf. fn. 88.

[154] Cf. H. W. Stork's description in: Arnim, Plotzek 1998: 207–208 (http://www.ceec.unikoeln.de/projekte/CEEC/texts/GlaubeUndWissen/GlaubeUndWissenZuHs96.htm).

[155] With regard to Demetrius' provenance and the fact that a part of the Vita of Symeon Stylites the Elder is preserved in the OCS Glagolitic fragment from Budapest (presently regarded as the oldest Croatian ms., cf. Райнхарт, Турилов 1990, and A. A. Turilov, in: Флоря, Турилов, Иванов 2004: 94–95, 104), one might think of Symeon Stylites the Elder. However, the remarkable life of Symeon of Trier seems to fit better into the context: Educated in C/pel, Symeon spent several years in Palestine and as a pilgrim guide in Jerusalem before becoming a monk at St. Mary's Monastery in Bethlehem. After moving to St. Catherine's Monastery, he was sent to collect the yearly alms from Duke Richard II of Normandy in the 1020's. By an indirect route that included travel up the Croatian coast, he got to Rouen (where he delivered a part of the relics of St. Catherine and remained for about two years; see Walsh 2007: 73–77) and from there to Trier, on the invitation of Poppo, Archbishop of Trier (1016–1047), who was planning a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. They set out and returned in the years 1028/30, after which Symeon asked Poppo for permission to live as a recluse in the Porta Nigra of Trier. When Poppo agreed, Symeon was enclosed in a cell high up in the Eastern part of the gate tower (*quam ipse Poppo in formam basilicae sub titulo sancti Michaelis archangeli aptarat*, Heyen 2002: 60). Shortly after Symeon's death, Abbot Eberwin of St. Martin's monastery in Trier wrote an account of his life and his early miracles at Poppo's request (BHL 7963), and Symeon was canonized by Pope Benedict IX in 1035, the very same year. See Kettern 1995, and Heyen 2002: 39, 58–62 *et passim.*

[156] First identified by Pantelić 1985 and recently confirmed by St. Parenti (Паренти 2009: 8–9). While the ceremony originates in Jerusalem and was introduced in the Western Church through a description of the noble pilgrim nun Egeria (Aitheria), the relevant text is from a version of the Romano-German Sacramentary (Pontificale) of St. Alban's Abbey near Mainz, compiled between 950 and 962.

translation of the prayer, and in all likelihood for the composition of the Euchologium Sinaiticum as a whole[157].

These are, of course, mere conjectures, which must be proven or rejected through scrupulous investigations. Concerning Demetrius himself, there is also still room left for interpretation: his advocacy of the disadvantaged (poor, lame, children) and their property in the third prayer, which is directed to Jesus but applies for aid to St. Gregory and the Theotokos, and some tokens and attributes of the (later) order of the Hospitallers (the Virgin Mary, Archangel Michael; the cross as "help", "rescue of the Earnest" and "expeller of daemons", f. 3r15–17) give us the basis to assume that he spent some time in Jerusalem before going to Mt. Sinai, working as a priest and warden at the Amalfitan pilgrim station and church. The same could be true of the composer of MedSin. It fits into the picture that it was first Pope Gregory I who, between 595 and 598, commissioned the former Ravennate abbot Probus to build a hospital in Jerusalem to treat and care for Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land[158].

Whereas Romuald had encouraged his disciples to go to the Holy Land in order to study Eastern anachoretism, the situation here could be called emigration[159], which was chosen also by "orthodox" Benedictines from Amalfi and Monte Cassino roughly at the same time and partly for the same reasons[160].

4. We will end this paper here by providing some preliminary conclusions.

(1) Judging by its liturgical character, codicological features, esp. the palimpsest layer, the Latin (and partly Greek) traces in palaeography and language, and the co-occurrence of various graphic and linguistic traits typical of international centres of writing[161], Demetrius' Psalter

[157] This would go hand in hand with the palaeographic dating; on the basis of our graphemic approach EuchSin is to be dated somewhat earlier, approximately to the second quarter of the 11th c.

[158] This forerunner of the Amalfitan hospital was later enlarged when Charlemagne added a library to it; see Richards 1980: 76sq., 78, and fn. 134. Until the 14th century, Gregory was highly esteemed by the Sinaitic monks for his attention to them and his care of the hospital; see Labib 1961: 22–23.

[159] See Miklas 2011: 42, 44–45.

[160] As claimed by today's Celtic Orthodox Benedictines, who regard Gérard Tonque as one of their forefathers, see http://www.immaculateconceptionmonastery.com/two.html.

[161] See Miklas 2011: 41.

was most likely written on Mt. Sinai. This conclusion applies definitely to Demetrius' later additions.

(2) On the basis of their palaeographic features and language, PsDem can be roughly dated to the third quarter of the 11th century, and Demetrius' entries to the last decade. This is widely confirmed by our interpretation of Demetrius' prayer cycle, according to which he began to compose the cycle in all likelihood on March 25, 1083.

(3) Specific parallels between PsSin and PsDem in codicology, palaeography, graphemics, and textology indicate that part of their scribes derived from the same location and shared the same (major) antigraph.

(4) Despite an unquestionable connection with Istria and Dalmatian Benedictism, the origin of the scribes and emenders of PsDem and their relationship with each other awaits further elucidation. Yet it is already clear that in the manuscript production at Mt. Sinai, Slavs from different regions were involved, both from the eastern and the western Balkans, and possibly from certain areas of the former Moravian Empire.

(5) The use of various scripts (Glagolitic, Cyrillic, Latin, Greek) and the co-occurrence of specific graphic and linguistic features indicate that the scribes mutually influenced each other.

(6) Some of the scribes must have stayed at St. Catherine's for quite a long period – in Demetrius' case, probably several years.

(7) While Demetrius' roots may be traced to Diocleia, the contents of his prayer cycle indicate that before his stay on Mt. Sinai he had worked in the Amalfitan hostel of Jerusalem, from where he or one of his brethren probably brought the Medical Folia.

(8) All in all, Demetrius' Psalter turns a new leaf not only in the palaeographic, linguistic and literary development of OCS, but also in the cultural and ecclesiastical history of the Balkans (Bulgaria, Dalmatia, and neighbouring Slovenia) and their relations with Italy and the Christian Orient.

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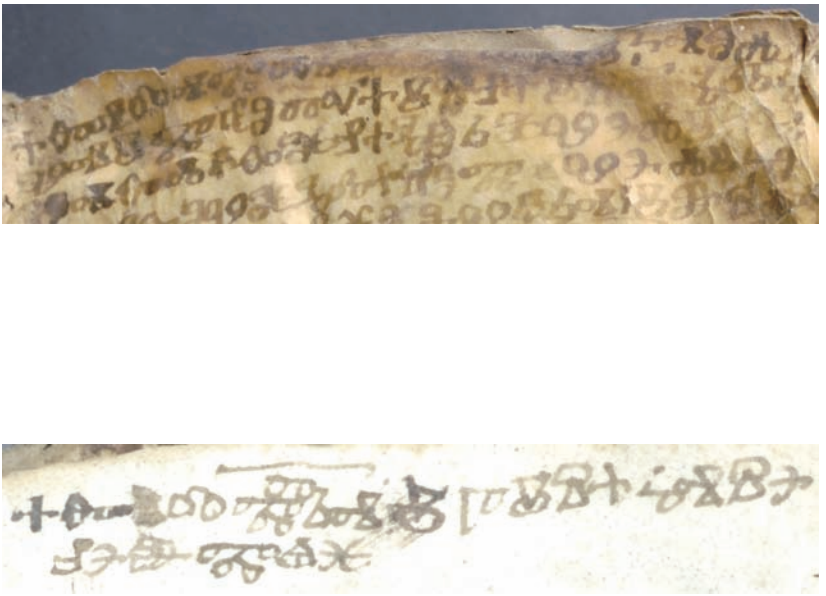

Fig. 1a: Cod. Sin. slav. 3N f. 1r and f. 141r – Demetrius' notes with his name

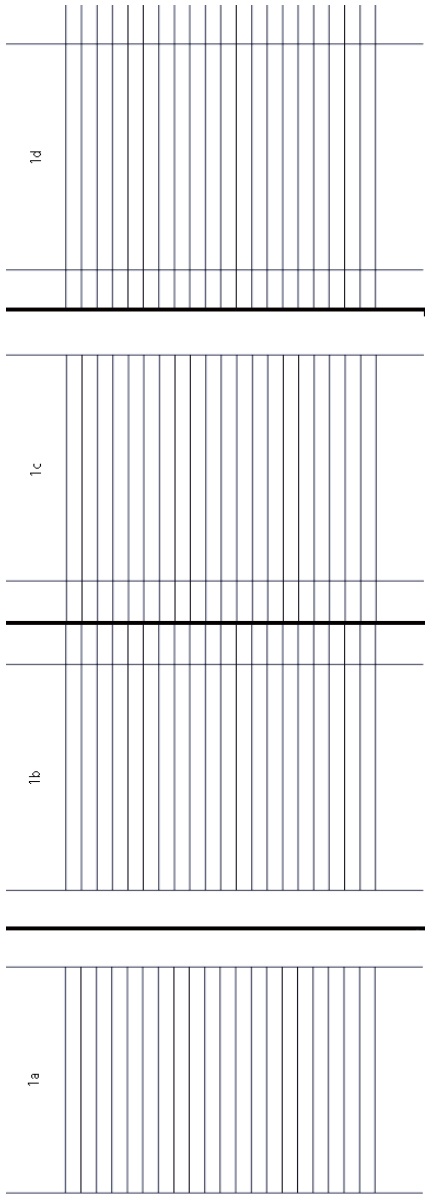

Fig. 2: Cod. Sin. slav. 3N – Layout scheme 1 with variants

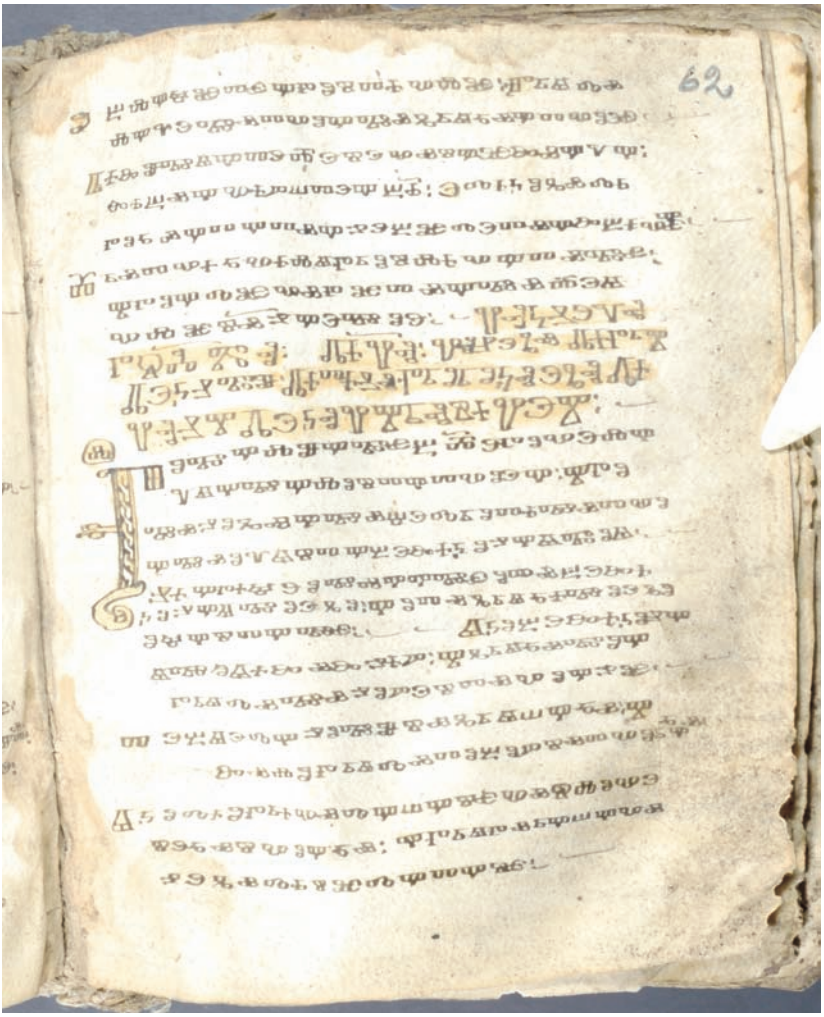

Fig. 3: Cod. Sin. slav. 3N f. 62r – Hand A

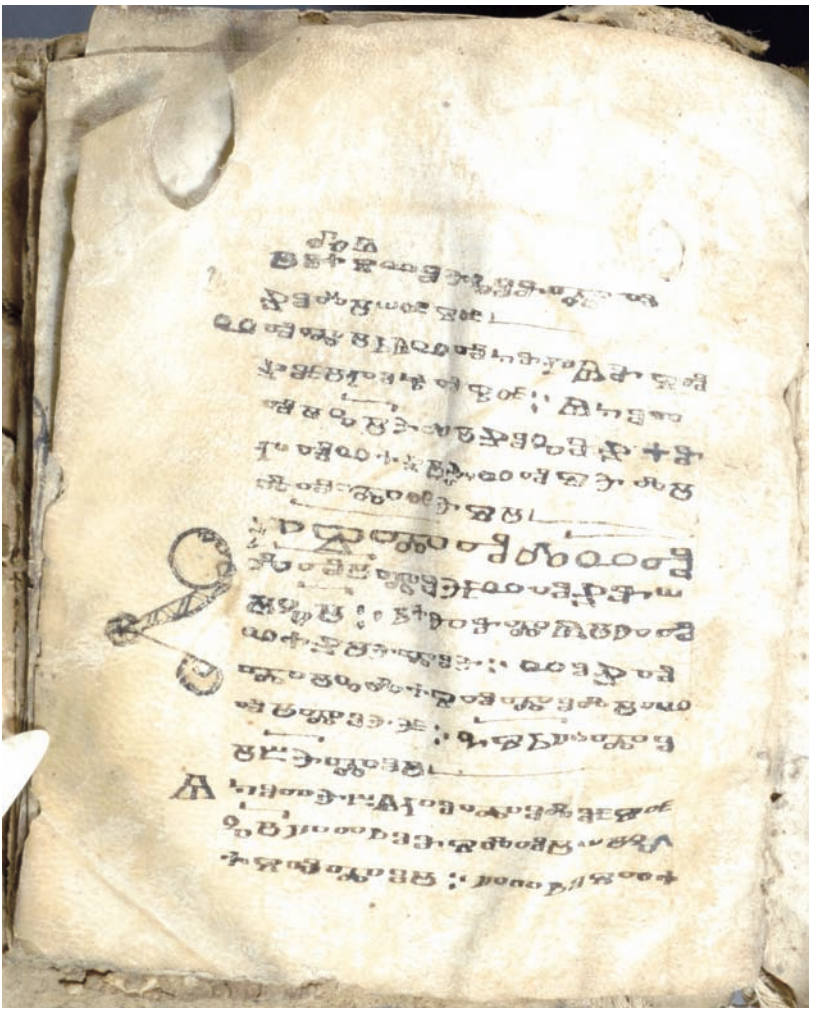

Fig. 4: Cod. Sin. slav. 3N f. 5v – Hand B

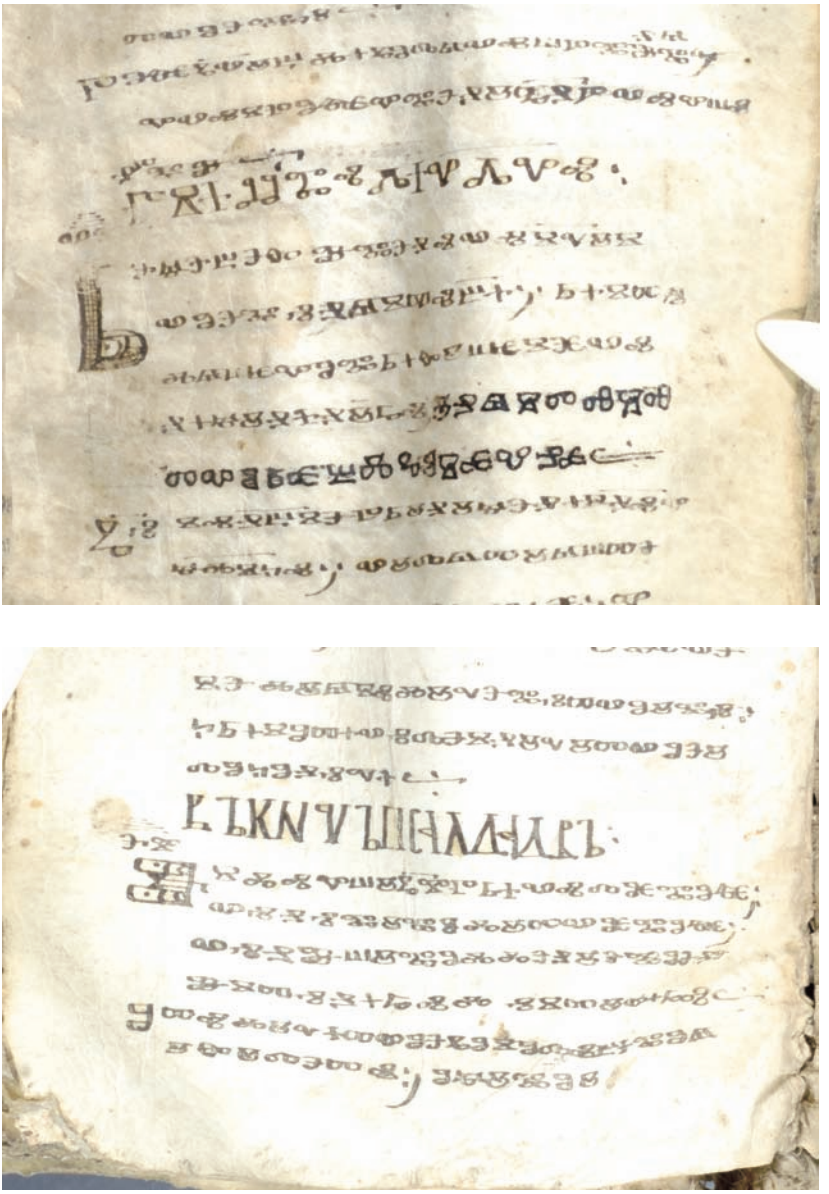

Fig. 5: Cod. Sin. slav. 3N ff. 17r and 19v – Hand C

Fig. 6: Cod. Sin. slav. 3N f. 1r – Demetrius' hand (X)

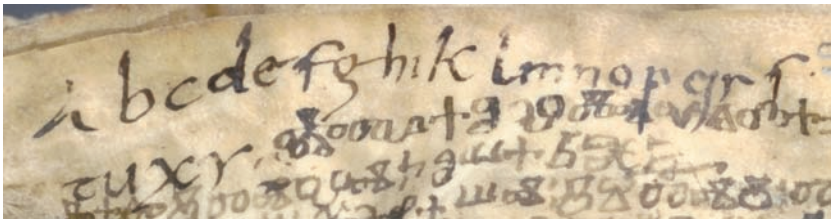

Fig. 7: Cod. Sin. slav. 3N f. 2r – 2nd Latin alphabet

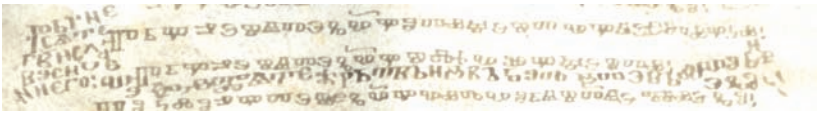

Fig. 8: Cod. Sin. slav. 3N f. 101v9-10 – Mixed correction

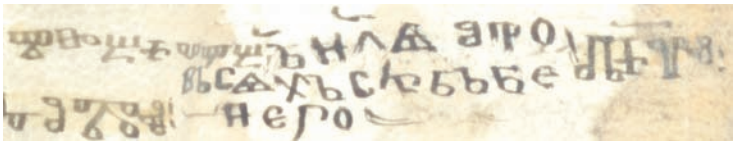

Fig. 9: Cod. Sin. slav. 3N f. 35v13 – Correction over erased passage

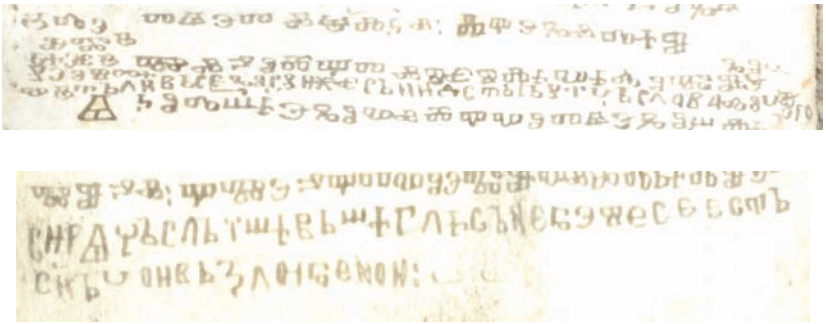

Fig. 10: Cod. Sin. slav. 3N ff. 60v13 and 95v24-25 – Additions

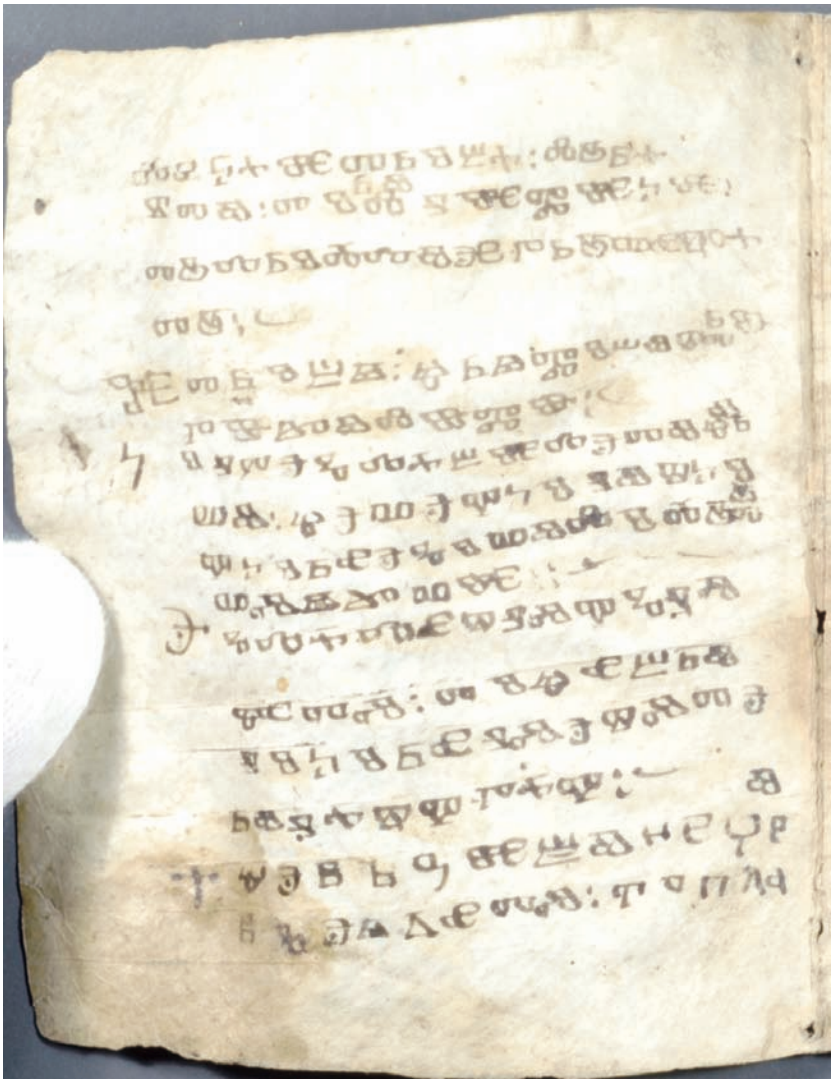

Fig. 11: Medical Prescriptions (Cod. Sin. slav. 3N, Attachment) f. 141bv – with Cyr. passage

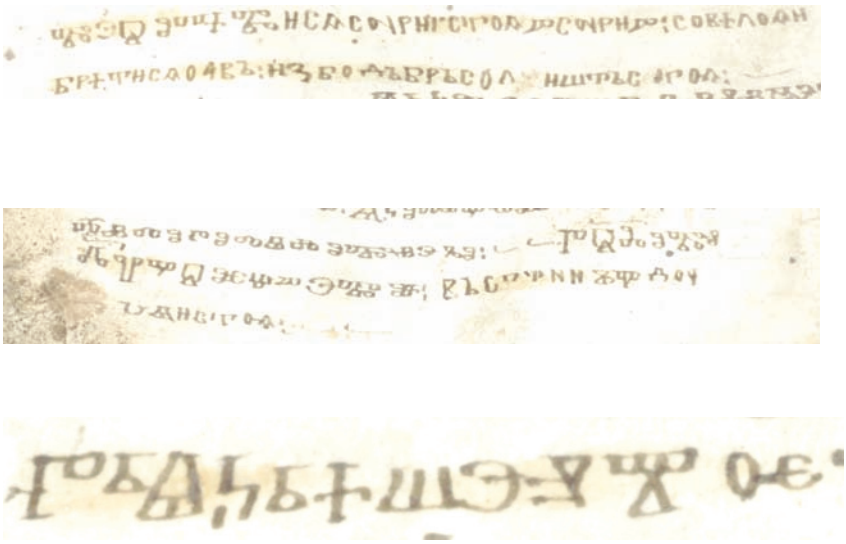

Fig. 12: Cod. Sin. slav. 3N ff. 69r14-15, 70v21-22, 73r2 – Peculiar transliterations

Fig. 13: Euchology Fragment RNB glag. 2 f. 1r (olim 3v) – Nomina defunctorum (?)

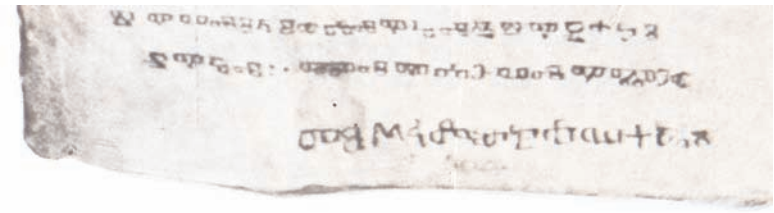

Fig. 14: Cod. Sin. slav. 38 f. 23r тѡмалѵкавдѵ҃ъ

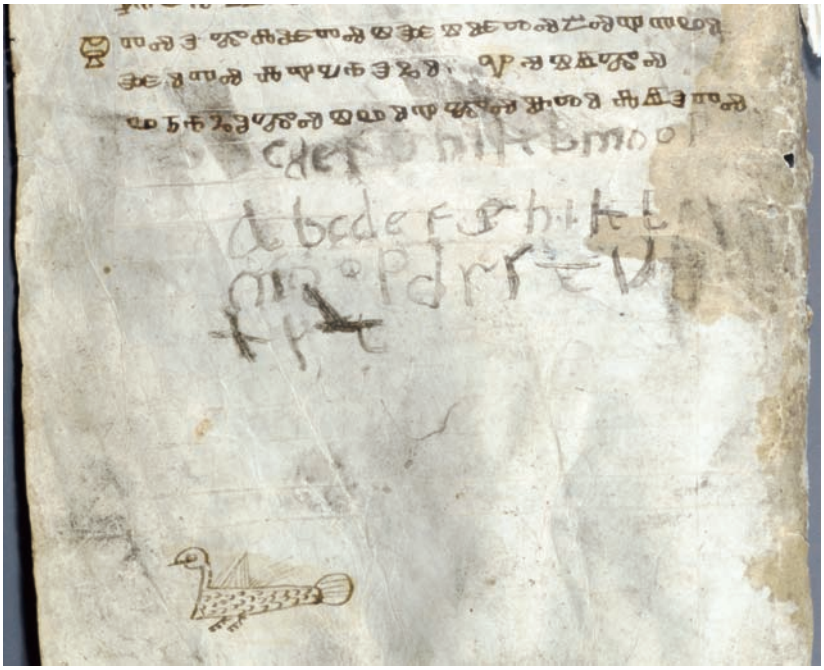

Fig. 15 Cod. Sin. slav. 38 f. 9v – Latin alphabets

THE PLACE OF DIMITRI'S PSALTER (MS SINAI SLAV 3N) IN THE EARLY TRANSMISSION OF THE CHURCH SLAVONIC PSALTER

Catherine Mary MacRobert

This paper is a report on collaborative work in progress, headed by Professor Heinz Miklas, towards an edition of Dimitri's Psalter, the Glagolitic psalter manuscript MS Sinai Slav 3N found in S. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai in 1975 (Tarnanides 1988: 91–100). My part in the collaboration is the compilation of a critical apparatus which is intended to provide a basis for emendations where necessary and to elucidate the relationship of the text in this manuscript with other representatives of the earliest Church Slavonic version of the Psalter, sometimes termed Redaction I (MacRobert 1998; Thomson 1998).

For this purpose we have chosen the following manuscripts, cited by sigla:

S = the first Sinai Glagolitic Psalter, known since the late nineteenth century (Северянов 1922; Altbauer 1971; Mareš 1997), with which Dimitri's Psalter exhibits some striking correspondences;

P, B = the Pogodin and Bologna psalters (Jagić 1907; Дуйчев 1968), which, although they incorporate the pseudo-Athanasian commentary, are generally regarded as textually close to the Sinai Psalter and demonstrably stand in copying traditions that go back to Glagolitic sources;

L, V = the versions of the psalms in the Lobkowicz and Paris Croatian breviaries (Vajs 1916), which exemplify the outcome of the western Glagolitic tradition with minor accommodations to the Latin translation of the text;

G, D = the thirteenth-century Grigorovič Psalter (f.87, MS 4 (M. 1687) in the Russian State Library in Moscow) and Dečani Psalter (Митревски 2000), which arguably represent the later Cyrillic tradition in the south-east Balkans of the Church Slavonic liturgical version found in the Sinai Psalter.

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Other early witnesses to Redaction I will not be adduced in the critical apparatus for practical reasons, either because they are not readily available to us *in extenso*, e.g. the twelfth-century Tolstoj Psalter, whose early date would otherwise give it priority, or the conservative fourteenth-century Pesnivec (Jagić 1907), or because their testimony is impaired by substantial lacunae (e.g. the thirteenth-century Radomir Psalter published by Макаријоска 1997, or MS 1 in the library of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, which lacks the first 50 psalms). Witnesses to the other versions of the Church Slavonic Psalter extant from the eleventh century, e.g. Sinai 6 for Redaction II (Lunt 1976) and the Čudov Psalter for the commentary on the psalms by Theodoret of Cyrrhus (Погорелов 1910 and 1910a), have been excluded on principle: although by the date of writing approximately a third of Dimitri's Psalter, psalms 1–49, 117 and 119, has been transliterated into Cyrillic and compared with the selected witnesses, it is already clear that it belongs unambiguously to Redaction I, and the inclusion of variants characteristic of other redactions would enlarge and complicate the critical apparatus needlessly.

However, for the purposes of the present paper, which aims to place Dimitri's manuscript in the wider context of early developments in the text of the Church Slavonic Psalter, I have excerpted variants from three commentated manuscripts:

T = the Tolstoj Psalter (MS F.п.I.23 in the Russian National Public Library in St. Petersburg, some variants in Jagić 1907);

I = the Pesnivec of 1337 (MS 2 in the Library of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in Sofia, variants in Jagić 1907);

F = the Croatian Vienna or Fraščićev Psalter (Hamm 1967).

I have also drawn on a range of liturgical psalters which follow Redaction II (MacRobert 1998 and 2005):

6 = the eleventh-century East Slavonic Sinai 6 (Tóth 1972; Altbauer and Lunt 1978);

H = the East Slavonic Harvard Psalter of the twelfth or thirteenth century (MS Typ.221 in the Houghton Library, Harvard University);

7 = the thirteenth-century Serbian psalter manuscript Sinai 7;

M = the combined witness (MacRobert 1991) of the late thirteenth-century Pljevlja Psalter (MS 80 in the monastery of the Holy Trinity

at Pljevlja, plus MS 45.8.263, seven folia in the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg) and the contemporary and closely related Belgrade psalter fragments (MS 36 in the University Library, MS 331 in the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, MS 589 in the National Library, MS 314 in the Library of the Belgrade Patriarchate, and two unnumbered bifolia in the Museum of Applied Arts);

A = the fourteenth-century Athens Psalter (MS 1797 in the National Library of Greece).

In the citations which support discussion below, the reference to psalm and verse is supplied according to the numbering in the critical edition of the Septuagint text published by Rahlfs 1931/1979, with the Greek wording where appropriate and, in cases where they seem relevant, with readings from early Latin psalter manuscripts in the edition of Weber 1953. These references are followed, first by the variant which appears in Dimitri's Psalter, then by the sigla of those witnesses which support it, and after that by divergent variants from other manuscripts. The absence of a siglum indicates a lacuna in the corresponding manuscript. Sigla for the Greek and Latin manuscript traditions are taken from Rahlfs and Weber.

As yet Dimitri's Psalter has not been located with any degree of temporal or geographical precision. Like the other extant manuscripts written in round Glagolitic, it is undated. Tarnanides (1988: 91–92) suggests that it may date from the twelfth century, and at any rate from a slightly later period than the Sinai Psalter, on four grounds: its frequent confusion of ѫ and ѩ with ѹ and ѭ; its erratic distribution and frequent vocalization of the *jers*; its sporadic use of Cyrillic, particularly in headings; and his view that the Sinai Psalter 'preserves the original orthography more authentically' (Tarnanides 1988: 100). Unfortunately he does not specify which orthographical features of the Sinai Psalter are to be regarded as 'original', but the distribution of the *jers* is presumably not one of them, since this is not much more correct etymologically in the Sinai Psalter than it is in Dimitri's manuscript. As epigraphic evidence demonstrates that Cyrillic was widely used in the tenth century, its appearance in a manuscript may be more suggestive about scribal habits and geographical provenance than about date. Although a distribution of nasal vowel letters which predominantly corresponds to etymology is usually taken to be a mark of early date, it is not legitimate either in logic or as a matter of

observation to infer from this that errors in the distribution of the nasal vowel letters and confusion with oral vowels must imply a later date: instances of denasalization to /u/ can be found, for instance, in the Codex Marianus (Ягич 1883/1960: 423–424), although in many other respects the language of this manuscript is highly conservative. A more detailed analysis, particularly of palaeographical evidence, may make it possible to place Dimitri's Psalter at least in a relative chronology of early Glagolitic manuscripts: Велчева 1999: 92–96 suggests that it may date from the end of the eleventh century, but as her conclusions are based only on the material made available by Tarnanides, they are somewhat tentative. What can already be said with confidence is that the manuscript was produced in an area characterized by the confusion of the back nasal vowel with /u/, and this feature may indicate provenance from the central or western, rather than the eastern part of the Balkans.

In Tarnanides's view (1988: 98) the textual similarities between the Sinai Psalter and Dimitri's Psalter are so pronounced that the first of these manuscripts is likely to have been a source for the second, i.e. that they stand in a direct or indirect copying relationship. This interpretation, while understandable in view of the conservative features which the two manuscripts share, needs to be checked by a careful sifting of evidence in order to eliminate fortuitous coincidences. For instance, since both manuscripts seem to have been written hastily and abound in careless mistakes, simple chance may account for common errors such as the omission of 'ne' in:

17:37b їꙁнєможете плєснѣ мои S ~ нє *praem.* PBTFILVG 67MA

Even such a striking agreement as the form of the negative pronoun in:

38.6b ннуьже S ~ ннутоже PBTFILVG 67 ннуьсоже H нн вь утоже D MA

could result in Dimitri's Psalter from the fact that the word is written in superscript. Consequently the argumentation developed in this paper is based on variants which are likely to have arisen through deliberate choice on the part of some scribe or other, rather than through mere inadvertence.

Some shared peculiarities do indeed speak for an early linguistic tradition still discernible in Dimitri's Psalter, e.g.:

39.11b ꙗѣснотѫ S ~ нстннѫ PBTFILVGD 6H7

49.20a братꙗ S, братꙗъ PFI ~ братъ BT 6HA брата LVGD 7M

16.13a прѣдѣ SF ~ прѣпѣнн TG 7M ~ ꙁапнн PBLVD 6A

At the same time the fact that these features are better preserved in the Sinai Psalter indicates that modernizing revision has been more widely applied in Dimitri's version, as witnessed by the use of the word їстїна, supported by PBTFILVGD 6H7MA, in a number of places (30.6b, 30.24b, 39.11c, 39.12b, 42.3a, 44.5b, 50.8a) where the Sinai Psalter has ѣснота, and also by:

21.23a братн BTFVG 67MA ~ братрін SPIL

48.8a братъ BTIGD 6H7MA ~ братръ SPFLV

Further evidence in Dimitri's Psalter for a revisionist approach is supplied by its correlates to the use of the prefix въı- which sets the Sinai Psalter apart from most Old Church Slavonic manuscripts. This prefix is to be found in Dimitri's Psalter (although in a different verbal form):

36.28c въїженѫтъ сѧ ~ вызънанн бѫдѫтъ S нжденѫт сѧ PBTFILVGD 6H7MA

Alternatively it may be distorted as въ- or въꙁ-:

43.3b въгъна ~ въıїгъна S нꙁ'гна PBTFILVGD 6H7MA

5.11c въꙁдрннн ~ въıріні S нꙁдрннн PBFLVG 7MA

49.17b въꙁвръже T ~ въıвръже S їꙁвръже PBFI 6H7A ныꙁьврьже M отвръже LVGD

as well as being replaced by нꙁ-:

35.13b ıꙁдрїновенї PBTFILVGD 6H7MA ~ въїрїновені S

Revision may also explain the variation in Dimitri's Psalter between the loanword олокавтомата, characteristic of most early psalter manuscripts, in:

19.4b олокавътѵмата BTFILVG 6A ~ вьсесъжагама S 7 вьсесъжагаємоє P всесьжеженн M

39.7c ѡлокавътоматъї PTIL 6H7A олокавтомат' VD ~ въсесъжагаємъıхъ SB ~ вьсесьжагаємы G

and the calque вьсесъжагаема used consistently in the Sinai Psalter:

49.8b въсѣсъжагама SD M ~ wлокавтоматы PBTFILVG 6H7A

Other divergences between the Sinai Psalter and Dimitri's Psalter may be based on direct or indirect consultation of Greek. Such a process could of course have led to the restoration of words omitted in the Sinai Psalter, e.g.:
27.4d въʒдаждъ PBTFILVGD 6H7MA ~ *om*. S

It could also account for the reading which Dimitri's Psalter shares with a minority of Church Slavonic manuscripts in:

20.12b δύνωνται ~ въʒмогѫтъ PF ~ *potuerunt* ~ въʒмогѫ SBTILV вьʒмогошѫ G 67MA

The non-past tense here is motivated by the standard Greek text, whereas the majority preference for the aorist seems to reflect a variant akin to that of the Latin Psalter. This is one of several places – to be discussed below – where the problem of priority between Lucianic Greek and Western textual traditions comes into question (Lépissier 1964; Pantelić 1970; Thomson 1998: 806–808).

Thus if the Sinai Psalter is to be regarded as a source for Dimitri's Psalter, the relationship between them cannot be one of straightforward copying: there must at least have been contamination with other sources, either while Dimitri's Psalter was copied or at an intermediate stage. In fact, however, the early linguistic tradition which these two manuscripts share provides a compelling reason for thinking that Dimitri's Psalter is not dependent on the Sinai Psalter, because in a few places the more conservative reading is to be found in Dimitri's Psalter:
34.14a бѓатѓѕ PI ~ бѓатѡ SBTLVGD 6H7MA

38.7a іжде ~ їде SPBTFILVGD 6H7M где A, compare 48.18a нде PBTFILVGD 6H7A ~ нжде S.

We must therefore conclude that Dimitri's Psalter derives from a manuscript distinct from but similarly conservative to the Sinai Psalter, and that the complex and inconsistent distribution of linguistic variants which we find in these two manuscripts and in other representatives of Redaction I (MacRobert 1993 and 2008) reflects gradual, piecemeal processes of updating and adaptation to local norms rather than a single act of systematic revision.

These conclusions gain further support from a review of readings shared not just with the Sinai Psalter but also with other psalter manuscripts. Some variants, of course, are simply typical of early linguistic usage irrespective of redaction, e.g. the use of the supine, the initial placing of the accusative personal pronoun, or certain lexical items, and therefore may be found even in early representatives of Redaction II:

40.7a вїдѣтъ SPT 6H ~ вндѣтн BFILVGD 7A

40.13a мѧ же SPTI 6H ~ мене же BFLVGD 7A

24.16b їноүѧдъ SBTIG 6A ~ єдноүѧдъ PFLVD H7M

39.18b ꙁамѵдї SPBTF 6H ꙁабоудн 7 ~ ꙁакьснні ILVGcorrected D A

Others may seem at first glance to characterize particular branches of the textual tradition. For instance, the commentated psalters, some of which have demonstrable Glagolitic antecedents (Мусакова 2004: 526), tend to display a range of lexical variants which ally them with the liturgical psalters written in round Glagolitic and which also survive to some extent in the later Croatian Glagolitic tradition, e.g.:

44.10c прѣкѵщена ST ~ прѣкрашена P оукрашена B преоукрашена FILVGD 6H7A

44.14b прѣкѵщена SPT ~ прѣкрашена B преоукр<а>ш<ена> FILVGD 67A оукрашена H

25.10b мъїтъмь P ~ мъита S мнт' FILV ~ мъꙁдъı BTGD 6H7MA

7.13b отъвлѣүє SPFG ~ напрѧже B 7A ~ налеүе LV

16.14e отълѣкъ SPBTF ~ отлекн LV ~ нꙁбыткы GD ~ останъкъı 67MA

34.7a, 19b ашютъ SPTLV ~ спъытн B ~ беꙁоума IGD 6H7MA

119.7b спъытї SPBILVD ~ сьвыше G ~ беꙁѫма T 6H7MA

36.24a порѫтїтъ SPTFLV ~ рaꙁбнетъ BIGD 6H7MA

Yet it is obvious even from these few examples that the commentated manuscripts do not always agree as a unified group with the Glagolitic manuscripts against the witness of the Cyrillic liturgical psalters. On the one hand individual commentated manuscripts may side with the later Cyrillic ones, as do FI in 44.10c and 44.14b, BT in 25.10b, BI in 36.24a, PF in 24.16b, reflecting the tendency to sporadic lin-

guistic updating which has already been mentioned; on the other hand instances can be found where the Cyrillic Grigorovič Psalter (which seems to have an underlying textual affinity with the Pogodin Psalter) adds its support to a presumptive early reading, as in 7.13b and 24.16b.

Elsewhere, moreover, apparently early readings in the Sinai Psalter and Dimitri's Psalter are supported by liturgical manuscripts, whether Croatian or Cyrillic, while the commentated psalters go their own way. Just how unsystematic the process of linguistic updating was that gave rise to these variants can be seen by comparing the distribution of the words мъıто and мьꙁда in 25.10b above and in:

14.5b мъїта SLVD ~ мьꙁды PBFG 67MA

Similar inconsistency can be seen in the occurrences of хрѣбєтъ and плєща, ѩдро and скоро:

17.41a хрѣбєтъ S ~ плєща PBTFILVG 67MA

20.13a хрѣбєтъ SLVD A ~ плєща PBTFIG 67M

44.2c ѩдропїсъца D ѩдропішьца S ѫдро пншѫща BFLV ~ скоропнсца PTIG 6H7A (The use of a participial form here, which may stem from *velociter scribentis* in the Latin Psalter, raises the possibility of a relationship between the Bologna Psalter and the Croatian tradition.)

It is even possible that a reading common to the Sinai Psalter, Dimitri's psalter and a majority of later manuscripts may correct an old wording sporadically preserved in the commentated tradition:

38.7b μάτην ~ въсѹє SBILVD 6H7MA ~ вь бєꙁдобь PT бєꙁлобы G ~ бєꙁоумa F

Thus the lexical and grammatical preferences of Dimitri's Psalter speak for its early or at least conservative linguistic usage, but do not necessarily elucidate its affiliation to one or other branch of Redaction I. More cogent evidence is provided by those places where it shares an eccentric or corrupt reading with part of the liturgical tradition:

9.6b ἐξήλειψας ~ потрѣбнт сѧ SLD 7 ~ потрѣбн PBFIV A потрѣбнль єсї G

48.10a ἐκόπασεν ~ ѕтвръдї SGD ~ ѕтроудн PBFILV 6H7A трoудньъ T

Although these distortions could have arisen independently, their attestation in other manuscripts as well as the Sinai Psalter and Dimitri's Psalter strengthens the case for ascribing them to an early stage in the textual development of the liturgical psalter.

To some extent Tarnanides's account of the relationship between the Sinai Psalter and Dimitri's Psalter finds support in the variant readings which divide, rather than unite these two manuscripts. Certainly the Sinai Psalter retains rare and presumably early peculiarities which are absent from Dimitri's Psalter and from all or most other manuscripts:

24.7a невѣдѣннѣ PBTFILVGD 6H7MA ~ невѣзѣства S

35.2a ρεγε PBTFILVGD 6H7MA ~ сѧтъ S

30.14a гаждєнїе PBTFILVGD H7MA ~ ρ҃женъе S ражденн 6

49.20b съблазнъ PBTFILVGD 6H7MA ~ сканъдѣлъ SLV

24.11b мъногъ TFILVGD 6H7MA ~ велен SPB

31.5d ἀφῆκας отъпѫстїлъ есї TFILVGD 6H7A ~ wтъпѹстншн B ѿпѹстнть M ~ оставілъ есі S ~ wставн P

There are also places where Dimitri's Psalter diverges both from the Sinai Psalter and the generality of early witnesses to agree with some particular local tradition. The problem here is that there appears to be more than one pattern of agreement. In some places the reading can be found in one or other commentated psalter and in other, mainly South Slavonic, manuscripts irrespective of redaction:

17.18c ἐστερεώθησαν ~ ѫкрѣпншѧ BTF 7A ~ ѹтвръдншѧ SPILVG 6M

21.16a зъдъ PIG 7 ~ скр҃делъ SBTFLV 6MA

26.9c ἀποσκορακίσῃς отъвръзѣї BTFLVG A ~ отъріні SPID 6H7M

26.10b мѧ прїѧтъ BIV H ~ пріѧтъ мѧ SPTFLGD 67MA

Elsewhere, however, Dimitri's Psalter follows a more distinctive tradition to be found mainly in the Decani and Grigorovic Psalters:

8.4a ὄψομαι ѵзърѧтъ GD A ~ ѹзьріѫ SPBFLV 7

37.5a-b ἐβαρύνθησαν ~ (бєзаконїѣ моѣ ... ѣко ї врѣмѧ тѧжъко) отѧгътѣ сѧ D 6A ~ отєготѣшѧ SPBTILVG 7 ~ отѧжаша H

43.13b ἐν τοῖς ἀλλάγμασιν ~ (не бѣ мѫножъства) въскліїцанї LVD 7MA ~ вьскліконовенн G ~ во вьскліщанінхъ SP 6H ~ въ въсканкновеннихъ BTF?I

These divergences may be reconciled on the supposition that there was a range of variants current in the South Slavonic area which appear sporadically in the relatively uncontrolled tradition of Redaction I, whether in commentated or in liturgical psalters, but were for the most part excised in the revision which gave rise to Redaction II. Their attestation in Dimitri's Psalter is then of interest because it suggests that diversity entered the tradition at an earlier date than has hitherto been apparent.

The variants reviewed so far could all in principle result from linguistic revision or corruption within Church Slavonic, without reference back to the Greek text. They merely show that Dimitri's Psalter participated in a process of linguistic updating which can be detected from comparison of any two of the manuscripts in Redaction I, or even from the evidence of the Sinai Psalter taken by itself. There is however a different type of variant readings which must be dependent on Greek, or perhaps Latin, either because they reflect variation within the textual tradition from which the Church Slavonic translation was made, or because they betray divergent translation technique or interpretation. As above, the readings in Dimitri's Psalter which coincide with those of the Sinai Psalter will be considered first. They include several instances of well attested variation in the Greek and Latin traditions of the psalter text, which are then mirrored in Church Slavonic:

24.17b ἐξάγαγε ~ *eripe* Ro ~ *erue* Ga ~ їзвєдї S 6HM ~ ῥῦσαι R' ~ *libera* α moz^{b} ~ нзбавн PBTFILVGD 7A

26.9d ἐγκαταλίπῃς L'' ~ остави SD 6H7MA ~ ὑπερίδῃς B'' R'' ~ *despicias* Ro Ga ~ прѣзри PBTFILVG

34.8a-c емѫ STD 6H7MA ~ нмъ PBILVG, съвѣстъ SD 6H7MA ~ свѣдѫтъ PBTILVG, съкръї SGD 6H7MA ~ скрышѧ PBTILV, ї S 6H7MA ~ ѭ PBTILVGD, въпадєтъ SD 6H7 ~ впадѫтъ PBTILVG MA

The plural forms in this verse are found widely in the Greek tradition and in the Psalterium Romanum, whereas the singulars are characteristic of the Psalterium Gallicanum and the Lucianic Greek. Here

and in the two preceding places, the Sinai Psalter, Dimitri's Psalter and Redaction II concur in wordings likely to be based on the Lucianic tradition, where the rest of the witnesses to Redaction I prefer readings with different, possibly Western antecedents. Which variant antedates the other in the Church Slavonic tradition is unclear, but there is at least a possibility that the majority readings of Redaction I are older and that the Sinai Psalter and Dimitri's Psalter, in spite of their putative early date, reflect later corrections. Similarly in other places most or all of the commentated psalters seem to reproduce variants from an unidentified source, while Dimitri's Psalter agrees with the main liturgical tradition in following the standard Greek text:

17.24b φυλάξομαι ~ схраню сѧ SLVD 67MA ~ ѡцѣщѫ сѧ PBTFIG

31.9a ἵππος καὶ ἡμίονος ~ конъ ї москъ ST 6H7M ~ коня и мьскы PBFILVG A

26.9a μὴ ἀποστρέφῃς τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ~ не отъвратї лїца твоего отъ мене SLVD 6H7MA ~ не ѡвръзи мене ѡ лица твоего PBTFIG

49.12b πλήρωμα ~ їсплъненїе SPLVD 6H7M ~ конци BTFIG A

In the last two examples the commentated tradition has been corrupted by reminiscence, respectively of 50.13 μὴ ἀπορρίψῃς με ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου and of the many passages which refer to the ends of the world, such as 18.5 τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης.

Although most variants have parallels within the Greek tradition, in a few cases reference to the Latin wording may elucidate an otherwise puzzling divergence:

39.18b ὑπερασπιστής ~ заштїтїтель SG HA защитникъ 67 ~ застоупьникъ T ~ *liberator* Ro ~ їзбавитель PBFILVD

46.5a (*elegit*) *nos in hereditatem* Ro ~ (ізбъра) нъї въ достоѧнїе ~ нс̄ь в достѣние LV ~ въ насъ достѣнье S ~ (ἐξελέξατο) ἡμῖν τὴν κληρονομίαν ~ намъ достоѧние PBTFIGD 67MA

In the following two verses there seems to be a one-to-one correspondence between Greek and Church Slavonic in the commentated psalters, whereas the renderings in Dimitri's Psalter and the liturgical tradition are comparable to Latin:

4.4a *scitote* ~ ѹвѣднтє SLV 67MA ~ γνῶτε ~ ρазѹмѣнтє PBFG

19.7a *cognovi* ~ поꙁнахъ SLVG 67MA ~ ἔγνων ~ ρазѹмѣхъ PBTFI

Similar influences may account for the divergence in:

117.27a *inluxit* ~ прѡсвѣтѣ SLVG ~ ἐπέφανεν ~ ꙗвн PBTID 6H7MA

If the hypothesis of vestigial early Western influence in these places is correct, it implies that both the commentated and the liturgical versions underwent some revision to bring them into conformity with Greek (or with a more standard Latin text, in the case of the Croatian tradition) before any of our witnesses, including the Sinai Psalter and Dimitri's Psalter, were written.

This possibility gains further support from those Church Slavonic variants which are occasioned by differences in translation technique or interpretation:

21.12b ὁ βοηθῶν помагаꙗн SLVG 6MA ~ помагаѫщаго PBTFI 7

41.11b καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμεραν вѣсѣкъ денъ SLVD 6H7MA ~ всѣко врѣмѧ PBTFIG

19.8a ἐν ἅρμασιν ~ въ орѫжнхъ S A ~ на колесницахъ PBTFILVG 67M

119.5b Κηδαρ ~ темънаѣ SLV 6MAcorrected ~ кндарьска GD H7 кѹдарѣскы PBTI

In all four instances the reading of the Sinai Psalter and Dimitri's Psalter either reproduces the construction or wording of Greek literally, or conveys an interpretation more likely to arise in a milieu oriented towards Greek: the confusion between weapons and chariots in 19.8 owes nothing to the unanimous Latin *in curribus*, but reflects the Greek borrowing of *arma* as ἅρματα attested in Byzantine sources (Lampe 1961, *sub voce* ἅρμα; MacRobert 2010: 427); the glossing of кндарьска as темънаѣ comes from the Pseudo-Athanasian commentary (MacRobert 2010: 426–427).

Where Dimitri's Psalter differs from the Sinai Psalter on substantive textual points, a similar picture emerges. It may agree with most of the witnesses to Redaction I in a deviant reading while the Sinai Psalter and other later sources conform to the standard Greek and Latin:

49.21b вѣзнєпѣщєваχѣ PTFLVGD 6M ~ ὑπέλαβες ~ *existimasti* Ro Ga ~ вьзнєпѣштєва SBI 7HA

Conversely, it may contain a minority correction, made probably on the basis of Greek, where the reading of the Sinai Psalter and most other manuscripts is less well supported in Greek and Latin:

18.10a διαμένων *permanens* Ga ~ пр҃ѣбѣїваıѧ BI A ~ *permanet* Ro ~ пр҃ѣбꙑваєтъ SPTFLVG 67M

Sometimes Dimitri's Psalter, along with a larger or smaller number of early Church Slavonic psalter manuscripts, has a wording which presents the appearance of a translation from Latin, in contrast to a Grecizing expression in the Sinai Psalter:

41.2a *sicut* Ro *quemadmodum* Ga ~ ѣкѡ GD ~ ꙗкоже PBTFILV 6H7A ~ ὃν τρόπον ~ ımьже ѻбр҃азомъ S

31.7b *circumdantibus* Ro Ga ~ ѻбїдѧщїχъ BF ~ ѻбьχѡдєщнχ LV ~ κυκλωσάντων ~ ѻбьшєдъшнχъ SPTIG 6H7M

Some of the textual divergences between Dimitri's Psalter and the Sinai Psalter could be due to reminiscences, which could have arisen either in Church Slavonic or in a Greek or Latin source, and once again Dimitri's Psalter vacillates between readings which can be attributed to correction and those which follow an aberrant tradition:

43.8b κατήσχυνας пѻсрамїлъ BLVD 7corrected ~ потр҃ѣбнлъ SPTFIG 6H7MA (compare *disperdedisti* in ε (Weber 1953) and the variant in 43.10a ἐξουδένωσας R, which Rahlfs explains as a reminiscence from 88.39)

27.7a їзбавїтєлъ G ~ ὑπερασπιστής ~ заштıтънникъ SLV ~ защнтнтєль PBTID 6H7MA

(compare *redemptor* in *moz* (Weber 1953) and the vacillation in 39.18b above)

Dimitri's Psalter also exhibits additional evidence of checking against Greek (or Latin) in the choice of translational options which are unusual for Redaction I:

24.22a ὁ θεός ~ *deus* ~ бъ̄ GD 6H7MA ~ бг̅же SPBTFILV

33.21b ἐν .. οὐ ~ *unum* .. *non* ~ ѥдїна .. не H ~ н ѥдина .. не LV 6MA ~ нн ѥдина .. не SPBTIGD 7

44.9b βάρεων ~ *gradibus* Ro ~ *domibus* Ga ~ стѣнъ D ~ варьн SPBT Acorrected ~ тв<а>рн FGV ствари L ~ страни I ~ тажьстнн 6H7A

The most remarkable feature of these textual variants, diverse as they are among themselves and in their patterns of attestation, is that so many of them ally Dimitri's Psalter, and to a lesser extent the Sinai Psalter itself, to Redaction II as represented by the manuscripts 6H7MA. Shadowy outlines seem to emerge of gradual differentiation between the commentated and liturgical textual types, reaching back beyond our earliest witnesses and proceeding by such uncoordinated steps that it is often hard to judge which variant belongs to an earlier or later stage, except on the basis of *a priori* assumptions about the source and character of the original Church Slavonic translation (Thomson 1998: 808). The significance of Dimitri's Psalter in this complex picture of textual variation is twofold. Firstly, in comparison particularly with the Sinai Psalter, but also with the commentated and Croatian psalters, it demonstrates yet again the unsystematic processes of linguistic and textual revision at this early period and their consequently unpredictable outcomes. Secondly, it provides a link between the Sinai Psalter and the liturgical traditions which we find on the one hand in Redaction II and on the other hand in the Grigorovič and Dečani Psalters: on the assumption that Dimitri's Psalter was written at least before the thirteenth century, we can refer back to an earlier date textual peculiarities which might otherwise be regarded as later aberrations.

But does Dimitri's Psalter contribute anything of unique importance to our understanding of this textual tradition? Certainly it contains readings which are rare or even without parallel in the other manuscripts considered here; but some of them seem to be trivial side effects of inattentive copying, as where similarities of wording in two psalms prompt the introduction of a reminiscence from one into the other:

17.41b посрамн ~ потрѣбн SPBTFILVG 67MA (compare 43.8 and 43.10a above)

20.4a блаrостн твоеıѫ ~ бл҃гстінъімъ SPBTFILVG A ~ щедротнъімн 67M (compare 30.20, 64.12, 144.7)

43.2c дрєвъняıѧ ~ omittunt SPBTFILVGD 6H7MA (compare 138.5)

This phenomenon is common in the relatively uncontrolled tradition of the early Church Slavonic Psalter (MacRobert 2008: 346–349), and some reminiscences in Dимitri's Psalters have coincidental parallels in other manuscripts:

36.14b вєцıь горькѫ D ~ omittunt SPBTILVG 6H7MA (compare 63.7)

30.18a ѕпъваχъ на BD ~ пѱıѕъваχъ SPTFILVG 6H7MA (compare 24.20)

It is possible that reliance on inaccurate recollection also explains minor variations between words of similar meaning which occur frequently in the psalter text:

13.4a дѣлаıѫштєн ~ твориѫштєı SPBFILVGD 67MA (compare 52.5, 93.4 in the Sinai Psalter)

29.10d правъдѫ ~ истınѫ SPBTILVGD 6H7MA (compare 70.15, 97.2)

Not much more significance attaches to the very few linguistic variants in Dimitri's Psalter which are alien to Redaction I but characteristic of Redaction II:

17.39a οὐ μὴ δύνωνται ~ нє могѫтъ мощн 67MA ~ нє ımѫтъ мощн SPBTFILVG

44.15b блїжъня 6H7A ~ нскрънıѧıѧ SPBTFILVGD

As these are isolated occurrences, rather than systematic substitutions, they probably reflect simply the fact that Redaction II was already in circulation by the eleventh century and was liable to influence a scribe who relied in part on memory. Equally, some of the translational idiosyncrasies of Dimitri's Psalter mirror the tendency to literalism which has already been noted:

21.2a ὁ θεός ὁ θεός ~ *deus deus* ~ бъ бъ ~ бже бже SPBTFILVG 67MA

24.1b ὁ θεός ~ *deus* ~ бъ ~ бже SPBTFILVGD 6H7MA

However, there are signs that Dimitri's Psalter may offer some new glimpses into the early textual history of the Church Slavonic psalter. One such insight concerns the use of aorists formed from derived verbs which probably already had imperfective aspectual status. Dimitri's Psalter contains more examples than the other manuscripts adduced here. Some instances are sparsely attested in other sources, especially the Pogodin Psalter, and could conceivably have

been prompted at an earlier stage by the use of the imperfect subjunctive in Latin:

4.2a ἐν τῷ ἐπικαλεῖσθαι ~ *cum invocarem* ~ ѥгда въꙁънваχъ SPI ~ ѥгда въꙁваχъ BFLVG 7MA

21.25c ἐν τῷ κεκραγέναι ~ *dum* Ro / *cum* Ga *clamarem* ~ ѥгда въꙁъїваaхъ PBT 6 ~ ѥгда вοꙁваχъ SFILVG 7MA

30.23d ἐν τῷ κεκραγέναι ~ *dum clamarem* ~ ѥгъда въꙁъїваχъ PT ~ ѥгда вοꙁваχъ SBTIFLVG 6H7MA

In other places, though, a perfect tense in Latin corresponds to an aorist in Greek, leaving no obvious formal motivation for the Church Slavonic imperfective aorist which may be understood in the first and second of the following citations from Dimitri's Psalter and occurs unambiguously in the third:

17.7a ἐπεκαλεσάμην ~ *clamavi* ~ прнꙁъїваχъ ~ прiꙁъваχъ SPBTFLVG 67MA

26.7a ἐκέκραξα ~ *clamavi* ~ въꙁъїваχъ ~ вοꙁъваχъ SPBTFILVGD 6H7MA

33.18a ἐκέκραξαν ~ *clamaverunt* ~ вꙁъїваша ~ вοꙁъваша SPBTILVGD 6H7MA

Finally, even the incomplete data examined here offer a translational variant which appears to be unique: none of the other manuscripts excerpted here, nor any other Church Slavonic psalter manuscript known to me, has the following reading:

119.5a οἴμμοι ~ *heu me* ~ лютѣ мънѣ ~ оувы мьнѣ SPBTILVGD 6H7MA

The two thirds of Dimitri's Psalter which have yet to be studied may well have further surprises in store.

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THE HEADINGS IN SOUTH SLAVONIC COPIES OF THE BOOK OF EXODUS

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A characteristic feature of a number of copies of the Old Testament historical texts is the presence of headings providing brief information on the content of the text. The headings divide the text into smaller and more cohesive units, allowing the medieval reader to become acquainted with the content more easily. The headings are located in the main text or in the margins of the manuscript. In some cases they consist of one or two words, while in other they take up several lines and serve as a brief explanation of the text. For this reason they can be described as explanatory.

An overview of the Slavonic manuscripts containing the first five (resp. eight) Old Testament books shows that the division of the text by headings is secondary, occurring at a later stage of the manuscript tradition. Moreover, the headings are the most mobile element in the biblical books. The main text is more conservative, whereas the headings were often subject to changes that reflected the individual understandings of different copyists, and even of different generations. Still, of course, these changes were not made to every manuscript: once a heading was inserted to divide the text, it was copied many times into apographs and thus became one of the textologically significant features of the manuscript tradition. Therefore the study of explanatory headings is an important and necessary step in studying the overall manuscript tradition of the biblical books.

Before focusing further on the headings in South Slavonic copies of the Book of Exodus, however, let us give an overview of the manuscript witnesses.

The Slavonic tradition of the Book of Exodus is preserved in more than forty manuscripts from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, most of them Russian (Mathiesen 1983)[1]. All known South Slavonic

[1] Much more detailed information on most of the Slavonic manuscripts containing the Pentateuch (Octateuch respectively) is provided by А. Михайлов (1912: I–LXXXIX). For the medieval Bulgarian copies, see Николова 1998: XXI–XXV.

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copies can be traced back to a common protograph[2], and a number of their common linguistic and textological features are not shared by the Russian copies[3]. At the same time, the South Slavonic tradition of the Book of Exodus is not uniform. The manuscripts are clearly divided into two groups, which I will call A and B.

The manuscripts in group A are of Wallachian-Moldavian origin[4]. These are No. 3 from the Barsov collection in the State Historical Museum (*Государственный исторический музей*, henceforth ГИМ) in Moscow, written in 1480–90 (henceforth *Барс 3*); No. 85 from the collection of the Romanian Academy of Sciences, written in the third quarter of the fifteenth century; No. 29 from the Rumyantsev Museum collection, currently in the Russian State Library (*Российская государственная библиотека*, henceforth РГБ) in Moscow, written in 1537 (henceforth *Рум 29*). The ornamentation of the three manuscripts and their orthographic and phonetical features show their close relationship to the written tradition of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom and their shared antigraph is undoubtedly a Middle Bulgarian manuscript from the fourteenth century from Turnovo (Желязкова 2005).

Group B consists of four manuscripts originating from the western Bulgarian lands and Serbia. These are No. 1/M 1684 from the Grigorovich collection (f. 87) at the РГБ, written not later than 1544; No. III.c.17 from the Library of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb, written in the mid-sixteenth century (henceforth *Загр*); No. 1/M. 1431 from the Sevastiyanov collection (f. 270) at the РГБ, written in the fifteenth century (henceforth *Сев*); No. 351 from the Church History and Archival Institute (*Църковно-исторически и архивен институт*, henceforth ЦИАМ) in Sofia, written in the early sixteenth century[5]. A common feature of the manuscripts in this group

[2] This common protograph apparently had some missing folios, since all South Slavonic copies of Exodus have inherited two omissions,18:1–25 and 24:1–12. There is also a large omission in the text of Genesis, from 33:13 to 35:3.

[3] For some lexical differences between Russian and South Slavonic copies of Exodus see Пичхадзе 1996.

[4] During the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries there were well-developed cultural relations between Bulgaria and the Romanian principalities of Wallachia and Moldova. In this period many manuscripts from Turnovo were taken to the monasteries in Suchevitsa, Bistritsa, Niams, Rishka, Sekul and other Wallachian-Moldavian literary centers. These manuscripts were copied for several centuries, continuing the Bulgarian literary and linguistic tradition (Русев, Бойчева 1982).

[5] We can assign to this group two more manuscripts, for which, not having direct access to them, I rely on Mihailov's study. One is No. 81 from Krushedol Monastery, from the 16th century (Михайлов 1912: XLV–XLVIII), the other is from the library

is that they contain a short text at the end consisting of a description and interpretation of the first eight Old Testament books. This text is not found in other biblical manuscripts and its origin is unknown[6].

In a number of linguistic and textual features the manuscripts from both groups are very similar. At the same time, there are also significant differences between them. One of the differences is in the headings. The first encounter with these manuscripts shows that they reflect two traditions. First, the headings are arranged in a completely different way. In the manuscripts in group A, the text is divided by means of vermilion dots; initials and capital letters are also used; and the headings are located in the margins (top, bottom or side) and in rare cases inside the main text. In *Барс 3* the headings are written in smaller letters, possibly by a different scribe, who at the same time has corrected some errors in the main text. In the manuscripts in group B, the headings are inside the main text and clearly divide it into separate parts. No doubt they were written in parallel with the main text of Exodus.

Before proceeding further, let us compare the headings in both groups of the South Slavonic manuscripts, as set out in the following table. The headings in group A are represented by *Рум 29*, and those in group B by *Загр.*

Chapter	Group A	Group B
1:15		о младѣнцѣхъ еврєнскыхъ. н w бабѣ
2:5	о рожєнн мwїсєwвѣ	о рожьствѣ мwѵсєwвѣ

of the St. Paul Monastery on Mount Athos. Mihailov himself did not work *de visu* with the second manuscript but used information from the notes provided to him by Lavrov (Михайлов 1912: XXVII–XXVIII). We can also assign to this group manuscript No 25 (459) from the National Library in Belgrade, written in 1557–1558, which was burned down during the Second World War.

[6] Recently, Minchev has focused attention on this interesting "explanatory" text in the composition of manuscript No. 351 from ЦИАМ (Минчев 2011). It should be noted, however, that the text in question is not unknown, nor is it characteristic only of this manuscript. It is also found in all South Slavonic manuscripts of the Octateuch, in the group that I refer to as B. In *Сев* it occurs at the beginning of the Octateuch rather than at the end. This was observed first in 1912 by Mihailov, who also published part of the text in reliance on a manuscript from the library of the St. Paul Monastery on Mount Athos (see n. 5 above).

2:15		ѿхожⷣнїе мѡѵсеѡво ѿ егѵпта
2:21	о женнтвѣ мѡїсеѡвѣ (only in *Рум 29*)	
3:2	о капннѣ	о коупнннновндѣныи
3:5		словеса г҃нѣ къ мѡѵсею
3:7	о повелѣнн г҃нн къ мѡїсеов нѕвестн людн (only in *Рум 29*)	
4:2	о жеѕлѣ мѡїсеѡвѣ	
4:11	словеса г҃нѣ къ мѡїсев	
4:27	слово г҃не къ аронов н мѡѵсен	съшьствїе мѡѵсеѡво въ егѵпть
5:1	ѕде вънндѣ мѡѵсн н ааρѡнь къ фараѡнов	
6:2	ѡ ѣавленн нмена г҃нн къ мѡѵсеов	
6:14	се внѳцн іи҃лвн	
6:26		о ρ҃енїн г҃ню къ аронѳ н мѡѵсею
7:9	ѕ҃е мѡѵсн і ааρѡ҃ поврѣгоста жеѕлы своѫ пр҃ѣ фараѡномь н бышѧ ѕъміѫ	
7:19	ѕде прѣлагаⷮе г҃ь воды егѵпетскы въ крѣвь (only in *Рум 29*)	о прѣложенїн воды въ крьвь
8:1	ѕде нѕводѧⷮ воды егѵпⷮескыѫ жабы повелѣнїемь г҃немь	о посланїн жаб҃
8:16	ѕде нѕводнⷮ г҃ь мышнцѧ на ѕемлѧ егѵпетскѫ	о мѳшнцахъ
8:20		о пьсы҆ мѳхахъ
9:1	ѕде повелѣ г҃ь поразнтн съмрѣтїѫ скоты егѵпетскын	о съмрьтн скотнѣ

(only in *Рум 29*)

9:8		о стрѵпохь и ѡ прнцѣ
9:22	ѕдѣ оуѧѕвн гс прѣдѣлы егѵпетьскы градомъ	о посланїн градѵ съ wгнемь и громомь съ мльнїамн
9:28	и повелѣ гс и҃ѕытн wгню въ всѧ пр҃ѣлы егѵпетскы и попалнтн нхь	
10:12	ѕдѣ повелѣ гс и ѕыдошм прѣѕн въ въсѧ ѕемлѧ егѵпетьскмѧ	о посланїн прѵгомь
10:21	и повелѣ гс и бы тъма по въсемоу егѵптоу г дн҃н	о положенїн тьмн
11:4	и ѕбнвае гс въсѧ прѣвѣнцѧ егѵпетьскыѣ ѿ ѵлка до скота	
12:2	ѡ пасцѣ прѣвон	
12:12	о помаѕанн прагѡ евренскы, и опрѣснокѡ	о помаѕанн прагѡ съ крьвїю. и ѡ сътворенїн пасхы
12:29	плаць егѵпетьск о прѣвѣнеѵѣстї и	о ѕбненїн прьвѣнць егѵптьскынхь
12:37	ѕде нспоустн фарао ина҃ѣ	
12:41	нсхѡ сн҃wвь ина҃евь нѕ егѵпта	о нѕьшьствїн сно҃мь їслѣевѡ ѿ егѵпта
13:19	о нѕношенн костен iwснфwвѣ ѿ ен҃пта (only in *Рум 29*)	
14:6	ѡ погнанн фараwновѣ въ слѣдь ина҃ѣ	
14:11	ѡ смѧтенн сн҃wвъ ина҃евь	
14:21	ѕде разделан гс ѵрѣмное море снѡ ина҃евѡ	

14:15		о вѫшьствїн сн҃омь їс҃л҃ев҃о҃ посрѣ моора
14:26	ѕде покры г҃ь водоⷯ фараwна н вѫсѧ снлⷯ его	
15:2	ѕде вѫспѣшѧ г҃вн с҃нwве і҃нлевн пѣснъ сїⷯ	
15:22	w оуслажд҃енн горестнн мерры рѣкы (only in *Рум 29*)	о водѣ горцѣн вѫ морре
16:2	w рѫптанн сн҃wвь і҃нл҃евь на мwѵсеа	
16:13	о посланн крастѣлїн	
16:22	w маннѣ	о посланнїн мане
16:31	w положенн маннѣ прѣд г҃мь	манна же падааше .s҃. дн҃і҃н. а вѫ соуботоу прѣсташе
17:2	w похѵленн лю҃стѣмь	
17:3	о нѕведенн воды людемъ (only in *Рум 29*)	
17:8	о прншествн амалнковѣ на брань на і҃нл҃ѣ	о ратн амалнковѣ
19:3	w вѫхожд҃енн мwѵсеwвѣ на горⷯ	
19:10	о прншествн славѣ г҃нн на горⷯ	
20:2	ѕаповѣ҃ г҃нѣ къ мwѵсеоу	
20:12	ѕде оуставлѣеть г҃ь сⷯ҃ н правдⷯ мwѵсewвн	
21:2	w ѕаповѣдн	
21:7	о ѕаконоположенн	
21:20	w сⷯдw҃ wправданїа	

22:5 w правилѣ сѧ҃ныѩ

22:16 w дѣвѣ невзрѧ҃уенныѣ

23:14 заповѣ҃ w празн҃нцѣхь

(only in *Рум 29*)

25:12 заповѣ҃ г҃нѣ къ мwисеѡ и
ааронѡ. w сътворѧ҃нн скинїѫ

25:17 w херѹвимѡ҃

25:22 w сътворенн съсѧ҃дѡ҃
сщ҃енныѹьскымъ

26:32 w ѹѹрѧ҃женн ст҃ыхь

(only in Рум *29*)

27:20 w сщенныѹьствѣ ааронове и
с҃новь его

28:5 w рнзѣ҃ ааронове҃ и с҃wвь его

29:3 w п҃рѣложенїи҃ ст҃ыи҃

31:12 заповѣ҃ w с҃ѧ҃тѣ҃

31:18 w скрижале҃ закwна

32:2 w съліанн ааронове wбразь
телуни

32:5 w поклоненн ааронове къ
ндwломъ

32:11 зде молнт сѧ мwисн w людѣ҃
ради грѣха телуа

32:18 словеса мwисеwа къ лю҃м

33:5 w поставленн храма
мwисеwа

33:21 о явленн г҃ни къ мwисеѡ

34:12 заповѣ҃ г҃нѣ кь мwисеѡ

35:4 о ѕаконоположенн скнилнъ
(missing in *Рум 29*)
35:27 ѡ прнношенн кнєѕамъ н
людѣ̑ дѣлеса на оусроенїе
скунїн (missing in *Рум 29*)
36:3 ѡ дѣлателѣ̑ скунїѫ
36:9 ѡ оукрашенн рнѕь ааронов̑ѣ
36:13 ѡ вїтн̑ каменѡ̑ нже на
ефѡдѣ
37:2 о повлачєнн сты̑
40:1 ѡ съвръшенн скунїн н ѡ
слоужбы̑ ѥѫ

The parallels shown above demonstrate that there are three types of headings in the copies of the Book of Exodus in group A. The first type starts with the preposition о and consists of two or three words: о кѫпннѣ, ѡ маннѣ, о ѕаконоположенн, ѡ херовѵвнмѡ̑, о женнтвѣ мѡїсевѣ, о жеѕлѣ мѡїсевѣ. The second type begins with the adverb ѕдѣ or, much more rarely, with the conjunction н, and the heading is expanded into a brief outline of the contents of the given passage: ѕде въннде мѡѵсн н ааронь къ фараѡнѡ; ѕе̑ мѡѵсн і ааро̑ повръгоста жеѕлы своѫ пр̑ѣ фараѡномь н быша ѕъміѫ; ѕде покры гь водоѫ фараѡна н въсѫ снлѫ его; н повелѣ гь нѕытн wгню въ всѫ пр̑ѣлы егупетскы н попалнтн нхь; н нѕбнваѣ̑ гь въсѫ пръвѣнцѫ егупетьскыѫ ѡ ѵлка до скота, etc. The third type contains no preposition and no adverb ѕдѣ. This type most closely resembles a title in the modern sense of the word: слово гне къ ароноу н мѡѵсен, ѕаповѣ̑ ѡ сѣ̑тѣ̑. In the copies of the Book of Exodus in group B, the headings are more uniform. Most of these begin with the preposition о (о млдѣнцѣхь евренскыхь. н ѡ баба̑, о рожь̑ствѣ мѡѵсевѣ, о посланїн жаба̑, о мѫшнцахь, etc.), three contain headings without an introductory preposition (ѡхожь̑нїе мѡѵсевво ѡ егупта, словеса гнѣ кь мѡѵсею, съшьствїе мѡѵсевво въ егупть).

Another difference concerns the thematic grouping of the material. In Chapter 14, which discusses the escape of the people from Egypt,

there are four different headings in the manuscripts in group A (w погнанн фарawновѣ въ слѣдь ін҃лѣ; w смѧтенн сн҃wвъ ін҃левь; зде раздѣлн г҃ь чрьмное море сн҃ ін҃левѣ; зде покры г҃ь водоⷬ фарawна н въсѧ снлⷬ его), while there is a single heading in the manuscripts in group B (о въшьствїн сн҃омь їс҃лѣвѣ посрⷣ моора). In general, there are more headings in group A right through the Book of Exodus, from the beginning to the end. In group B the headings are only in the first half of Exodus; after chapter 18 the text is uninterrupted by headings, and very rarely by vermilion dots or letters.

Certain passages in Exodus are preceded by headings only in the manuscripts from group A, for example о женнтвѣ мwїсewвѣ; о жезлѣ мwїсewвѣ; зⷣ мwісн і ааро повръгоста жезлы своⷬ пⷬ фарawномь н быша зъміⷬ; о нзношенн костен іwснфwвⷯ w̃ єгⷬпта; о послании крастѣлїн, etc. Other passages are preceded by headings only in the manuscripts from group B, and there are considerably fewer of these: о младѣнцѣхь еврейскыхь. н w баба; w̃хожⷣнїе мwісewво w̃ єгⷬпта; съшьствїе мwісewво въ єгⷬпть; о пьсын҃ мѫхахь; о стрѫпохь н w прнцⷣе.

In a number of cases there is a heading for the same event both in the manuscripts of group A and those of group B, but the two groups word the heading differently. In Chapter 7 both groups have a heading for the second sign of Moses, the turning of water into blood. In the manuscripts of group A the heading is зде прѣлагаⷮ г҃ь воды єгⷬпетскы въ кръвь, and in those of group B о прѣложенїн воды въ крьвь. In Chapter 8 the headings of both groups draw attention to the story of how the frogs left the rivers and covered the whole of Egypt. In the manuscripts of group A we have зде нзводⷬ воды єгⷬпⷮескыⷬ жабы повелѣнїемь г҃немь, and in those of group B – о посланїн жаб҃а. The same can be said about the headings to Exodus 4:27, 8:16, 9:1, 9:22, 10:12, 10:21, 12:12, 12:29, 16:22, 16:31 and 17:8.

The observations on the headings in the South Slavonic copies of the Book of Exodus are not complete without appropriate comparisons with the Russian copies. So far I have worked *de visu* with twenty-four Russian copies[7], and many of the rest I know from Mihailov's

[7] From ГИМ: manuscripts Nos. 1 and 2 from the collection of E. Barsov, manuscripts Nos. 1, 21 and 30 from the Synodal collection, Nos. 358 and 3479 from the Museum collection, Nos. 3 / 18 and 1 / 652 from Uvarov's collection and No. 1

study. The comparison shows that with respect to the structure of the Book of Exodus and the segmentation of the text by headings, the Russian and South Slavonic manuscripts reflect completely different traditions. Thus, most of the Russian copies, including manuscripts Nos. 1 and 2 from the Barsov collection, Nos. 3/18 and 1/652 from the collection of Uvarov, and Nos. 7 and 8 from the Volokolamski Monastery collection, etc., contain no headings.

There are not many Russian copies which do contain headings. Most interesting in this respect are manuscripts No. 354 (f. 181) from РГАДА, from the late fifteenth century, No. 27 from the Rumyantsev collection (РГБ) and No. 453 from the Tihonravov collection (РГБ), in which the text before Exodus 25:1 is segmented with many more headings than in the South Slavonic manuscripts[8]. All headings are written in red ink and are placed in the main text. The comparison between the headings in the Russian and South Slavonic copies shows that they can be traced back to different traditions. Note, for example, the headings in chapters 1, 2 and 21 of the Book of Exodus in the Russian copies in comparison with the South Slavonic ones:

Chapter	Group A	Group B	Russian copies
1:1			ѡ имене сн҃въ їна҃въ вхождающихъ въ егѵптѣ
1:11			ѡ наслованїи фараѡновѣ на їна҃а
1:15		о младѣнцѣхъ еврейскыхъ. и ѡ бабѣ	бабамъ заповѣда цр҃ь ѕбнвати дѣтн еврѣнскъыа
2:1	о рожденн мѡїсеѡвѣ	о рожьствѣ	ѡ рожтвѣ

from Vahrameev's collection. From РГБ: Nos. 27 and 28 from the Rumyantsev collection, Nos. 1, 44 and 45 from the collection of St. Sergius Lavra, No. 1 from the Undolski collection, No. 13 from the collection of the Moscow Ecclesiastical Academy, Nos. 7 and 8 from the collection of the Volokolamski Monastery, No. 648 from the Egorov collection, and Nos. 279 and 453 from the Tihonravov collection. From РГАДА: No. 354 (f. 181) and No. 279/658 (f. 181).

[8] The same tradition is reflected in the headings in manuscript No. 648 from the Egorov collection, but the number of headings here is smaller. Few headings are found in some other manuscripts, as, for example, manuscript No. 29 from the Rumyantsev collection and No. 44 from the collection of the St. Sergius Lavra. In manuscript No. 1 from the Undolski collection there is only one heading (о жезлѣ).

(2:5)		мѡѵсеѡвъ	мѡїсеѡвъ
2:2			а вторѡе нмѧ моїсїѵ҃н
2:11		ѡ ѕвїенїн мѡїснѡ̈ егѵ̈птенннѧ	
2:13		ѡ прѣнїн дв҃ѕ евр҃ѣеннъ	
2:15		ѡ҃хожѣ̑нїе мѡѵсеѡво ѡ҃ егѵптѧ	бѣжанїе моїсеѡво ѡ҃ фарѡѡнѧ
2:21	о женнтвѣ мѡїсеѡвъ		ѡ женнтвѣ мѡїсеѡвъ
2:23			ѡ воплъ сн҃въ їнл҃евъ̑
21:1			о прнтѧжанїн рабѡвъ
21:2	ѡ заповѣдн		
21:5			о неѡ҃хожемь рабъ
21:7	о законоположенн		о дшерн рабъіннѣ
21:12			о бою смр҃тнѡ҃
21:16			о бою нже несм҃р҃тнѣмъ
			о клѧтвѣ wца нлн мт҃рь
21:17			о ѕкраденїн ѵл҃ка
21:20	ѡ сѫдѡ̑ѡ̑ wправданїа		о бою рабьн
21:22			о бою непр҃ѕ̑жненъı
21:23			заповѣдн посполнтъı
21:26			ѡ оц҃ъ рабїн
21:27			о з҃ѕѕ бабїн
21:28			о волъ ꙗ҆ ѕм҃р҃тъ н ть ѵл҃ка
21:33			о колодѧзь҆ што впад҃ѣ в ню
21:35			о бою воловъ

In some Russian copies of Exodus there is no segmentation: the text contains no headings or dots, although some copies use vermilion initials. It is important to note that in most Russian copies the text of Exodus (and of the other books of the Pentateuch) is divided into ten parts, corresponding to the synagogal Saturday readings or *parašoth*. In some manuscripts the *parašoth* are marked only with a numeral in the margin (а҃, в҃, г҃, etc.), while in others this information appears in the text. In some of the Russian copies the text is divided not only into parts but also into chapters[9]. In the Slavonic manuscript tradition such a division was made for the first time in the Gennadian Bible, based on a Vulgate exemplar, and later was used in other manuscripts. It is interesting that in many Russian copies the division into *parašoth* is accompanied by a summary of contents located at the beginning of the book. To some extent the headings in the contents resemble the headings in the main text, but the comparison shows that they do not coincide with the headings in either the South Slavonic or the Russian copies. These are the headings in the contents of the first and second part of the Book of Exodus (reproduced here from manuscript No. 27 in the Rumyantsev collection): а҃. Гоуѳленїе дѣтнн еврѣнскы҃. н ро҃нїе монсеево. н бѣ г҃е҃ ѿ фараона н вндѣнїе аггла в кѵпннѣ. н въпро҃ нменн бо҃. нхѿ г҃е҃ въ егнпе҃ на нзвѣнїе людни. н мѵченїе людемъ; в҃. Оукрѣплени людни ѿ г҃а, н чнсло старѣншн҃ всѣ҃ сн҃въ нл҃въ. рѣ҃ бж҃на. се дх҃ та аг҃гла фараѡнѵ н чюдеса бж҃н велнкаѧ. н чароваиїѧ вълхвъ егнпе҃скн҃.

Returning now to the South Slavonic copies of the book of Exodus, there are two issues. The first issue is whether the segmentation of the text by headings in the South Slavonic copies of the Book of Exodus has any relevance to the parimia lections, and if so, can it be assumed that the headings in the Old Testament biblical manuscripts of the "reading (*četi*) type" additionally had a liturgical role, i.e. they divided the text into lections for liturgical use[10]. The comparisons made with the text of the Byzantine-Slavonic prophetologion (*parimejnik*)

[9] The division of the biblical books into separate chapters has a comparatively late origin. It was introduced in the early thirteenth century by the Bishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Stephen Langton, in the Latin Vulgate manuscripts and from there into the Jewish manuscripts, in response to the controversy between the Christian and Jewish theologians (Марковски 1992: 131).

[10] Recently Minchev expressed the opinion that the role of the headings in the Old Testament manuscripts was not solely exegetic, but also related to liturgy (Минчев 2011).

demonstrate that in some cases, the headings in the Book of Exodus coincide with the beginning of the lections. For example, the heading о рожⷭенн мшїсеwвъ (group A) and о рожⷭствъ мшїсеwвъ (group B) coincide with the beginning of the lections for Epiphany and Tuesday of Holy Week (2:5–10), the heading w пасцъ пръвон (group A) coincides with the beginning of the lection for Holy Saturday (12:1–11), the heading о въшьствїи сн҃омь їс҃лⷩе҃во посрⷣ моора (group B) – the beginning of the lections for Epiphany and Holy Saturday (14:15–29), the heading w ѡслажⷭенн горестнн мерры рⷣкы (group A) and о водⷣ горцⷣн въ моррⷣ (group B) – the beginning of the lections for Epiphany and Exaltation of the Cross (15:22–16:1), etc.

More often, however, the headings have no relation to the beginning of the lections. For example, the heading о млⷣдⷣнцⷣхь евренскыхь. н w баб҃а (group B) is located in the middle of the lection for Monday of Holy Week (1:1–20), the heading ѿхожⷭенїе мшїсеwво ѿ егѵптⷭ (group B) is located in the middle of the lection for Wednesday of Holy Week, etc. In addition, headings are found not only in the lections but also in the part of the Book of Exodus not excerpted for the lectionary. Headings such as о жеⷘлⷣ мшїсеwвⷣ, w поⷯленн лⷘстⷣмь, w ⷘаповⷣдн, w съліанн ааршновⷣ wбраⷘь телѵнн, w дⷣлателⷥ скѵнїѫ etc. have no relationship to the lections of Exodus.

It should also be noted that the South Slavonic copies of Exodus do not have direct instructions in the form of lemmas in the margin for the beginning and end of the lection and the time for its reading. Among a very few exceptions, on fol. 43v of *Барс* 3, the lemma ⷘа҃ marks the beginning of the lections for Epiphany and Tuesday of Holy Week. Similar instructions are found much more often in the Russian copies[11], especially in those which contain headings not typical of the South Slavonic manuscripts. Therefore, it is unlikely that the preserved South Slavonic copies of the Book of Exodus performed a litur-

[11] The most typical in this respect is manuscript No 1 (f. I, 304) from the collection of the St. Sergius Lavra, which is the oldest extant Slavonic copy of the Pentateuch (from the late fourteenth century). Clearly this manuscript was indeed intended for church use, because the beginning and end of each lection, as well as the holiday festival with which it is associated, is marked very accurately in the text and the margins. It is noteworthy that this manuscript contains no headings.

gical function as well. Instead, they appear to have been used for independent reading only.

The second question is related to when the explanatory headings first appeared in the South Slavonic copies of the Book of Exodus. The differences among the copies as well as the presence of copies without any headings suggest that the latter appeared later than the translation. This is also supported by several linguistic and orthographic features, including instances of spelling ѫ as ъ (пръѕн) and ѧ as ѥ (кнѥѕамъ) and the locative plural ending -ѡхъ (прагѡ̀, сѫдѡ̀, каменѡ̀, etc.).

Of special interest are certain lexemes used in the headings of the manuscripts in group A. To designate the tent built in the desert by Moses, Greek σκηνή is consistently translated as храмъ (e.g. Ex 26:22 н ѿ ꙁадн храма къ странѣ ѩже къ мирю да сътворишн ѕ̀ стлъповь; Ex 33:10 виджѣхѫ же вѣсн лю̀е стл̀ъ wблачныи стоѫшь пр̀ѣ дверми храмѳ. н ставше вѣсн лю̀е поклонншѧ̀ къжо̀ нз̀ дверен храма своего, etc.). However, the headings to the portions of the text referring to the building of the tent have the lexeme скнннн: ꙁаповѣ̀ гн̀ъ къ мшї̈се. н ааронѳ w сътворенн скнннѫ (Ex. 25:12); о ꙁаконоположенн скнниннъ (Ex. 35:4); w прнношенн кнѧзѐ н людѣ̀ дѣлеса на ѳсроенїе скї̈нї (Ex. 35:27); w дѣлателѣ̀ скинїѫ (Ex. 36:3). Particularly interesting in this case is that the lexeme храмъ is associated with translations from Preslav, while the lexeme скнннн is characteristic of the older Cyrillo-Methodian translations (e.g., Grigorovichev parimejnik слоугa же їс̀ъ навгиннъ. не исхождаше ѿ скїнїѧ).

The same observation can also be made about the use of the loanword ндолъ in the heading to chapter 32, which relates how Aaron, the brother of Moses, melted down the jewellery of the Israelites and made the golden calf. The heading reads w поклоненн аароновѐ къ ндолѡмь. In the main text of Exodus, however, the lexeme ндолъ is not found; several times in place of εἴδωλον one can find the Proto-Bulgar word комиръ, which is characteristic of the texts created in Preslav (Ex. 34:13 трѣбнкы ѝ да расыплете. н кѳмиры ѝ да съкрѳшнте. н ваанїа богъ ѝ съжезѣте на wгни).

The lexeme скрижаль also deserves attention, as it is not found in the oldest Old Bulgarian texts, but is used in the copies of the Prophetologion (e.g. Grigorovichev Parimejnik н дамъ тн скрижалн камѣнъıа – καὶ δώσω σοι τὰ πυξία[12] τὰ λίθινα). This lexeme is used in the heading to the text about the laws brought down by Moses written on stone tablets: w скрижалѣ законꙗ. In the main text, however, πλάκας λιθίνας is translated as дъсцѣ каменнѣ (Ex. 31:18).

Also noteworthy is the heading to chapter 36, which describes in detail the priestly vestments of Aaron: w вїтїи каменѡ нже на ефѳдѣ. Here the Hebraism ієфѡдъ is used, while in the main text of Exodus ἐπωμίδα is translated over twenty times as рнза връхнıаꙗ (Ex. 36:14 възложншѫ ѧ на рамѣ рнзы връхнѧѫ – καὶ ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους τῆς ἐπωμίδος; Ex. 36:15 н дѣло рнзы връхнѧѫ – κατὰ τὸ ἔργον τῆς ἐπωμίδος, etc.).

Chapter 22 provides comments on the sanctions for seducing an unbetrothed girl. Here in place of παρθένων one finds the lexeme дѣвнца is used (Ex. 22:17 цѣнѫ да нцѥть емѹ, ꙗкоже ѥ сѫдѣ дв҃цн – καθ’ ὅσον ἐστὶν ἡ φερνὴ τῶν παρθένων), which is believed to have been introduced by the Preslav bookmen to replace the older lexemes дѣва, дѣваꙗ. However, the heading of this text in the margin is w дѣвѣ нєwбрѫчєннѣ, i.e. the Cyrillo-Methodian lexeme дѣва is used again. In the same heading, the lexeme необрѫчєнъ is used in the meaning of ‘unbetrothed’, while the lexeme нєwбѣщаннѫ is used in the text itself (Ex. 22:16 аще же кто wбльстнть нєwбѣщаннѫ).

Therefore it can be assumed that lexemes characteristic of the Preslav literary school are used in the main text of Exodus, while the headings are characterized by more archaic lexemes. As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, three of the preserved South Slavonic copies of the Book of Exodus (group A) can be traced back to an antigraph associated with the activity of scholars in Turnovo. It is natural to assume that this antigraph contains traces of their work. Perhaps one of these traces can be sought in the headings, since, as is well known, the fourteenth century saw a certain return to the older

[12] In some copies πλάκας.

Cyrillo-Methodian vocabulary. It can be assumed also that the introduction of headings is associated with the return to the Byzantine tradition of biblical books, a feature of the literature from the period of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SLAVONIC VERSION OF THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET JEREMIAH TO THE STUDY OF ITS ORIGINAL STRUCTURE IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

Tatyana Mostrova

Among the enormous number of studies on the Book of Jeremiah in the Hebrew tradition, of particular interest are those that discuss the issues of its non-homogeneous structure and hence also the issues of how it evolved. We should note that the majority of researchers from the beginning of the twentieth century until now are of the opinion that the Book of Jeremiah consists at least of three, and according to some authors, four different sources[1]: a) rhythmically-structured orations (poetic oracles) by the prophet and information about him; b) information (stories) about Jeremiah told in the third person singular, known as Baruch's biography; c) discourses in prose in a Deuteronomistic revision; and d) predictions of salvation for Israel and Judah in chapter 30 and the chapters that follow it.

As far as chronology is concerned, chapters 1–39 (using the Masoretic chapter numeration system, hereafter MT) refer to the time before the fall of Jerusalem and chapters 40 to 45 inclusive to the time afterward, but "insofern ein gewisses chronologisches Gerüst, als etwa die Worte der ersten Periode Jeremias (Kap. 1–6) der zweiten (Kap. 7 ff.) vorgeordnet sind" (Schmidt 1995: 241). Only the first 25 chapters, which are notable for their predominantly poetic style (Herrmann 1990: 48ff.), are considered authentic. The body of the text grew slowly; additions were made at different times and from different sources so that "von einer methodischen Komposition, einer einheitlichen Disposition kann keine Rede sein." (Duhm 1901: XX) In all probability, chapters 26–52, which have a different compositional structure (Herrmann 1990: 4), were combined into a single entity together with the main corpus, i.e. chapters 1–25, only in the late

[1] See the review of the studies and bibliography on the subject in Schmidt 1995: 239, 438–441; Holladay 1989: 11–14; Herrmann 1990: 38–117.

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second or early third century B.C. Chapters 46–51, which contain the prophecies against the Gentiles that are known as "Predictions against foreign nations", also refer to the latest additions. Chapter 52 is a concluding historical supplement (Duhm 1901: XXI; Herrmann 1990: 39), identical in content with 2 Kings (4 Kings) 24:18 – 25:30 (Rudolph 1958: 295).

The Greek translation of the seventy translators (the Septuagint), which was the earliest to emerge, is of major importance to the critical study of the Hebrew Old Testament, as the oldest textual tradition of the Masoretic text before the discovery of the Qumran scrolls (Tov 1987: 153; Tov 1997a: 112–113). According to historical evidence, the Pentateuch was the first book of the Septuagint that was translated (in the third century B.C.), whereas the books of the Prophets were translated in the late second century B.C. (Tov 1987: 134–135; Tov 1997a: 114). The Septuagint, however, includes not only the initial translation of the complete collection but also later revisions and biblical books that had been composed originally in Greek (Tov 1987: 125). Thus, for instance, because of the multi-layered character of the Septuagint, the second part of the Greek version of the Book of Jeremiah (chapters 29–52, LXX numbering) follows an anonymous Greek redaction, whereas the Book of Lamentations (Θρῆνοι) is in Aquila's translation from the second century (Tov 1987: 136).

The content of the archetype of the Septuagint's translation came from different sources. Because Hebrew books usually were written on two or more scrolls, in order to copy the Septuagint in the form of a codex, enveloping a greater amount of text, it was necessary to gather a large number of scrolls for the translation of the individual books, and „wahrscheinich hat er, wenn er keine andere Wahl hatte, Rollen unterschiedlichen Charakters zusammengefaßt." (Tov 1987: 136). This explains to a large extent the differences among the individual translations of the books with regard to vocabulary and style of translation (Tov 1987: 136).

In the Septuagint the books from the Hebrew canon are arranged in a different order. According to some scholars they belong to four parts: Low, historical, poetical, and prophetical books (Schmidt 1995: 3), but in the view of some other authors the first two parts form one common section: "1. gesetzliche und geschichtliche Bücher" (Tov 1997a: 114). The Minor Prophets precede the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, the last of which was added later. This biblical codex, however, also includes some of the so-called non-canonical

books or Apocrypha. They were included in the biblical corpus according to their genre in different parts of the Hebrew canon (Tov 1997a: 113). The Book of Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah, both considered to be apocryphal, were added to the Prophecy of Jeremiah and the Book of Lamentations, which were represented in the Hebrew canon. In particular, the original Hebrew text of the Book of Baruch, which is now wedged between the Book of Jeremiah and the Book of Lamentations, is believed to have been lost (Ziegler 1957: 20). Latest research confirms the thesis about its Hebrew original, which, however, has not been found so far (Steck 1998: 18). This book has been well preserved in the Ancient Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, Arabic, and Armenian traditions. The Book was written in Hebraicized Greek, but in the Greek textual tradition it was treated as a separate book ascribed to Baruch, beginning in the third century. Before then, it had been linked to Jeremiah (Steck 1998: 17).

The Epistle of Jeremiah addressed to the captives when they were being taken to Babylon (Ἐπιστολὴ Ἰερεμίου), consists of one chapter containing 72 verses, and also had not been part of the Hebrew canon. The idea behind its creation, according to Moore (1977: 318), came from chapter 29 of the Book of Jeremiah: "Now these are the words of the letter that Jeremiah the prophet sent from Jerusalem to the remainder of the elders who were carried away captive – to the priests, the prophets, and all the people whom Nebuchadnezzar had carried away captive from Jerusalem to Babylon." (NKJV: 29:1)[2].

The Latin translation of the Bible (theVulgate) written by St. Jerome between 390 and 405 (Tov 1997a: 128) includes fewer apocryphal works. In it the Book of Baruch is located not after the Book of Jeremiah as in the Greek tradition, but after the Book of Lamentations. The Epistle of Jeremiah is not a separate book, but has been inserted as chapter 6 of the Book of Baruch.

The literature on the Slavonic medieval translations of the Old Testament does not devote special attention to the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah[3]. In comparison with the rest of the Old Testament books in the Slavonic manuscript tradition, the Prophecy of Jeremiah appears in rather abbreviated form. In the three types of translations from the

[2] Here and elsewhere all English quotations from the Bible are from the New King James Version (NKJV), 1982 edition.

[3] For a full review of studies on the medieval Slavic translations of the Old Testament, see Thomson 1998; Алексеев 1999.

Greek – the Old Testament lectionary form[4] (for liturgical use), the complete or reading version[5] and the complete translation with commentaries (the last two not being intended for liturgical use). The largest portion of the text of Jeremiah is contained in the so-called "Prophecies with commentaries". These were translated by Bulgarian bookmen from Preslav and, as suggested by the name, they were accompanied with commentaries. This translation emerged approximately during the first quarter of the tenth century, during the reign of Tsar Simeon (893–927) (Мострова 1995: 9–26). The text, however, includes only chapters 25:15–45:5 (MT) and the concluding chapter 52, and forms a thematic complex with the books that accompany it: i.e. the Book of Baruch, the Book of Lamentations, the Epistle of Jeremiah and the Vita of Jeremiah (Мострова 2006: 109).

The prophet Jeremiah is quoted rather rarely in Cyrillic Slavonic liturgical miscellanies. The original Cyrillo-Methodian translation of the Old Testament lectionary (Parimiynik) includes only 45 selected verses from five chapters of the Book of Jeremiah, which are read during Lent as part of the Lenten Cycle, or outside of that cycle only in these special cases (see 2. Printed sources, Рибарова, Хауптова 1998):

– on Holy Thursday (Maundy Thursday) at matins: Jer 11:18–23 and 12:1–5, 9–11, 14–15;

– on Holy Saturday at vespers: Jer 38 (MT 31):31–34;

– in times of drought or military danger: Jer 1:1–8, 11–17; 2:2–12.

To these lections we should add the Book of the Prophet Baruch, which in both the Greek and Slavonic manuscript traditions has been added to the Prophecy of Jeremiah. In the Old Testament lectionary the fifth lection in the Christmas Day evening service consists of seven verses from the Book of Baruch, from the end of the third chapter and the beginning of the fourth: Bar 3:36–38; 4:1–4.

According to Evseev (Евсеев 1899: 354–373), traces of the original complete Methodian translation of the prophetic books, which is now lost, have been found in the fifteenth-century Archival Chronograph copy of the Chronicle of John Malalas (a Russian manuscript, Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, Moskow, f. 181, № 279/658). The text contains individual verses from Daniel, Jeremiah and four of

[4] The *parimiynik*, or Slavonic Old Testament lectionary for liturgical use, corresponds to the Greek *Prophetologion*.

[5] Entire books have been discovered in this translation associated with Methodius (see Алексеев 1999: 155).

the minor prophets (Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi), inserted into various locations in 4 Kings (2 Kings). The example that Evseev quotes from Jeremiah is from chapter 46 (39): 3–7, 11, 13, 14. He also reported on another twelve chapters in which he had discovered verses from this translation: 3, 6, 11, 12, 13, 15, 31, 40–43 и 52. I have found this text also in the Vilnius copy of the Chronograph, from the sixteenth century (Добрянский 1882: 246 and ff., № 109; Морозова 2008: 42–43 – the first third of the sixteenth century), whose text is identical with the Archival Chronograph, and which in fact contains a total of 112 verses from Jeremiah and Baruch: Jer 3:6–12; 6:16–19; 11:18–23; 12:1–5, 9–11; 13:23–25; 15:1–4; 38 (31):31–34; 46 (39):3–7, 11–14; 47 (40):2–16; 48 (41):1–18; 49 (42): 1–22; 50(43):1–7; 52:26–30; Bar 3:36–4:4. Some of the verses from chapters 39, 40, 43 of Jeremiah (MT) and chapter 52, coincide in content with chapters 24–25 of 4 Kings (2 Kings), where I. Evseev had discovered them. That is why in this case one should be very careful. Unfortunately, because of the incompleteness of the Slavonic translation of the Book of Jeremiah with commentaries, the first six chapters are not available for comparison. Verses 4–7 and 11–13 of chapter 46 (39) and the end of chapter 52 (verses 28–30) are also missing from the translation with commentaries, but the missing verses repeat the content of chapter 52, and this is probably why they were also omitted from the Greek prototyp of the Slavonic translation whit commentaries. Verse 39:5 (MT) corresponds to part of 52:9, 39:6 is equal to 52:10, and 39:7 – to 52:11, and so on. Chapter 40, which follows, does not exhibit so many variants as added words and phrases and one longer passage which are missing in the Greek text and the Slavonic translation with commentaries. Clearly this translation was made from a different Greek source, probably together with Malalas' Chronicle. Only after the text of the Chronicle has been studied and it is clear how these excerpts correspond to the vocabulary and the syntax of the Chronograph can we say with certainty whether they are indeed from an earlier translation made by Methodius. At this stage we must assume that these are excerpts translated from a Greek source which differs from the Greek prototyp of the Slavonic translation with commentaries, which we shall conventionally call Methodian.

The situation with regard to the Old Testament lections (pericopes) is also similar. From their text twenty-five verses remain as a basis for comparative study, and only eleven of these are found in the Slavonic

translation of the Book of Jeremiah with commentaries: Jer 11:18–23; 12:1–5, 9–11; 31(38):31–34 and Bar 3:36–38 – 4:1–4.

A total of 245 verses is preserved in the Croatian Glagolitic breviaries and missals that are available to us[6]:

a) in the breviaries: Jer 1:1–19; 2:1–12, 31–37; 3:1–5; 31:31–34; 32:37–42; Lamentations: 1:1–22; 2:1–20; 3:1–20, 22–28; 4:1–9; 5:1–16 after Vid 1396, (II Vrbn, Br 1491, II Novl with slightly different content of the pericopes).

b) in the missals: Jer 1:4–10; 7:1–7; 11:18–20; 17:5–10, 13–18; 18:18–23; Bar 3:9–38 (in Miss 1483, HM, NM). NM also contains Jer 29:11, 12, 14 and Bar 5:5; 4:36.

Croatian Glagolitic books contain more verses, but they have been translated or edited mainly on the basis of the Latin translation. For instance, all five chapters of the Book of Lamentations in Vid's Breviary and most of the verses in the missals cannot be used for comparison. In fact, only two chapters of Jeremiah from the missals can be used (chapters 1, 11) and only for comparison with the Old Testament lectionary and the breviaries.

From examination of the Old Testament lectionary (Parimiynik) and the Croatian Glagolitic tradition, as well as excerpts from what we assume to be the Methodian translation in the Chronograph, it is clear that most of the verses quoted in these sources are from the first part of Jeremiah, 1:1–25:14, which has not been found so far in its commentated version. This raises the question of where the rest of the chapters are from the commentated text of Jeremiah, and whether they were translated at all, insofar as no copies of them are attested despite the fact that the Book of Jeremiah had such a wide circulation in the Slavonic manuscript tradition. So far a total of forty-five Russian and four South Slavonic copies of Jeremiah have been found (Евсеев 1905: LX–LXIX; Mathiesen 1983:18–37; Предварительный список 1986: 87, 88, 186, 237, 238), either containing commentaries or with the commentaries removed, and all of these exemplars contain only the second part of the Book of Jeremiah in its Preslav translation. The oldest manuscript which contains prophetic books with commentaries (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the twelve Minor Prophets), is a Middle Bulgarian manuscript dated to the last quarter of the fourteenth century, in the Russian National Library in Saint Petersburg (F.I.461)[7].

[6] At the end of the article see the list of the sources used.

[7] About this copy see Николова 1994: 110–118; Златанова 1998: 47–80. On the orthographic peculiarities in the Book of Isaiah see Попова 1996: 57–63.

Most of the other South Slavonic and Russian copies have been dated to the fifteenth and sixteenth centirues, and several have been dated to the seventeenth century.

It is well known that at the end of the fifteenth century, when the first full Russian biblical codex was being compiled in Novgorod under the direction of Archbishop Gennadius, the books and portions of books that had been unknown to the Slavonic manuscript tradition were translated from Latin (Thomson 1998: 655; Алексеев 1999: 197; Ромодановская 2004: 235). The prophetic books in the Gennadian Bible of 1499 are in the commentated translation, but with the commentaries themselves removed (Алексеев 1999: 198). Taking into account that "Новгород XV в., был несомненно, крупнейшим центром славянской письменности, где можно было найти все необходимое для составления полного библейского кодекса" (Алексеев 1999: 198) it is clear that if copies of the full translation of the Prophecy of Jeremiah, containing all its chapters, had been available, they would have been used, as was the second portion of the book, chapters 25:15–45:5 and chapter 52, which had been translated in Preslav. The second portion of the Prophecy of Jeremiah and all the other components of the complex (i.e. Baruch, Lamentations, and the Epistle of Jeremiah) were included without any editorial changes in the Gennadian Bible of 1499, in a manuscript from the Solovetskiy Monastery from 1497, in copies of the May volumes from the three sets of the Great Menologia (the Uspensky, Sofiysky and Tsarsky sets, hereafter Usp2, Sof2, Car2), and elsewhere (Мострова 2005: 185). Hence there emerged a new type of contaminated translation which has existed in the Russian manuscript tradition since the late fifteenth century, in parallel with the copies of the old Preslav translation of the second part of the book (Мострова 2006: 110 and ff.). The new Russian translation of the entire missing first portion from the Book of Jeremiah (chapters 1:1–25:14), which scholars working on the Hebrew canon called "echte Prophetie", "echtes Prophetenwort" (Duhm 1901: X; Herrmann 1990: 19) and the prophecies addressed to the foreign nations (chapters 46–51) is too literal, difficult to understand, and abounding in Latinisms, inaccurate Slavonic correspondences and borrowed constructions alien to Slavonic language structure. These are the findings of my recent work on the Book of Jeremiah, based on copies from the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (the Gennadian Bible, the Solovetskiy copy of 1492, and Usp2, Sof2, and Car2, among others). In Slavonic studies, A. V. Gorskiy and K. I. Nevostruev (Горский, Невоструев 1885: 94–98) first assessed the trans-

lation based on the Latin, revealing many of the mistakes and inaccuracies in their description of the Gennadian Bible. Fortunately, a peculiarity of the structure of the Latin-based text enables us to compare the Preslav translation with the new Russian translation: deliberately or not, the Dominican monk Veniamin, who is believed to be the translator from the Latin (Соболевский 1903: 255; Евсеев 1914: 15), translated all of chapter 25 although the Preslav text was available to him from chapter 25:15 on. This allows us to follow the two translations in parallel. We quote here the text of some of the verses, 25:30 (= LXX 32: 16, Ziegler 1957: 328) and 25:36–37 (= LXX 32: 22–23, Ziegler 1957: 330), from the Middle Bulgarian copy F.I.461 and the Gennadian Bible (Genn):

Genn 25:30 – Гъ ѿ высоты възрѣветъ. и ѿ жилищ стго своєго дастъ гла̂ свои.

Ревущи възрѣвет на красотꙋ свою. келеꙋма ꙗко топꙋющихъ наущет сѧ на всѧ wбитателѧ земли.

Vulgata 25:30 – Dominus de excelso rugiet et de habitaculo sancto suo dabit vocem suam.

rugiens rugiet super decorem suum. celeuma quasi calcantium concinetur adversus omnes habitatores terrae.

NKJV 25:30 – Therefore prophesy against them all these words, and say to them:

The Lord will roar from on high.
And utter His voice from His holy habitation;
He will roar mightily against His fold.
He will give a shout, as those who tread *the grapes*.
Against all the inhabitants of the earth.

Genn 25:36 – Гла̂ вопль пастырен и рыданїе дръжавнѣншихъ стадо̀ иже испокастилъ гъ паствы и.

Vulgata 25:36 – vox clamoris pastorum et ululatus opimatium gregis quia vastavit Dominus pascuam eorum.

NKJV 25:36 – A voice of the cry of the shepherds,
And a walling of the leaders to the flock *will be heard.*
For the Lord has plundered their pasture.

Genn 25:37 – и ꙋмолкоша wбщинѧ мира. ѿ лица гнѣва ꙗростн гнѧ.

Vulgata – et conticuerunt arva pacis a facie irae furoris Domini.

NKJV 25:37 – And the peaceful dwellings cut down
Because of the fierce anger of the Lord.

F.I. 461 25:30 – гⷭ҃ь ѿ въстока прⷪ҃реть ѿ стⷱго своєго дасть гла҃ свон.
слово прореүеть ѿ мѣста с҃вѣго. сн же ꙗкы емлѧще ѿвѣщаѧть.
нлн на сѣдѧщѫ҃ѫ҃ на ꙁемлн, тоу потрѣбленїе наⷭ҃ѧ.

LXX 32:16 – Κύριος ἀφ᾽ ὑψηλοῦ χρηματιεῖ, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου αὐτοῦ δώσει φωνὴν αὐτοῦ.
λόγον χρηματιεῖ ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ, καὶ αιδεδ (Var. οἱ δέ) ὥσπερ τρυγῶντες ἀποκριθήσονται. καὶ ἐπὶ καθημένους τὴν γῆν ἦκει ὄλεθρος.

F.I. 461 25:36 – гла҃ въплѣ пастырска. н клнүь ѡвець н ѡвень. ꙗко потрѣбн гⷭ҃ь пажнть н҃.

LXX 32:22 – φωνὴ κραυγῆς τῶν ποιμένων καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς τῶν κριῶν τῶν προβάτων, ὅτι ὠλέθτρευσε κύριος τὰ βοσκήματα αὐτῶν.

F.I. 461 25:37 – н прѣмлъкнєть доброта мнра ѿ лнца ꙗростн н гнѣва гⷭ҃нѣ.

LXX 32:23 – καὶ παύσεται τὰ καταλύματα (Var. καλα) τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπὸ προσώπου ὀργῆς θυμοῦ μου.

Unfortunately there is no extant full Preslav translation, and we can only try to determine why the Prophecy of Jeremiah was probably never translated in full. To this end we shall compare the structure of the Book of Jeremiah in the Hebrew canon and in the Septuagint as a basis for the Old Bulgarian translation in the first quarter of the tenth century.

Most scholars working on the MT divide the Book of Jeremiah along general lines, from a structural-compositional perspective, into two main components: 1–25 and 26–52. If, however, we follow Schmidt's detailed structural scheme (Schmidt 1995: 241–224) and Herrmann's comparative scheme (Herrmann 1990: 41–52) for MT and LXX, which is similar to it, we find that the first part of the book (1–25) in MT ends with verse 14 of chapter 25, while in LXX, in Ziegler's reconstructed text (Ziegler 1957: 274, cf. Rahlfs 1935; Nestle 1934), it ends with verse 13b:

LXX 25:13a-b – ***a*** καὶ ἐπάξω ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην πάντας τοὺς λόγους μου, οὓς ἐλάλησα κατ᾽ αὐτῆς, ***b*** πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ.

NKJV 25:13a-b-c – ***a*** So I will bring on that land[8] all My words which I have pronounced against it, ***b*** all that is written in this book, ***c*** **which Jeremiah has prophesied concerning all the nations.**

Here begin the differences in the arrangement of the chapters and verses between MT and LXX. The next verse, 25:14, is interpreted by Herrmann as a "backward look" (*Rückblick*). It is found in MT, but is missing in the reconstructed Greek text (Ziegler 1957: 274). It is believed that the verse 14 emerged in the early Hebrew tradition as a gloss linking verses 13 and 15 (Rietzschel 1966: 43). In LXX (Ziegler 1957; Nestle 1934) it is found only in the critical apparatus and is noted as a margin al gloss in several copies of Lucianic recension (51–449 = MT 25:14) and in the apparatus to the Hexapla (α′ σ′ ϑ′ Syh Q 86):

As a gloss (= MT **25:14)** – οτι εδουλευσαν εν αυτοις καιγε αυτοι εθνη πολλα (**σ′** καταδουλωσονται γαρ και αυτους εθνη πολλα Syh) και βασιλεις μεγαλοι και ανταποδωσω αυτοις κατα την εργασιαν αυτων και κατα τα εργα των χειρων αυτων οτι Q 86 (sub α′ ; om. οτι in fine)

NKJV 25:14 – (For many nations and great kings shall be served by them also: and I will repay them according to their deeds and according to the works of their own hands.)

In this verse from the MT, as in the entire last segment 25:1–14, Duhm (1901: 200) sees the involvement of a later redactor who intended to end this portion of the text here. According to other scholars, however (Eissfeldt 1964: 472–473), verse 14 was the original end of the initial scroll, (see also the survey of opinions in Rietzschel 1966: 25–27). In LXX, 25:14 corresponds to another verse in the MT, 49:34, whose content is similar, but it has already been included in the prophecies to the Gentiles:

LXX 25:14 – Ἃ ἐπροφήτευσεν Ιερεμίας ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ Αιλαμ

NKJV 49:34 – The word of the LORD that came to Jeremiah the prophet against Elam…

According to Rudolph's opinion, however, which coincides with Schmidt and Herrmann's view, verse 13 was interpolated again during the redacting of chap. 25 as the end of the first part of the Book of Jeremiah (Rudolph 1958: 149). In Hebrew biblical studies, specialists divide this verse into three component parts: **a**, **b**, and **c**, each of which

[8] The previous verse mentions the land of the Chaldeans.

has its own purpose (Rietzschel 1966: 42–44). Of importance for us is the last part (13c). This portion is preserved only in a few Greek copies[9] before 32:1 (in the fifth-century Codex Alexandrinus, several copies of the Hexaplaric recension, the catenae group of copies, and the Arabic translation linked to the Septuagint), but in the Old Bulgarian translation it performs an important function, appearing in all Slavic manuscripts as a title in cinnabar at the beginning of the commentated translation:

Єлнко прорече неремна до въсѣхъ странъ (л. 140a, F. I. 461)

οσα επροφητευσεν ιερεμιας επι παντα τα εθνη (A Q-46-130-613 C΄ Arab: cf. MT 25:13)

NKJV 25:13c – …which Jeremiah has prophesied concerning all the nations

Studying the original Hebrew scroll (Rietzschel 1966: 43 and ff.), Rietzschel too defined this part of the verse 13c as an inscription (*Überschrift*) that had earlier introduced a separate set of verses in the Hebrew tradition. He compared it to an introductory formula to 25:15, the so-called "Pericopes of the cup" (*Bechersperikope*), which in the Preslav translation are as follows:

F.I.461 25:15 (LXX 32:1) – Тако рече гъ бъ израилевъ. възми ѹаша вина несмѣшенаго сего ѿ рѫкы моеѫ. да напоишн въсѧ страны къ нимъже азъ посла тѧ. (140a)

LXX 32:1 – Οὕτως εἶπε κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ισραηλ Λάβε τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ ἀκράτου τούτου ἐκ χειρός μου καὶ ποτιεῖς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, πρὸς ἃ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω σε πρὸς αὐτούς.

NKJV 25:15 – For thus says the LORD God of Israel to me: "Take this wine cup of fury from my hand, and cause all the nations, to whom I send you, to drink it."

The second part of the book in the MT begins with 25:15–38. These 24 verses are known as "A Vision of the Cup of Drunkenness" (*Vision vom Taumelbecher*) and are an introduction to the "Threatening Words (*Drohworte*) against foreign nations". In the many comparative studies of the two portions of the book it has long been observed that these prophecies are placed in chapters 46–51 in the MT, whereas in LXX they are distributed between chapters 26–31,

[9] This is just one of the important clues in the investigation of issues linked to the Greek tradition in the Book of Jeremiah, which will be presented elsewhere.

but in an entirely different order. Most scholars believe that 46–51 (26–31) is an independent collection and probably a later addition to the Hebrew tradition (see Holladay 1989: 6; Tov 1972: 189, and others).

Here we shall present in parallel the order of the chapters and verses in the Book of Jeremiah in the MT and in the Greek text of the Septuagint, based on the chart to Ziegler's edition (1957: 147), in order to show more clearly the scope of the text translated in Preslav:

Table I

MT	**LXX**
1:1 – 25:13	*= 1:1– 25:13*
25:15-38	**= 32:1–24**
26 – 43	**= 33 – 50**
44: 1–30	**= 51: 1–30**
45: 1–5	**= 51: 31–35**
46	*= 26*
47: 1–7	*= 29: 1–7*
48	*= 31*
49: 1–6	*= 30: 1–5*
49: 7–22	*= 29: 8–23*
49: 23–27	*= 30: 12–16*
49: 28–33	*= 30: 6-11*
49: 34–39	*= 25: 14 – 26:1*
50	*= 27*
51	*= 28*
52	**= 52**

Within the framework of chapters 46–51, which in LXX correspond to 25:14 – 31:44, observe the internal transposition in the text of the prophecies against foreign nations (Rietzschel 1966: 45):

Table II

MT	**LXX**
Egyptians	Elam
Philistines	Egyptians
Moab	Babylon
Ammon	Philistines
Edom	Edom
Damascus	Ammon

Kedar	Kedar
Elam	Damascus
Babylon	Moab

Thanks to the fragments discovered at Qumran it has already been established that the translation of the Book of Jeremiah in the Septuagint follows an abbreviated Hebrew textual tradition. This short version is considered to be the original first redaction, similar to the text discovered in some of the Qumran scrolls (4QJer^{bd}), whereas the MT, which has been codified, follows the second expanded redaction (presented in 4QJer^{a}). The MT differs also in the location of the chapters on the prophecies against the foreign nations (in chapters 46–51) and in the arrangement of their content (Tov 1997a: 265–267; 1997b: 145–167). In most cases it is assumed by scholars that disrupted order of the chapters in LXX is a feature of the original translation (Tov 1997a: 265), but arguments have also been presented in support of the hypothesis that this is a secondary change (Fischer 1991: 474–499).

The chapters and verses marked in boldface in Table I represent the text that was translated in Preslav. As one can see, these constitute an integral block in LXX which covers 32:1 to 52 inclusive (= MT 25:15–45:5 plus chapter 52). In content this segment is the entire second part of the book, in accordance with the scheme of MT, if we exclude "the Threatening Words against foreign nations" (chaps. 46–51), which have been placed before it in LXX (chaps. 25:14–31:44) and naturally merge with the first part of the book (1:1–25:13).

As mentioned above, long before the Preslav translation, as far back as the tradition of the Hebrew Bible, verse **13c** had served as a link between the two portions of the book, being used as an inscription to the second part (25:15 MT = 32:1). The presence of this verse (13c) and verse 14 before chapter 32:1 in some Greek manuscripts, influenced by MT, presupposes a Greek protograph (*Vorlage*) of this kind for the Slavonic translation linked to the second expanded and reordered redaction of the Hebrew text. In all probability this is a copy of the Hexaplaric recension[10], with which are associated a considerable number of variants in the Old Bulgarian Preslav translation. Under these circumstances it is completely possible that the Preslav bookmen translated only this portion of the Septuagint, which is the

[10] Ziegler 1957: 147 notes that the manuscripts of the Hexaplaric and Lucianic recensions follow the numbering of the chapters in MT.

second part of the structure of the book's text**,** has its own title, and is distinguishable stylistically as a "prose account" (*Prosaberichte*, Schmidt 1995: 241). It contains a considerable amount of material from Jeremiah's speeches made at different times and addressed primarily to his own people: i. e. they are thematically distinguishable also. The text of chapter 38 (31, according to MT) is especially important from the perspective of theology and exegetics. It tells of the conclusion of "the New Covenant" (новъ ѕаѣтъ) between God and the Jewish people, a conclusion that is quoted also in the Old Testament lectionary and in the Glagolitic breviaries (31:31–34). In the passage between chapters 37–39 (MT 30–32) the text contains portions that vary in content, but they all point to a positive development of events in the future, the so-called "Holy Words for Israel" (*Heilsworte für Israel*, Schmidt 1995: 243). Moreover, the translated portion also includes essential information from Jeremiah's life, based on notes made by the scribe Baruch (the Biography of Baruch) and interpolated into chapters 33–36 (26–29) and 43–46 (36–39). As most of the words of wisdom (*Sprüche*) in the first part of the book had been written in poetic form, the translation of the second part was suitable reading matter for the newly baptized Christians in both themes and genre. The prophecies to the inhabitants of Egypt, Babylon, Edom and the other Gentile nations probably were not of great current significance in Tsar Simeon's era, and were left out. Of these, only the introduction 25:15–38 appears in the Preslav translation, in accordance with the structure of the Greek protograph.

Also of significance is the fact that the book contains a large number of doublets, which have been noted in nearly all the studies. These include verses from the first part of the book, which are repeated in the second part (for more details, see Tov 1972: 189–199; Parke Taylor 2000: 325–327), as, for example, 23:19ff. = 30:23ff.; 30:10–11 = 46:27–28; 10:12–16 = 51:15–19 (MT)[11]. The many repetitions of content may have been a purely practical reason for the choice of text to be translated, since in addition to the Book of Jeremiah, the Septuagint also contains Baruch, the Lamentations, and the Epistle, which provide a rich presentation of the prophet's personality; and in the Preslav translation his Vita was also included. Moreover, the Vita was familiar to the Preslav bookmen, because it had been included (albeit in a different Preslav translation) in the well-known Miscellany

[11] Here we have quoted only some of the examples concerning the text translated in Preslav.

of Simeon (fols. 257d–258d) together with other information about the prophets by Epiphanius of Cyprus. It is very possible that a new compilation was made in Preslav, taking only what was most necessary from the prophecies of Jeremiah, and complementing the entire thematic complex with the translation of his Vita.

A particularly persuasive reason for translating precisely this portion of the text is related to the structure of the text. Rather early in Russia, some time before the fifteenth century, the lections from chapters 1 and 2 of the Old Testament lectionary (1:1–8, 11–17; 2:2–12) were added to the beginning of the Book of Jeremiah (32:1 / 25:15) under the heading пророчество неремиино. These verses serve as an introduction (Мострова 2006: 114–115), and address the question of Jeremiah's initiation in prophetic service and the danger to the Kingdom of Judah from the North. The addition of such an introduction would not have been necessary if complete Slavic copies of the Book of Jeremiah had been available. Moreover, the fact that the old cinnabar title Єлнко прорече неремна до всѣхъ странъ that precedes the commentated translation (32:1 in LXX) has remained shows that the introductory verses were a later addition.

The addition from the Old Testament lectionary probably was wide spread in many of the Russian copies (Мострова 2006: 115) and was well known to bookmen, as is obvious from a marginal note in MS № 184 from the Chudov Monastery (second half of the fifteenth century). The text in that manuscript does not contain the additional lectionary chapters 1 and 2. It begins at 32:1 (25:15), but the cinnabar title Єлнко прорече неремна до всѣхъ странъ (= MT 25:13c) is followed by a symbol, also in cinnabar, and the following note in the lower margin on folio 352a:

ꙁдѣ в наѵалѣ пр҃р҃ѵьства їеремїина нѣтъ. к҃ . гла҃. да поля пѧты главы. Ино по рѳскн гдѣ глава. а҃. а по латынскы т҃ѳ гла҃ к҃е. ѿ поля.

This bookman was exceptionally well educated for his time to be able to determine on the basis of the Latin text that the first half of chap. 25 should appear in this location and to know exactly how many chapters were missing from the beginning of the text. But when he wrote: "It is different in Russian, where this is chapter 1", he probably had in mind just the preface (chapters 1:1–8, 11–17; 2:2–12), which

precedes this text in many other Russian copies[12]. Five more notes in the same handwriting are found in the lower margins of MS № 184, commenting on the order of the books. One of them, before chapter 52, states that chapters 46–51 are missing, and on folio 382a, where Baruch begins, there is a comment on the place of the book "in Russian and in Latin". It is clear that the bookman used the term "Russian" to mean the Old Bulgarian translation:

начало варѹха. в латыскѡ прѣ пнса плѧ иеремїинъ а варѹ после. а в ѹкѡ варѹ прѣ а плачь после.

The handwriting is very small, semi-uncial with cursive elements, and it is impossible to determine with certainty whether these notes are by the original copyist or from a later time, as we are not familiar with the marginal notes in the entire manuscript. If the notes are later, clearly their author had at his disposal the cinnabar chapters markings in the margins according to their order in the Latin text of the entire manuscript (гл̃ к̃е ѿ по̃, гл̃ к̃ѕ etc.), because he placed a cinnabar symbol next to the designation of the Epistle of Jeremiah as chapter 6 of Baruch, as is the order of the books in the Vulgate. The note on folio 395a itself explains that this is chapter 6 of Baruch and that the fifth chapter (i.e., the last chapter of Baruch) appears seven folios earlier.

Notes with identical content are found in the same locations in the full Preslav complex of the commented translation: in the Book of Jeremiah (fol. 208v), the Book of Baruch (fol. 234v), the Book of Lamentations, the Epistle of Jeremiah (fol. 238v) are found also in TSL MS № 89. The manuscript is from the early sixteenth century. The notes are available at the website of the Svyato-Troitskaya Sergieva Lavra (www. stsl. ru).

Here we encounter a process linked to the new contaminated Russian translation of the late fifteenth century, which shows an attempt to adapt the manuscripts from the old Preslav translation to the order of books in the Vulgate, where as an apocryphal book, the Book of Baruch has been placed after the Book of Lamentations and the Epistle is designated as its sixth chapter.

[12] Also from the Chudov monastery and from the same period is Russian MS № 182, which, however, begins with the two chapters of the Old Testament lectionary that have been added (fol. 273d), followed by the beginning of the Preslav translation of 25:15 (fol. 274c).

In conclusion I would like to emphasize the importance of some common structural elements in the Slavonic translation and the Greek and Hebrew textual traditions. The appearance of a cinnabar title at the beginning of the Slavonic translation of the book of Jeremiah, which corresponds in content with verse 25: 13c (MT), that is also considered to be an inscription to an independent complex in the structure of the primary Hebrew scroll, links this translation to the oldest Hebrew tradition, that is preserved in only a part of the Greek manuscripts (Codex Alexandrinus, copies of the Hexaplaric recension and the Catena group). These copies direct to a mixed recension, to which probably belonged the Greek source of the Slavonic translation of Jeremiah.

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Other abbreviations

Bar	Baruch
chap.	chapter; chaps. – chapters
fol.	folio
gr.	Greek
Jer	Jeremiah
LXX	Septuagint
MGM	Makary's Great Menologion

MS, MSS manuscript, manuscripts
MT Masoretic text
Var. variant

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THE THREE SLAVONIC TRANSLATIONS OF THE GREEK CATENA ON JOB
With an Appendix on the Author of the First Prologue to the First Translation: Polychronius or Photius?

Francis J. Thomson

A. Introduction

A somewhat neglected field of Slavonic translated literature is that of catenae on the books of the Old Testament, which have hitherto attracted scholarly attention mainly with regard to the Biblical texts contained in them. The sole major achievement of the twentieth century was the publication in 1918 under extremely difficult circumstances of the first volume of the catena on the Minor Prophets by Nikolay Tunitsky (1878–1934), which had been sponsored by the Commission for the Critical Edition of the Slavonic Bible established in 1914[1]. The publication of the catena on the Song of Songs by Anatoly Alekseyev in 2002[2], of the abridged version of the third translation of the catena on Job by Iskra Khristova-Shomova and the catena on Ecclesiastes by Lyubov Osinkina, both in 2007[3], are most welcome signs of a renewed interest in catenae. It is to be hoped that they will soon be followed by an edition of the first of the three translations of the catena on Job, which has been announced by Khristova-Shomova[4].

B. The Greek Catena

The earlier of the two catenae on Job (CPG № C 50) contains 2492 excerpted passages, 529 of which are anonymous[5]. Of the 1963 passa-

[1] Ed. Туницкий 1918: 1–76; on the Commission see Thomson 1998: 619–631.

[2] Ed. Алексеев 2002: 63–122.

[3] Job ed. Христова-Шомова 2007b: 166–301, with a facsimile on 167–300; Ecclesiastes ed. Osinkina 2007: 241–266; on the latter catena see also Osinkina 2003: 1–38.

[4] See Христова-Шомова 2006a: 23.

[5] The catena ed. U. and D. Hagedorn 1994–2004: I (1994), 147–457; II (1997), 1–395; III (2000), 1–415. Fifty-seven codices with all or parts of the catena were examined, see the list ibid. I, 4–20, twenty-one of which were used for the edition of recension γ of the catena, see the stemma ibid. I, 61. For lists of the MSS of the

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ges ascribed to nineteen specific authors, 785 (31.5% of the overall total) were taken from the commentary by Olympiodorus of Alexandria (CPG 7453)[6], while another 413 (16.6%) were taken from the commentary on Job by Polychronius of Apamea (CPG № 3880) and since all 413 are on the first twenty of the forty-two chapters of Job, the compiler of the catena clearly had a codex with only the first half of Polychronius' commentary at his disposal[7]. Apart from these passages in the catena Polychronius' commentary has been lost, although his complete commentary was available to the Pelagian Julian of Aeclanum, who included a literal translation of some of its passages in his Latin commentary on Job (CPL 777)[8]. The catena also made use of the commentary on Job by John Chrysostom (CPG № 4443), from which 217 passages (8.7%) were taken[9]. It is not necessary here to name all the other sources of the catena, suffice it to say that 190 passages (7.6%) were taken from the commentary on Job by Didymus the Blind of Alexandria (CPG № 2553)[10] and 60 (2.4%) from the commentary by Julian the Arian (CPG № 2075)[11].

The not inconsiderable scholarship devoted to the relations between the MSS of the catena has revealed that the earliest form, the

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catena see also Karo and Lietzmann 1902: 321–326; Bertini 1923: 135. On the sources of the catena see Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 98–113; for lists of the authors of the excerpted passages see Karo and Lietzmann 1902: 319–320; Bertini 1923: 131, and CPG № C 50.

[6] Ed. Hagedorn 1984: 1–398; on the catena tradition of the commentary see pp. XIX–XXXIV; on Olympiodorus, about whom little is known other than that he was made deacon by Patriarch John Niciotes of Alexandria (c. 505–515/6), see pp. XXXIX–XLV. Why Hristova-Shomova 2011: 182 categorically denies that the author is to be identified as Olympiodorus of Alexandria is unclear.

[7] See Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 104–107; Bertini 1923: 133–134. Polychronius (†428/431) was the brother of Theodore of Mopsuestia (†428).

[8] Ed. De Coninck and D'Hont 1977: 3–109; on Julian see ibid. VII–XII. As far as the catena text is concerned, this edition replaces the earlier one in SCAS 1897, III, 1: 335–417, reprinted in Hamman 1959, I (4): 1573–1679, but not with regard to the Biblical text, see Ziegler 1982: 24. On Julian's use of Polychronius see Vaccari 1915: 131–156.

[9] There are two recent editions: Sorlin and Neyrand 1988, I: 78–362; II: 10–240; Hagedorn 1990: 1–200.

[10] Only Job 1:1–16:8 of Didymus' commentary survives in a sixth-century papyrus; Job:1–6:29 ed. Henrichs 1968, I: 24–306; II, 40–198; Job 7:20–16:8, ed. Hagedorn and Koenen 1968–1985, III: 2–220; IV,1: 40–198; on the catena tradition see Hagedorn 1985: 55–78.

[11] Julian's commentary ed. Hagedorn 1973: 1–316; on the catena tradition see pp. XXVI–XXX; on the controversy regarding the Arian author, see pp. XXXIV–LVII.

α recension, which was probably compiled in the sixth century since the latest author cited is Olympiodorus, only survives in *codex Monacensis 148* of the thirteenth century[12]. In the α recension the commentary was written in the margins around the Biblical text and the most quoted commentaries were, in descending order of importance, those by Olympiodorus, John Chrysostom and Polychronius, while that by Didymus was seldom used. The text was not divided into thirty-three sections as in Olympiodorus' commentary but into 825 pericopes. No MS of the β recension has survived but its existence is attested by the fact that the compiler of the γ recension included new material, including many passages from Didymus' commentary, but occasionally inadvertently added the same passages of John Chrysostom and Polychronius a second time[13]. The compiler also took more material from Olympiodorus and in so doing he once again inadvertently added passages already in the α recension. He also adopted Olympiodorus' division of the text into thirty-three sections and added three prologues: 1) the first consists of three passages taken from Olympiodorus' prologue to his commentary, in which Olympiodorus points out, amongst other things, that only the LXX text and not the Hebrew text is recognized by the Church as authentic[14]; 2) a prologue by Polychronius on the reasons for the obscurity of Holy Scripture[15]; 3) an anonymous prologue about whether Job lived before the Law, viz. before Moses, or under the Law, viz. after Moses. Beside the incipit of this third prologue in some MSS is a marginal gloss ascribing it to Polychronius[16]. In addition, beside the words

[12] On the α recension see Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 115–123; on *codex Monacensis 148* see Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 9 and 61–64; Hagedorn 1991: 379–381; Ziegler 1982: 154–155; Karo and Lietzmann 1902: 323; Rahlfs 1914: 152, № 250. The claim that there are three codices, thus Христова-Шомова 2006a: 4, is inaccurate, although there are parts or fragments of the α recension in four other MSS, see Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 64–73.

[13] On the β recension see Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 123–127.

[14] Cf. the catena ed. Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 147–150, where the beginnings of the second and third passages are marked by the words καὶ μεθ' ἕτερα, ed. 147 and 148, and Olympiodorus' commentary ed. Hagedorn 1984: 1–5, where the passages are on 1, 2, and 3–5.

[15] Ed. Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 151–152; for a German translation of it see Hagedorn 1994–2004, IV: 35–36. The best analysis of this second prologue remains that by Bardenhewer 1879: 52–58.

[16] Ed. Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 153–155; for the marginal gloss see the apparatus criticus p. 153. The ascription of the third prologue to Polychronius is dubious since it contains a typological comparison of Job and Christ typical of the allegorical

εἰκὸς οὖν, ὁτὶ καὶ Μωυσῆς συνεγράψατο τὸ βιβλίον εἰς παραίνεσιν τοῦ Ἰσραήλ in the middle of the prologue there is in some MSS another gloss ascribing the ending of the text to a certain Ἰουλιανὸς, called variously ὁ Ἀλεχανδρείας, or Ἀλεχανδρεύς, or simply ὁ συγγρα[φεύς][17]. The composition of the γ recension, which is a conflation of the α and β recensions and is found in many MSS, can only be dated to some time between the early sixth century, when Olympiodorus compiled his commentary, and the late seventh-early eighth century, the date of the earliest surviving MS, *codex Patmiacus graecus 171*[18].

The 1637 *editio princeps* of the catena on Job prepared by Patrick Young (1584–1652) is based on two late MSS, viz. *codices Bodleiani Barocciani 176* of 1562 and *178*, also of the sixteenth century, which contain a late, much expanded revision of the catena (CPG C 51), and the Greek text is accompanied by a parallel Latin translation[19]. The revision was formerly ascribed to Metropolitan Nicetas of Heracleia (c. 1050 – after 1117), but the earliest manuscript of it is *codex Vaticanus Palatinus 230* of the late tenth or early eleventh century,

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Alexandrian approach to exegesis, the opposite of that of Polychronius, an exegete of the Antiochene school; for a German translation of the prologue and a commentary on it see Bardenhewer 1879: 45–48 and 49–52.

[17] For the variants of the gloss see the apparatus criticus in Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 153. Julian's identity is uncertain.

[18] On the MS see Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 13, 44–52, 56–61, 89 and 91; Σακκελίων 1890: 90–92, and Rahlfs 1914: 218, № 612. Karo and Lietzmann do not list it. On the γ recension see Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 127–133; for a list of the doublets of passages in chapters I–VI of the recension with an indication of their provenance see pp. 129–130.

[19] Ed. Young 1637: 1–616. To the catena Young appended the *editio princeps* of the book of Job in the *codex Alexandrinus* of the fifth century, ed. appendix 1–46. For *codices Barrociani 176* and *178* see Karo and Lietzmann 1902: 330 and 328; Rahlfs 1914: 169, № 512 and № 513. The latter MS is a *codex descriptus* of *codex Barrocianus 201*, dated to the twelfth century by Karo and Lietzmann 1902: 328, but to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century by Rahlfs 1914: 169, № 515. The Greek text of the catena without the Latin translation was published at Venice in 1792 under the title: Σειρὰ τῶν πατέρων εἰς τὸν Ἰώβ, συλλεχθεῖσα παρὰ Νικήτα μητροπολίτου Ἡρακλείας· νεωστὶ μετατυπωθεῖσα σπουδῇ καὶ δαπάνῃ τοῦ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Ἰωάννου Μαρμαροτούρῃ καὶ μετὰ ἀκριβοῦς ἐπιμελείας διορθωθεῖσα παρὰ Γεωργίου Χρυσοφοῦ τοῦ ἐξ Εὐρίπου [...]. The claim in the title that the text had been corrected "with diligent accuracy" by Georgios Chrysophos is a wild exaggeration as he merely incorporated into the text the corrections suggested by Young in the margins of his 1637 edition.

which excludes its ascription to Nicetas[20]. The anonymous compiler added much new material to the γ recension, some of it from the α recension, with which it has both common passages and common readings not shared by the γ recension. He may have also used the lost β recension since there are some passages of Didymus' commentary which are not found in either α or γ as well as some passages from Polychronius' commentary which are not in the γ recension but which are found in an almost literal Latin translation in Julian of Aeclanum's commentary. There can be no doubt about the compiler's editorial skill since he successfully wove excerpts taken from various sources into homogeneous wholes[21]. An example of this is the fact that the revised version does not have any of the three prologues of the γ recension but six different ones, which are all patchworks of various passages[22]. It is true that a few MSS do have the three prefaces of the γ recension but the earliest is of the thirteenth century, viz. *codex Hierosolymitanus Sancti Sepulchri 5*, so that this is clearly a secondary development[23]. Jacques-Paul Migne (1800–1875) collected the excerpts attributed to the various authors in Young's edition and published them in the respective volumes of their works in his *Patrologia graeca*[24], but due to the untrustworthiness of the text of the revised

[20] On the revision see U. and D. Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 133–137, who, p. 134, n. 72, add fourteen more MSS to the 23 MSS already listed by Karo and Lietzmann 1902: 328–331; see also Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 59–62; Hagedorn 1984: XXIX–XXXIII. *Codex Vaticanus Palatinus 230* is dated to the tenth century by Stevenson 1885: 124, but to the late tenth or early eleventh century by Karo and Lietzmann 1902: 328, and Rahlfs 1914: 243, № 259, while Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 18, first date it to the late tenth or early eleventh century and then, ibid. 94, to the eleventh. The earlier dating of Nicetas' life to c. 1030 – c. 1100 has been abandoned as he was the spokesman of those who accused Metropolitan Eustratius of Nicaea (fl. 1082–1117) of heresy in April 1117; see his address to the Synod, which condemned Eustratius despite the intervention of Emperor Alexius I Comnenus (1081–1118) on Eustratius' behalf, ed. Joannou 1958: 8–30.

[21] See the remarks by Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 133–137; Hagedorn 1984: XXIX–XXXIV.

[22] In Young's edition the six revised prologues are prefaced to the rest of the catena on folia A–A4, a–a4. On them see Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 95–96.

[23] On the codex see Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 5 and 95–97; Rahlfs 1914: 85, № 409.

[24] For the passages attributed to Didymus see PG 39 (1858): 1120–1153; for John Chrysostom see PG 64 (1860): 505–656, and for Olympiodorus see PG 93 (1860): 13–469. It is frequently, but incorrectly, claimed that the passages attributed to Polychronius are also in PG 93, e.g. by Altaner 1961: 373; Quasten 1950–1960, III: 424; Цоневски 1986: 362.

version only slightly over half of the passages attributed to Olympiodorus in Migne's edition are actually by him and those which are his are mostly in a revised form and hence of little value for the earlier tradition[25].

Fifty years before Young's edition of the later Greek revision a Latin translation of it had been published by the Jesuit Paolo Comitoli (1544–1626) with a dedication to Cardinal Antonio Carafa (1538–1591) in 1587[26]. In his first preface Comitoli states that it had been translated from an old Greek MS in the Vatican Library and since Cardinal Carafa owned a manuscript of the later revision, which he bequeathed to the Vatican Library and is now *codex Vaticanus graecus 1231*, it has frequently been asserted that this was the codex used by Comitoli[27]. However, there are differences between the text in that manuscript and the translation, in which some of the passages that are anonymous in the manuscript are ascribed in the edition to specific authors. Moreover, the translation includes the three prologues of the γ recension, whereas *Vaticanus graecus 1231* does not contain them, so that even if Comitoli did use that codex he must have collated it with another manuscript[28].

C. The First Slavonic Translation

The earliest manuscript of the first translation of the catena on Job is East Slav codex 6 of 1394 in the Chudov collection (SHM). The

[25] This was pointed out by Hagedorn 1984: XII, n. 6. The same applies to the passages attributed to Didymus in PG 93, see Hagedorn 1985: 56.

[26] Comitoli 1587: 1–544; for the dedication see f. *2^{r-v}.

[27] See the first preface, *Interpres Christiano lectori*, ed. Comitoli 1587, ff. *3^{r}–**1^{r}, see **1^{r}. On *Vaticanus graecus 1231* see Karo and Lietzmann 1902: 327, who date it to the thirteenth century, and Rahlfs 1914: 260–261, № 687, who dates it to the twelfth. All three claim that this was the codex used by Comitoli, as does Ziegler 1982: 128.

[28] As Vaccari 1915: 129, n. 1, pointed out. For the catena prologues see Comitoli 1587: 35–37, 37–38 and 38–40. In fact Comitoli's translation had already been published at Lyons in 1586 and in his second preface Comitoli complains that this had been done without his permission and that the editor, Laurentius Cum-Deo, had made alterations and had claimed that the catena was by Nicetas and not by Olympiodorus, to prove which he published Laurentius' letter to him, see the second preface, *De huius auctore catenæ disputatione*, ed. Comitoli 1587: ff. **1^{v}–***3^{v}, for Laurentius' letter see f. 4^{r}. That Laurentius did indeed make alterations is shown by the fact that his edition does not have the three prologues of the γ recension, see Laurentius 1586: 1–247. Laurentius Cum-Deo is in fact the Latinized form of Lorenzo Condio (†c. 1587), librarian to King Henry III of France (1574–1589).

codex is, however, acephalous and begins with Job 3:9[29], the earliest complete manuscript being codex 79 of the fifteenth century in the Pogodin collection (RNL)[30]. The translator incorporated the five passages of Job which are found in the prophetologium as the pericopes for Monday to Friday in Holy Week, viz. 1:1–12; 1:13–22; 2:1–10; 38:1–23+42:1–5, and 42:12–17, in which Job's sufferings and final deliverance are symbolic of the passion and resurrection of Christ. The language of the prophetologium text is the same as that of the texts of the evangeliary, epistolary and psalter, which means that it was translated together with them in Moravia in the ninth century. The text also reveals traces of having been transliterated from Glagolitic[31]. However, the terminology of the rest of the Biblical text of the catena contains 'Preslavisms' as opposed to 'Ochridisms', e.g. страна not ѩзꙑкъ for ἔθνος, съборъ not сънъмъ for συναγωγή, which would indicate that it was translated in Bulgaria in the tenth century. In favour of a Bulgarian origin are also the occasional Old Bulgarisms, e.g. in 32:19: φυσητὴρ χαλκέως, a smith's bellows, мѣхъ кръꙑïннъ, кръꙑнн being the Old Bulgar term for smith[32].

There is, however, one factor which apparently contradicts this: eight early Croat Glagolitic breviaries contain the beginning of Job, the earliest of which is codex 37 (I) in the collection of Vrbnik (Verbenico) on Krk (Veglia) of the late 13th or early 14th century, which like most breviaries has 1:1–3:15, although two, codex 38 (II) in the same collection of the late 14th century and *codex Vindobonensis slavicus 3*, copied by Vid (Vitus) of Omišalj (Castelmuschio) on Krk in 1396, have 1:1–4:9[33]. These codices have 1:1–2:10 in the

[29] For a description of the codex with bibliography see Турилов 2002: 507–508 (№ 352).

[30] The codex, which has not as yet been described in detail, is listed by Турилов 1986: 87 (№ 429).

[31] On the traces of transliteration see Славова 1995: 57–58. In addition to being in editions of codices of the prophetologium, the passages of Job have been edited three times on the basis of codex Q.p.I.13 (RNL) copied at Novgorod in 1271 by the priest Zacharias, his son Eleutherius and a third scribe, see Pechuška 1935: 240–246, 249–251; Афанасьева, Шварц 1980: 21–32; Zaradija Kiš 1997: 196–203.

[32] On the Bulgarism see Христова-Шомова 2006b: 244.

[33] On these three MSS see Vajs 1910: 1–93, LXIX–LXXII and LXI–LXVI respectively; on the third see also Birkfellner 1975: 57–61. There are three editions of the complete text: Vajs 1903–1904, III–IV: 68–72 (1:1–2:13 from Vrbnik II) and 73–74 (3:1–4:9 from *cod. Vindob. sl. 3*); Pechuška 1935: 240–249 (*cod. Vindob. sl. 3*);

prophetologium text but 2:11–4:9 in the catena text, which is illustrated by the fact that μέγας is rendered by the 'Ochridism' вєлнн in 1:3 and 1:19 but by the 'Preslavism' вєлнкъ in 2:13 and 3:8[34]. It is very unlikely that the catena went to Croatia after the Biblical text had been extrapolated from the commentary since the earliest extrapolation is only found in a slightly revised version in South Slav codices from the late fourteenth century on, the earliest being the late fourteenth-century Bulgarian codex F.I.461 in the RNL collection[35]. It is even more unlikely that the extrapolation was made in Croatia since there is not the slightest trace of the commentary in the breviary text. It is therefore often argued that the catena commentary was added to a translation of the complete Biblical text which had been made by Methodius in Moravia in the ninth century[36]. However, no convincing evidence for dating the language of the Biblical text – other than that of the incorporated passages of the prophetologium – to such an early period has been adduced. It has been suggested that the 'Preslavisms' arose when the commentary was added to the Moravian text[37], but that does not explain their presence in 2:11–4:9 in the breviary text. The question of the origin of the earliest complete Biblical text will thus only be finally settled when the catena has been edited[38].

The commentary is prefaced by translations of the second and third Greek prologues, viz. that by Polychronius on the reasons for the obscurity of the Scriptures and the anonymous prologue about

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Zaradija Kiš 1997: 179–185 (1:1–3:15 from Vrbnik I) and 185–186 (3:16–4:9 from *cod. Vindob. sl. 3*).

[34] For a list of variants between the texts in the breviaries and the catena in 1:1–4:9 see Костова 1998: 7–8.

[35] On this codex see below note 49.

[36] For recent examples see Николова 1994: 118; Алексеев 1999: 198; Костова 2000: 66. Incidentally, the theory that the translator of Anastasius Sinaita's *Interrogationes et responsiones* (CPG 7746), the earliest manuscript of which is the celebrated 1073 florilegium, consulted both the prophetologium and the catena when he translated the excerpts of Job in the text, thus Костова 2001: 95, is untenable.

[37] See, for instance, Михайлов 1912: CCCXXXVI; Алексеев 1988: 130.

[38] Increasing hesitation about the ascription of the translation to Methodius is illustrated by the statements of the Bulgarian scholar who has done the most research into the text of Job, cf. Христова-Шомова 2006b: 239: с найбольшей достоверности; Христова-Шомова 2007b: 55: "с голяма вероятност"; Христова-Шомова 2009a: 107: "много е възможно"; Hristova-Shomova 2010: 190: "could have been made by Methodius". Those who have considered that it was translated in Bulgaria in the tenth century include Евсеев 1897: 21–22; and Евсеев 1905: XXXIII.

whether Job lived before or under the Law. It does not, however, have the first prologue, viz. Olympiodorus' abridged prologue, in which it is pointed out that the Church only recognizes the LXX and not the Hebrew text as authentic. However, the title of the anonymous prologue is embedded in the text thus giving the impression that it is the subtitle of the second part of Polychronius' prologue. With regard to the text of the commentary itself completely contradictory statements have recently been made. On the one hand, the Russian scholar Anatoly Alekseyev states:

"Толкования принадлежат византийскому эгзегету Олимпиодору Александрийскому (VI в.).[2] Они, однако, представляют собою катены, т.е. свод уже существовавших толкований на книгу; их основу образуют беседы Иоанна Златоуста на Иова, из других авторов использован антиохийский эгзегет Полихроний († 430), епископ Апамеи в Сирии, брат известного Федора Мопсуэстийского.

[2] См. Geerard M. Clavis patrum graecorum. Brepols, Turnout (sic), 1974–1980. Vol. 1–4. N 7453; PG. T. 93. В XI в. катены были переработаны известным экзегетом Никитой Ираклийским и оказались вновь переведены на Афоне монахом Гавриилом в начале XV в. См.: Алексеев А. А. Текстология... С. 36. Издание катен Никиты см.: Catena graecorum patrum in beatum Iob collectore Niceta Heracleae metropolita. Opera et studio P. Iunii. London, 1637"[39].

On the other hand, the Bulgarian scholar Iskra Khristova-Shomova with reference to Alekseyev's statement has commented:

"…имах възможност да се запозная в ГИМ и с ръкописа Чуд. 6 и при работата си установих, че преводът на библейския текст наистина е същият като в F.I.461 и че този ръкопис съдържа текста на Книга Йов с тълкуванията само на Олимпиодор, които също имат известно разпространение във Византия, макар и по-ограничено, отколкото катената. В изданието им от съпрузите Хагедорн се посочват 22 гръцки преписа с такъв състав (Hagedorn 1984: XIX–XX)"[40].

Alekseyev's claim that the basis of the catena is John Chrysostom's commentary is indeed incorrect and the references to CPG № 7453, vol. 93 of Migne's *Patrologia graeca* and the 1637 edition of the catena are misleading since, firstly, CPG № 7453 does not refer to a catena but to the commentary on Job by Olympiodorus; secondly, the 1637 edition contains the later 'Nicetan' revision of the catena whose text of Olympiodorus is of no value with regard to any of the

[39] Алексеев 2004: 374; 'Текстология' refers to Алексеев 1999: 36.
[40] Христова-Шомова 2006а: 11. ГИМ is referred to in this article as SHM.

Slavonic translations and, thirdly, PG 93 merely contains the passages in the 1637 edition attributed – many falsely – to Olympiodorus. On the other hand, Khristova-Shomova's comment is liable to be misunderstood because the twenty-two MSS contain the catena on Job, whereas Olympiodorus' commentary on Job survives in only two MSS, viz. *codex Vaticanus graecus 745* of the 10th century and *codex Monacensis graecus 488* of the thirteenth[41].

Since the first Slavonic translation only contains passages taken from Olympiodorus it might at first sight be taken to be a translation of his commentary, but that is not the case. About half of Olympiodorus' commentary is found in the catena, approximately three quarters of which remains virtually unchanged, whereas the rest is abridged, revised or contaminated by other texts. However, the Slavonic translation follows the readings of the γ recension of the catena even in the virtually unchanged passages whenever there are even minor variants between the commentary and the catena[42]. This is illustrated here by the results of a comparison of the beginning of the commentary on Job 23:3–7:

Olympiodorus

ἀλλ' εἴθε, φησίν, τῷ βασιλικῷ τοῦ θεοῦ θρόνῳ παρέστην καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἐδεξάμην ἀπόφασιν. Τὸ γὰρ "ἔλθοιμι εἰς τέλος" τοῦτο σημαίνει, ἀντὶ τοῦ· ἵνα τὸ πέρας τῶν κατ' ἐμὲ γνώριμον ἐκεῖθεν γένηται.

This is then followed by the quotation of verses 4–7, after which the commentary begins:

ἵνα, φησίν, γεγονὼς παρὰ τὸ θεῖον ἐκεῖνο βῆμα ἀπολοφύρωμαι πάντα τὰ κατ' ἐμέ. Τοῦτο γὰρ σημαίνει τὸ "εἴποιμι δὲ ἐμαυτοῦ κρίμα", ἀντὶ τοῦ· ἅ ἐκρίθην, ἅ πέπονθα. Εἴποιμι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐμοὶ βεβιωμένα, τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι "τὸ στόμα μου εμπλήσω ἐλέγχων"[43].

Catena

After the quotation of verses Job 23: 3–7 the commentary begins:

ἀλλ' εἴθε, φησίν, τῷ θείῳ παρέστην θρόνῳ καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἐδεξάμην ἀπόφασιν. Τὸ γὰρ "ἔλθοιμι εἰς τέλος" τοῦτο σημαίνει, ἀντὶ τοῦ· ὅπως τὸ πέρας τῶν κατ' ἐμὲ γνώριμον

[41] On the codices see Rahlfs 1914: 254 (no №) and 158, № 491; Ziegler 1982: 21 and 22; Hagedorn 1984: XIV–XVI and XVI–XVIII respectively; for the edition of Olympiodorus' commentary see above note 6.

[42] On the catena text of Olympiodorus see Hagedorn 1984: XXIV.

[43] Ed. Hagedorn 1984: 201–202.

γένηται καὶ ἵνα γεγονὼς παρὰ τὸ θεῖον ἐκεῖνο βῆμα ἀπολοφύρωμαι πάντα τὰ κατ' ἐμέ. Τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ "εἴποιμι δὲ ἐμαυτοῦ κρίμα", ἀντὶ τοῦ· ἅ ἐκρίθην, ἅ πέπονθα. Εἴποιμι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐμοὶ βεβιωμένα, ὃ δηλοῖ "τὸ στόμα μου εμπλήσω ἐλέγχων"[44].

Chudov 6

The commentary on verses Job 23: 3–7 is given together with that on verses Job 23: 8–9 and begins:

Но аще быхъ, р҃е, сталъ пр҃ъ б҃ыемь пр҃тломь и ѿоудоу быхъ ѿр҃енье прнѣ. Єже бо прндоу на конець се ѩвлѧ҃е, снр҃ъ, да конунна бо҃ть ѩже w мнѣ, да бывъ оу того со҃ща б҃ьѧ наплакалсѧ быхъ и все҃ w мнѣ. Се бо есть҃ р҃елъ же бы мн на с҃, снр҃ъ, еже мн соужено б҃ы, ҃ пѡ҃ и дѣѩньѧ моѧ, ѩ҃ ѩвлѧ҃е оуста своѧ нсъполню ѿблунєннн.

In this short excerpt there are no less than four examples where the Slavonic follows the catena but none where it follows the commentary: 1. пр҃ъ б҃ыемь пр҃тломь, cf. τῷ θείῳ θρόνῳ as opposed to τῷ βασιλικῷ τοῦ θεοῦ θρόνῳ; 2. the omission of ἐκεῖθεν in конунна бо҃ть ѩже w мнѣ, cf. τὸ πέρας τῶν κατ' ἐμὲ γνώριμον γένηται as opposed to τὸ πέρας τῶν κατ' ἐμὲ γνώριμον ἐκεῖθεν γένηται; 3. the omission of φησίν in да бывъ, cf. ἵνα γεγονὼς as opposed to ἵνα, φησίν, γεγονὼς; 4. ѩ҃ ѩвлѧ҃е corresponds to ὅ δηλοῖ as opposed to τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι. The very fact that the translation is prefaced by the second of the three prologues of the γ recension of the catena, viz. that by Polychronius on the reasons for the obscurity of Holy Scripture, is another indication that the translator was using a copy of the γ recension of the catena[45]. That the translation is in no way related to the later 'Nicetan' revision of the catena is revealed by the fact that the latter, after quoting the Biblical text of Job 23: 2–7, only gives a commentary entitled Χρυσοστόμου[46].

The first Slavonic translation is thus an abridgment of the catena (CPG C 50) which contains only passages taken from Olympiodorus'

[44] Ed. Hagedorn 1994–2004, III: 4.

[45] As pointed out above, a few MSS of the late revision of the catena do have the three prefaces of the γ recension but since the earliest is of the thirteenth century that is clearly a secondary development which postdates the time of the first Slavonic translation.

[46] Ed. Young 1637: 388–389; reprinted in PG 64 (1860): 624. The Chrysostomian excerpt is not found in the γ recension of the catena.

commentary as well as two prefaces, Polychronius' prologue and the anonymous prologue. It is remarkable in that no similar Greek manuscript has been traced[47], in which context it is worth recalling that the Slavonic translation of the catena of the Song of Songs similarly does not correspond to any known Greek version and Alekseyev correctly concluded: "Славянский текст, таким образом, может быть либо переводом несохранившегося греческого оригинала, либо самостоятельным трудом славянского компилятора"[48]. This raises the intriguing question whether in the tenth century adaptations of more than one Greek catena were especially made for the benefit of the newly converted Slavs, a question that can only be answered by the publication of the relevant texts.

The first extrapolation of the Biblical text from the catena must be seen in the context of an attempt in Bulgaria in the fourteenth century to compile a complete Old Testament and the above-mentioned codex F.I.461 (RNL) is the earliest manuscript which contains the Tetrabasileion, the Prophets, Proverbs, the Song of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus and Job in that order[49]. Another such manuscript is the Moldavian codex 171 of the late fifteenth century in the collection of the Rumanian Academy, while a second Moldavian MS, codex 507 of 1474 in the collection of Petr Shchukin (SHM), has the same books in the same order except for 1–4 Kings[50]. A peculiarity of the extrapolation is that both Polychronius' prologue and the anonymous prologue have

[47] In this respect it is worth recalling that the Hagedorns examined fifty-seven manuscripts of the catena, see above note 5.

[48] Алексеев 2002: 52.

[49] On the codex see Турилов 2002: 172–174 (№ 64). Because of a loss of folia the text breaks off in the middle of the appendix in 42:17c with the words ꙗкѡ жє бꙑтн емѹ ѿ.мѹ [ѿ Аврⷡаама], cf. ὥστε εἶναι αὐτὸν πέμπτον ἀπὸ Ἀνραάμ. The manuscript contains glosses in which two Moldavian rulers are mentioned, viz. John Jacob Heraclid Despot (1561–1563) and Peter V the Lame (1574–1579, 1582–1591), and the codex has frequently, but incorrectly, been considered Moldavian, e.g. Constantinescu 1986: 82 (№ 406). To Turilov's bibliography down to 1999 should be added with regard to its text of Job Костова 1998: 3–11, and Костова 1999: 67–75.

[50] On codex 171 of the Rumanian Academy see Яцимирский 1905: 245–254; Panaitescu 1959: 256–258; Николова 1996: 13–20; on codex 507 of 1474 in the Shchukin collection see Овчинникова-Пелин 1989: 106–108, and Златанова 1998: 80–110; the last two scholars have, alas, made the classical mistake and wrongly date the MS to 1475, whereas the colophon, opp. cit. 107 and 80, is clearly dated 26 October 6983.

been retained: in the earliest MS, codex F.I.461 they are on ff. 410^{r}–412^{v}, followed on ff. 413^{r}–440^{v} by the Biblical text[51].

The Biblical text was extrapolated from the catena for a second time in the late fifteenth century when the first Slavonic pandect, viz. complete Bible, was compiled under the supervision of Archbishop Gennadius Gonozov of Novgorod (1484–1504, †1505). The task took some seven years and since no edition of a Greek Bible was available to guide the compilers as to the precise contents of a pandect, its contents were based on those of the four-volume edition of the Vulgate published by Anton Koberger (c. 1440–1513) at Nuremberg in 1487[52]. The first copy was completed in 7007 (1498/9) and illustrates the fact that the compilers had no precise idea as to what the canon of the Greek Bible was since they included 4 Esdras, which is not in the Septuagint, and omitted 3 and 4 Maccabees, which are[53]. Its texts of Job, the Song of Songs, all the Major and Minor Prophets and Revelations had all been extrapolated from catenae. As is to be expected, phrases of the commentaries are found in the Biblical texts, in Job, for example, in 4:8, 7:21 and 33:26, and in a few cases the Biblical text has been replaced by the commentary, e.g. 21:5–6 and 34:20b–22. The compilers also started to revise the text on the basis of the Vulgate text[54], e.g.

1:1: LXX: ’Ανθρωπός τις ἦν ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ Αὐσίτιδι|

[51] Polychronius’ prologue has been edited on the basis of codex F.I.461 by Алексеев 2004: 377–378. For the titles and incipits of both prologues see below.

[52] The *editio princeps* of the Greek Bible was the text in the Complutensian Polyglot of 1514–1517, but it was only marketed in 1520 and the first edition to go on sale was that published at the Aldine Press in Venice in 1518, whereas the first Latin Bible was published some sixty-five years earlier by Johannes Gutenberg (c.1400–1468) at Mainz in c.1455.

[53] The 1498/9 manuscript with no fewer than 1007 folia is now codex 915 in the collection of the Russian Synod (SHM); the most detailed description remains that by Горский, Невоструев 1855, I: 1–164; for Job see 57–60. So far only its texts of the Psalms and the New Testament have been published at Moscow: Библия. Книги Священного Писания Ветхого и Нового Завета. Т. 4. Псалтырь (Москва, 1997); Т. 7. Господа нашего Иисуса Христа Святое Евангелие от Матфея, Марка, Луки, Иоанна (Москва, 1992); Т. 8. Деяние святых Апостолов. послания святых Апостолов Иакова, Петра, Иоанна, Иуды. Послания святого Апостола Павла. Апокалипсис (Москва, 1991). For a succinct account of the compilation of the Gennadian Bible see Thomson 1998: 655–665.

[54] The Gennadian text is taken from the edition of the first chapter of Job on the basis of Synodal codex 915 of 1498/9 by Владимиров 1888: 335–336, see 335.

Catena: Ѱловѣкъ етеръ бѣ въ странѣ Авсндъстѣ емоуже имѧ Iwвъ

Gennadian: Мужь бѣ в зємли Хѵѕъ именемь Iwвъ

Vulgate: Vir erat in terra Hus nomine Iob

1:8: LXX: προσέσχες τῇ διανοίᾳ σου κατὰ τοῦ παιδός μου Ἰώβ

Catena: внѧтъ ли помышленіемь твоимь на раба мн Iwва

Gennadian: помыслилъ ли есн оумꙋ̀ своѥ̀ на слѵгѵ моего Iwва

Vulgate: numquid considerasti servum meum Iob

However, they soon abandoned the effort, although there are occasional Vulgate readings throughout the text. They also appended both Polychronius' prologue and the anonymous one to the Biblical text.

One of the undertakings initiated by Macarius (1481/2–1563), archbishop of Novgorod (1526–1542) and then metropolitan of Moscow until his death, was the compilation of a gigantic menologium which contained, as he wrote in his preface found in eleven of the twelve monthly volumes of the Dormition copy presented to the Tsar in 1552, всѣ с҃тыа книгн събраны н напнсаны котwрые в рѵскон зємлѣ wбрѣтаю҃сѧ[55]. Holy books include, of course, the Bible, and the book of Job in the same form as in the Gennadian Bible with the two appended prologues was included on his feast day, 6 May. The title of the Biblical text includes the beginning of the first verse:

В тоѵ̑ д҃нь книгы г҃лемыа Їовъ. Моѵ̑ бѣ̑ зємли Хѵѕъ съ именемъ Иовъ.

("Бѣ̑ ч҃лкъ тон нстнненъ непороченъ праведенъ б҃гочьстнвъ оудалѧѧсѧ ѿ всѧкого зл҃а̑...").

Titles and incipits of the two prologues are:

Снце Полѵхронъ г҃леть прѣ̂г҃лаголавъ[1] w[2] Їwвѣ

("Неѧвленїе словѵ еже въ б҃жїнхъ к҇нигахъ многы нмать вины. Пръвыѧ[3] же, ꙗко весь ѧзыкъ...").

The major variants of MS F.I.461 in Alekseyev's edition, see above note 51, are: [1] прѣ̂г҃лѧ [2] въ [3] Пръвое (!)

[55] The preface of the month of May ed. Weiher 2007: 1–4, see 2. The sole monthly volume without the preface is July, but, strange to relate, the preface in the May volume is that written originally for July, see p. 1: сїю с҃тѵю великѵю книгѵ, мнѣю ч҃ею мц҃ъ іюль.

Въꙁысканїи w Їwвъ

(“Раꙁличїе принос҃ѧ памѧть памѧтующен w нм҃ѣ, wвн же его глю҃ть, w҃ конца книгъ…”)[56].

Polychronius’ prologue dealing with the ten reasons for the obscurity of Scripture clearly attracted the attention of readers and it is found separately in various East Slav MSS from the sixteenth century on, e.g. appended to a collection of the works of Maximus Triboles ‘the Greek’ (c. 1470–1555) in codex 491 of the late 16th century in the collection of the Russian Synod (SHM) on ff. 640r–641r[57].

The editors of the first published Slavonic Bible, which appeared at Ostrog in 1581, only made a very half-hearted attempt to revise the text but they omitted not only the two catena prologues appended to the text but also the Biblical appendix found in the LXX as 42:17a-e[58]. It was only with the appearance of the Elizabethan Bible in 1751 that a reasonably accurate rendering of the Septuagint text became available, although since the correctors had on the whole adhered to their instructions to limit their work to the elimination of inaccuracies, it is hardly surprising that the eminent Russian Old Testament scholar Pavel Yungerov (1856–1922) wrote of the extreme obscurity, крайняя темнота, of the text[59].

D. The Second Slavonic Translation

The second Slavonic translation of the catena of Job was made by the Serbian scribe Gabriel of Hilandar in 1412. His autograph survives and is now codex 202 in the collection of the Russian Synod (SHM), a copy of which was made in the late seventeenth century[60]. The only

[56] Ed. Weiher 2007: 510–539 (Job), 539–540 (Polychronius), 540–542 (the anonymous prologue).

[57] Edited on the basis of this Synodal codex 491 by Ягич 1895: 969–970, reprinted in Jagić 1896: 681–682; for a recent edition on the basis of codex 21/1098 of the sixteenth century in the collection of the Dormition monastery of St Cyril of Belozero (RNL) see Гордеева 1999: 555–556, with an edition of the Greek, pp. 544–545.

[58] See the Ostrog text of Job in the reprint by Дергачева 1988: 265r–276v (first foliation). On its revision of Job see Thomson 1998: 795–796.

[59] Юнгеров 1914: 174. For the Elizabethan text, at the end of which the correctors had restored the appendix of 42:17a-e, see the 1751 edition 855–898, and the 1904 Moscow edition, 318v–334v.

[60] The best description of the codex remains that by Горский, Невоструев 1857, II, 1: 53–59. The copy is now codex 21 in the collection of Moscow Theological Academy (SLR), see Леонид (Кавелин) 1883, II: 24–25.

other known copy is that made at Zographou on Athos for metropolitan George of Suceava († 1511) by the Serbian scribe Bessarion of Hilandar (fl. 1503/1516), now codex 96 in the collection of the Rumanian Academy[61]. In his preface to the translation, which is partly based on the third anonymous Greek preface, Gabriel states that he has made the translation as the earlier one was "very abridged and obscure", ѕѣло оумалѥнѣ и тѣснорази҃мнѣ, and explains that its basic Biblical text is that of the Septuagint but that the passages marked by α̅ σ̅ θ̅ refer to the revised readings of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus, adding in a gloss that whereas Aquila and Symmachus followed the Hebrew, Theodotion followed the Septuagint. In his colophon he states that he made the translation at Hilandar in 6920 from a Greek codex belonging to Esphigmenou and asks the reader to correct his translation if necessary as he has rendered the sense and not the eloquence, поноудихѡмсе послѣдовати праваго испытанїа мысли а не изѵнтїю рѣчем[62]. It has been suggested that in fact Gabriel did not make the translation but merely copied the translation made in 1412 since his name is not mentioned in the actual colophon but is written separately below it in cinnabar: Помнилн же смѣренаго Гаврїила некли ннока трудившагосе[63]. This is in theory possible but it seems far-fetched.

Gabriel was clearly acquainted with the first translation but the extent to which he made use of its Biblical text rather than retranslating it remains to be established. The catena is divided into the usual thirty-three sections and begins with the prologue by Olympiodorus but Polychronius' prologue on the reasons for the obscurity of Scripture is missing and Olympiodorus' prologue is followed by the anonymous one divided into two, the first part

[61] On the codex see Яцимирский 1905: 644–645, and Panaitescu 1959, I: 123–124. There are many editions of Bessarion's colophon, the most recent by Христова-Шомова 2006a: 8; on Bessarion see Ангелов 1978, III: 265–281, with an edition of his colophon: 266.

[62] See his preface and colophon edited on the basis of his autograph by Трифуновић 1983: 110–111. The marking of the readings of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion is found in some but not all of the Greek MSS of the catena but Gabriel's statement about them in his preface is misleading since whereas Aquila's revision slavishly follows the Hebrew and Theodotion's teems with Hebraisms, Symmachus' aim was clearly to provide an idiomatic Greek text.

[63] The suggestion was made by Христова-Шомова 2007b: 18–19; for a facsimile of the colophon see Трифуновић 1983: 106.

ascribed to Polychronius and the second to Julian, so that it is clear that the translator was using a Greek codex containing the two glosses ascribing the beginning to Polychronius and the ending to Julian. The fact that he does not call Julian an Alexandrian suggests that he had a codex in which the second gloss read Ἰουλιανός ὁ συγγραφεύς[64].

Блаженаго Олимпїодора дїакона алеѯандрїнскаго прѣднословїе и сказанїе о Iwвъ

("Мнwзи ѿ древнїихъ въсхотѣше о семь съпнсании сказати...").

Полухронїа е҃пкпа апамїнскаго сказанїе о Iwвъ

("На вниѯ їwвовѯ многаци помыслнше съпнсателїе...").

Iоулїаново сказанїе о томѣ҃

("Мнитсе оубw, ꙗко Мwусн напнсаль і҃е сїе съпнсанїе на повѵенїе Iн҃лю...").

Олимпїодора дїакона тлъкованїе книгъ праведнаго и многострадална҃а Iwва

("Ѵ҃ако нѣкын бѣ въ странѣ Авситїдсцѣи, емоуже име Iwвь...

Тьлк. Зри пръвое похваленїе еже ѵеловѣкѯ бытн...").

The writers quoted most often in the catena are Olympiodorus, John Chrysostom, Polychronius and Didymus, followed by Evagrius, Origen, Severus of Antioch and Methodius of Olympus, who are fairly often quoted, and then Dionysius Areopagita, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Apollonaris, Clement of Alexandria, Theophilus and Cyril of Alexandria, who are seldom quoted[65].

E. The Third Slavonic Translation

Until 2006 it was considered that codex 1/4 in the collection of the monastery of Rila, a Bulgarian manuscript of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, contained Gabriel's translation but on 22 May of that year Iskra Khristova-Shomova had an opportunity to study Gabriel's autograph of 1412 in the State History Museum at Moscow and discovered that its translation is not the same as that in the Rila

[64] For variants of the marginal gloss see above note 17.

[65] This is the list given by Горский, Невоструев 1857, II, 1: 56. In his description of Bessarion's MS Panaitescu 1959, I: 124, adds Julian, Theodotion and, unhelpfully, "etc", while in his description Яцимирский 1905: 644, also mentions Julian and adds Sophar, which is clearly aberrant as the latter is one of Job's three friends. The idea that Gabriel's translation is of the later 'Nicetan' revision, thus Алексеев 1988: 137, and Николова 1998: XXIII, is incorrect.

codex, thus establishing that there were three, not two, translations of the complete catena[66]. The Rila codex is the sole traced manuscript with a virtually complete text of this translation, although as the result of the loss of the first few folia the text begins with the commentary on Job 1:6, in addition to which the text of 34:7–11 is missing[67]. Its text is divided into the usual thirty-three sections, although their division varies from the Greek, e.g. §1 in Greek is devoted to Job 1:1–6 but in Slavonic to 1:1–2:3. One of the differences from the second translation is that in this translation the revised readings of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus are not indicated by the glosses а҃ ѳ҃ с҃. The authors quoted in the translation in descending order of the number of passages quoted are Olympiodorus (688), Polychronius (287), John Chrysostom (231), Didymus (125), Origen (62), Julian (50), Evagrius (18) Methodius of Olympus (17), Severus (14), Apollinaris (11), Theophilus (3), Clement of Alexandria (2), Basil of Caesarea (1) and Nilus of Ancyra (1)[68]. A comparison of §17 with the Greek has shown that it follows the γ recension of the catena[69]. It has been noted that the translation shares a few common readings with *codex Sinaiticus graecus 311* of 1510, but that can only be purely coincidental since that codex not only has no prologues but also contains a much abridged commentary text which differs from the γ recension and may go back indirectly to the α recension, so that there can be no question of a possible textual link with the third Slavonic translation[70].

An abridged version of the translation is found in the florilegium copied in 1456 by the celebrated scribe Vladislav Grammaticus (fl. 1450s–1480s), in which the Biblical text is given in full but the commentary has been greatly abridged and consists of excerpts and paraphrases written in the form of marginal glosses. In some instances the commentary has been reduced to one word, e.g. the commentary

[66] See Христова-Шомова 2006a: 9, and Христова-Шомова 2007b: 20. As late as in 2004 she had repeated the generally held opinion that the Rila codex contained Gabriel's translation, see Христова 2004: 145.

[67] There is no detailed description of the codex; on it see Спространов 1902: 9; Христова 2004: 145–146, and Христова-Шомова 2006a: 8–10.

[68] See the table in Христова-Шомова 2007b: 53.

[69] See the comparison in Христова-Шомова 2007b: 45–48, and also that given below.

[70] For two examples of common readings see Христова-Шомова 2007b: 45 and 47; on the codex see Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 15, 84–47, and 133, who calls its text extraordinarily unreliable, außerordentlich unzuverlässig, ibid. 85; Kamil 1970: 74; Rahlfs 1914: 292, and Gardthausen 1886: 61. It is not listed by Bertini, Karo and Lietzmann, or Ziegler.

on нноρогъ, μονόκερως, in 39:9 еднноρогъ егоже Акїла носорога нменꙋет, заиеже нмѣтн по с҃ѣ главѣ рогъ, крѣпькъ сы непокорлнвь і҃е has become носорогъ[71]. Appended to the end of the Biblical text are some additional comments[72]. Prefaced to it is a translation of the beginning of the second half of the third anonymous prologue, once again ascribed to Julian:

Ꙗлїаново сказанїе

(Мнитсе оубѡ ꙗко Мѡи҃сн напнсаль і҃е спнсанїе на повченїе Ін҃ю, ꙗкоже ѿ҃ знаменїа і҃е оувѣдѣтн, ннѣмн же дрεвнїнмн въсхотѣ се рεщн ꙗко Соломоне ѥсть съпнсанїе, ꙗкоже гл҃ѥть бг҃ословь Грїгорїе:~).

In the first translation, in which the ascription to Julian is not found, this reads:

Єда оубо ꙗко Мѡи҃сен і҃ е̑ съставнлъ книгы сїа на пѡоученїе Нїл҃евн, ꙗкѡ̑ ѿ҃ образа познатн.

Ннїн же ѿ҃ первы̑ мнѣша, Соломоне пнсанїе сїа книгы, ꙗкѡ̑ нанзнаньскын* Грнгорїе гл҃ѥть.[73]

*Sic.

Since Vladislav's abridged version contains a part of the anonymous preface, a brief commentary on 1:1–5 as well as 34:7–11[74], all of which are missing in Rila codex 1/4, Vladislav must have copied it from a codex without the lacunae. The Biblical texts of both the full and the abridged versions have common errors, e.g. in 42:17d Годенова for the city of Δενναβά[75].

Clearly the 'Rila' translation must have been made some time before 1456 and the question arises as to whether it postdates or

[71] See for some examples Христова-Шомова 2007b: 51–52.

[72] Edited with a facing facsimile by Христова-Шомова 2007b: 166–301; for the appended comments see 296–301. Most of the MS, 546 folia, is preserved as codex 4/14 in the collection of the monastery of Rila and another 77 folia, removed from Rila by Viktor Grigorovich (1815–1876) in 1845, are now codex 1/110 in the Grigorovich collection in Odessa City Library. The most detailed description is that by Христова 1996: 11–24; her statement that Grigorovich removed the folia in 1848, ibid. 23, is probably a misprint. The abridged catena is found on ff. 158r–191v of the Rila part of the codex, see ibid. 15.

[73] The prologue of the abridged version ed. Христова-Шомова 2007b: 166–167, and also Eadem 2007a: 804; that of the first version ed. Weiher 2007: 541.

[74] Ed. Христова-Шомова 2007b: 166 and 278–279.

[75] Ed. Христова-Шомова 2007b: 297.

antedates Gabriel's. Khristova-Shomova has recently claimed that it was translated in the fourteenth or early fifteenth century possibly in Bulgaria and antedates Gabriel's of 1412[76]. It is true that in places Rila [R] has retained the earlier prophetologium terminology, e.g. in 1:1 it has вещь for πράγμα as in the prophetologium [P], whereas Gabriel [G] has дѣло, in 2:7 R has ѿ гѫ for ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου as in P, but G ѿ лица гнѣ, in 38:6 R has камень вглыныи for λίθον γωνιαῖον as in P, but G камень краеѹгльныи, but as she herself has pointed out, the prophetologium pericopes were included in the triodion as the prophetologium went out of use and are found in triodia of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries[77]. It is thus perfectly possible that the translator of the 'Rila' version in the early fifteenth century happened to be acquainted with the earlier text whereas Gabriel was acquainted with a revised liturgical text. The question of which of the two translations is the earlier can only be decided by a linguistic analysis of the texts as a whole and in view of the fact that both were made within a short period of time it is possible that the question is insoluble, although it should not be too difficult to show whether or not one of the versions was translated in Bulgaria.

F. Use of Recension γ of the Catena and the Metaphrastic Approaches of the Translators

Although the very nature of catenae naturally means that the number of excerpted passages and their order can vary in the manuscripts so that until the translations have been studied in detail the precise relations between them and the Greek textual tradition will remain uncertain, nevertheless a comparison of excerpts of the three complete translations of the catena with Olympiodorus' commentary and the Greek catena clearly reveals that the Greek codices used for all three belonged to the common γ recension. This is illustrated here by the commentary on Job 23:8–9, in which Olympiodorus' commentary is quoted extensively, although in the catena its order has been consi-

[76] See Hristova-Shomova 2010: 190, 198.

[77] For these three readings in the prophetologium and the triodion see Христова-Шомова 2009b: 329–330, 333, 334.

derably altered. The later 'Nicetan' revision keeps closer to Olympiodorus' commentary but abridges it[78].

Olympiodorus' commentary:

Σαφέστερον τῶν ῥητῶν τὴν δύναμιν ἑρμηνεύων ὁ Σύμμαχος οὕτως ἐκδέδωκεν· ἰδοῦ ἐὰν προέρχωμαι αὐτόν, ἀφανής ἐστιν, κἂν ἀκολουθῶ, οὐκ αἰσθήσομαι. 'Ο δὲ νοῦς οὗτος· ἡδέως μέν, φησίν, ὑπὸ τοῖς θείοις ὀφθαλμοῖς ἔχω κριθῆναι τὰ κατ' ἐμέ, ἀλλὰ τί πάθω; ἀόρατός ἐστι τὴν φύσιν ὁ θεός. Ἐν τοῖς ὄπισθεν αὐτὸν ἐπιζητήσω, ἀφανής ἐστιν· ἔμπροσθέν μου τυγχάνει, οὐκ αἰσθάνομαι· εἰς εὐώνυμα τραπέντος ἐπιλαβέσθαι ἀμηχάνως ἔχω· ἐκ δεξιῶν γεγενημένον παντελῶς οὐχ ὁρῶ. Ταῦτα δὲ ἔφη οὐχ ὡς σωματικῶς ἢ μεταβατικῶς τοὺς τόπους τοῦ θεοῦ περινοστοῦντος, ἀλλὰ δεῖξαι θέλων, ὡς πανταχοῦ μέν ὁ θεὸς πάρεστιν, ἡμῖν δὲ ἀνέφικτος καὶ ἀόρατος τυγχάνει καὶ ἀκατάληπτος. Το δὲ "οὐκέτι εἰμί" τουτέστιν· ἐὰν ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐπεκτείνω τὴν ἔρευναν, ἔξω ἐμαυτοῦ γίνομαι καὶ ἐν σκοτοδινίᾳ λογισμῶν ζητῶν καταλαβεῖν τὸν ἀκατάληπτον[79].

Catena (γ recension):

Σαφέστερον ὁ Σύμμαχος ἐκδέδωκεν· ἰδοῦ ἐὰν προέρχωμαι αὐτόν, ἀφανής ἐστιν, κἄν ἀκολουθῶ, οὐδὲ αἰσθήσομαι (variant: αἰδεσθήσομαι). 'Ο δὲ νοῦς οὗτος· ἡδέως μέν, φησίν, ὑπὸ τοῖς θείοις ὀφθαλμοῖς ἔχω κριθῆναι τὰ κατ' ἐμέ, ἀλλὰ τί πάθω; ἀόρατός ἐστι τὴν φύσιν ὁ θεός. Εἴτε γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν ἢ ὄπισθεν ἢ εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ ἢ καὶ εὐώνυμα αὐτὸν ἐπιζητήσω, ἀφανής ἐστι παντελῶς. Τὸ δὲ "οὐκέτι εἰμέ" ἀντὶ τοῦ· ἐὰν ἐπὶ πλέον ἐπεκτείνω τὴν ἔρευναν, ἔξω ἐμαυτοῦ γίνομαι καὶ ἐν σκοτοδινίᾳ λογισμῶν ζητῶν καταλαβεῖν τὸν ἀκατάληπτον. Ταῦτα δὲ ἔφη οὐχ ὡς σωματικῶς ἢ μεταβατικῶς τοὺς τόπους τοῦ θεοῦ περινοστοῦντος, ἀλλὰ δεῖξαι θέλων, ὡς πανταχοῦ μὲν ὁ θεὸς πάρεστιν, ἡμῖν δὲ ἀνέφικτος καὶ ἀόρατος τυγχάνει[80].

Later 'Nicetan' revision of the catena:

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[78] This is one of the passages edited by Khristova-Shomova, from where the Slavonic texts have been taken, see Христова-Шомова 2006a: 12–13. The only changes made to her edition are the omission of accents and the addition of punctuation and capital letters. The Greek texts have been checked against the Greek editions since her reproductions of them are unfortunately marred by several misprints.

[79] Ed. Hagedorn 1984: 203.

[80] Ed. Hagedorn 2000, III: 6.

Σαφέστερον δὲ τῶν ῥητῶν τὴν ἔννοιαν ἑρμηνεύων ὁ Σύμμαχος οὕτως ἐκδέδωκεν· ἐδοῦ ἐὰν προέρχωμαι αὐτόν, ἀφανής ἐστιν, κἂν ἀκολουθῶ, οὐκ αἰσθήσομαι. Ὁ δὲ νοῦς οὗτος· ἠδέως μέν, φησίν, ὑπὸ τοῖς θείοις ὀφθαλμοῖς ἔχω κριθῆναι τὰ κατ' ἐμέ, ἀλλὰ τί πάθω; ἀόρατός ἐστι τὴν φύσιν ὁ θεός. Τί οὖν δράσω; Ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν αὐτὸν ἐπιζητήσω; ἀφανής ἐστι· ἔμπροσθέν μου τυγχάνει, οὐκ αἰσθάνομαι· εἰς εὐώνυμα τραπέντος ἐπιλαβέσθαι ἀμηχάνως ἔχω· ἐκ δεξιῶν γεγενημένον παντελῶς οὐχ ὁρῶ. Ταῦτα δὲ ἔφη, οὐχ ὡς σωματικῶς ἢ μεταβατικῶς τοὺς τόπους τοῦ θεοῦ περινοστοῦντος, ἀλλὰ δεῖξαι θέλων ὡς πανταχοῦ μὲν ὁ θεὸς πάρεστιν, ἡμῖν δὲ ἀνέφικτός ἐστι καὶ ἀκατάληπτος[81].

Catena I with only passages from Olympiodorus' commentary (Chudov 6):

Ꙗснѣ Соумахъ сказалъ еже аще предъ нимъ поидоу, невидѝ есть, аще въ слѣдъ поидоу, ни wчюже. Но оумь сиць есть: въ сласть бо бїима ѡчима сѹ̑ имамъ прияти за свое дѣянье, что мі боудеть; невидѝ естьствомь бг̑ь. Аще бо прѣди или зади, іли ѡдесноую или ѡшюию поицю его, невидимъ естъ бошью. А ѥ̑ нѣсмь к томоу, аще и вельми простроу пытаные, кромѣ себы всю и во мн̑ѣ помышленье хотѧ постигноути непостижимаго. Се же ре̑ не ꙗже тѣльски и прѣходно боуди место походѧщю, но оукаzати хотѧ, ꙗко всь бг̑ъ есть, намже неприближимъ и невѝмъ.

Catena II with Gabriel's translation (Synodal 202)

Ꙗвлѣннѣише Сѹ̈ммахь издасть се аще пр̑ѣдѣмь емоу, неꙗвлѧемь і̑е, и аще послѣдоую, не чювствоую. Оумже сице: сладостнѣ оубw, р̑е, ѡ̄ бж̑твныхь очию имамь соудитисе ꙗже о мнѣ, нь что постраж̑оу; невидимь і̑е естъствомь бг̑ь. Аще бо напрѣдь или наzадь или надесна или нашоуѧ того вьzыщ8. Не к томоу боуд8, сир̆ѣ аще о мнwzѣ простр8 испытанїе, вънѣ себѣ бываю и въ тмѣ помышленїи искы постигноути непостижимаго. Сїа же рече не како тѣлеснѣ мѣста бг̑оу наступающ8, нь показати хоте, ꙗко въздѣ оубw бг̑ь пристоит', намже неѡсежимь и невидимь ключаетсе.

Catena III with the 'Rila' translation (Rila 1/4):

[81] Ed. Young 1637: 390–391; the text is also reprinted in PG 93 (1860): 252.

Ꙗвлѥннѣ ѥже Симмⷯ скаꙁаль і҃ се аще прѣжⷣе изыдⷭ его, невидимь і҃, аще посл҃ствⷭю, не ⷭсрамлюсе. Въꙁводнѣ же сице і҃: сл҃ако бѡ і҃ бж҃їимⷯ ѡчима сⷭдитисе имамь и изьꙗвити въса ꙗже ѡ мнѣ, нь что постраж҃ⷭ; невидимь і҃ бь҃. Аще вь прѣж҃нⷯ или въ ꙁадныⷯ, десныⷯ же и шⷭⷯ и въꙁыщⷭ его, невидимь ѿинⷭдь. А ѥже к томⷭ нѣсмь, въ мѣсто аще и вь мнѡго въꙁыщⷭ испытанїе, извьнь себе бываю и вь мрацѣ помы҆шл҃енїи ищⷭ wбрѣсти непостижимаго. Сїа же рече не ꙗко тѣлесно или прѣхⷪдимо б҃ⷭ мѣста прѣмѣнꙗющⷭ, нь скаꙁати хощеть, ꙗко въꙁде і҃ бь҃, нами же непостижимь и невⷯимь і҃.[82]

Even though the passage is brief, it reveals that all three Slavonic translations follow the order of the γ recension and also provides clear evidence that the tenth-century translator (I) adopted a more idiomatic approach than the literal approach of the two fourteenth-century ones, of whom II was even more literal than III, to give a few examples:

ἐκδέδωκεν in this context means 'translated', a meaning of ἐκδίδωμι with which none of the three seems to have been acquainted as I and III rendered it by скаꙁалъ and скаꙁаль і҃, while II resorted to a calque издасть;

προέρχωμαι ατὺν / ἀκολουθῶ, cf. the idiomatic in I предъ нимъ поидоу / въ слѣдъ поидоу, the literal in II пр҃ѣдѣмь емоу / послѣдоую and III прѣжⷣе изыдⷭ его / посл҃ствⷭю;

ἀφανής, cf. невидимь in I and III as opposed to the calque of II неꙗвлꙗемь;

νοῦς is here used in the sense of 'meaning' and is literally rendered by both I and II by оумь, whereas III has clearly understood it correctly and rendered it by въꙁводнѣ, which renders ἀναγωγικῶς according to its spiritual, i.e. scriptural, meaning;

τὰ κατ' ἐμέ is rendered according to the sense ꙁа свое дѣꙗньє by I, but literally by II and III ꙗже о мнѣ;

[82] A comparison with the Greek reveals scribal corruptions in the Slavonic texts, e.g. in the earliest translation the reading всю for γίνομαι; боуди for τοῦ θεοῦ (богови?), and всь for πανταχοῦ (вьсьдѣ?). As copies of the MSS are unavailable to the author these cannot be discussed here.

this also applies to τί πάθω; "what is to become of me?", cf. I что ми боудеть; but II and III что постраѫ̀ѭ;

ἀνέφικτος, 'unreachable', is most closely rendered by I, непривлижимъ, whereas II has несѡсежимь, ἀψηλάφητος, 'untouchable', and III repeats непостижимь, ἀκατάληπτος, 'incomprehensible'. That the first translator had avoided the purely literal approach in an attempt to make the original comprehensible has already been pointed out with regard to the preface to the catena[83]. This finding is confirmed by the examination of this passage. There is also one archaism in I, бошью, viz. бъшиѫ̀, for παντελῶς, cf. III ѿинѫдь. In II the phrase is missing[84]. The variants αἰσθήσομαι, 'I shall feel' in the sense of 'I shall understand', and αἰδεσθήσομαι, 'I shall be ashamed' have been given since I and II follow the former, wчючю and чювствоую, whereas III follows the latter, ѫсрамлюсѧ. That the translator of III knew both meanings of the verb αἰσθάνομαι is clear from the fact that he rendered it correctly in Job 23:5:

γνῴην δὲ ῥήματα, ἅ μοι ἐρεῖ, αἰσθοίμην δὲ τίνα μοι ἀπαγγελεῖ.

оувѣмже словеса, ѥже ми ре҃ть, и разѹмѣю же ѹто възвѣстить[85].

Appendix. The Author of the First Prologue to the First Translation

In his article on the prologue by Polychronius which is found both in the catena and prefaced to the Biblical text extrapolated from the catena in the first translation, the Russian scholar Anatoly Alekseyev wrote:

„Пространное предисловие, содержащее догадки о времени жизни Иова и авторстве книги, также принадлежит Полихронию, именем которого (полихронъ, полоухронъ и полофронъ) обозначено оно и в некоторых славянских списках. Первая часть предисловия, содержащая рассуждение о том, почему в Писании много темного и неясного, принадлежит, однако, не Полихронию, а патриарху Фотию. Это 152-я статья из его эротапокритического

[83] See Alekseyev's commentary on the translation of Polychronius' prologue (Алексеев 2004: 375–377).

[84] Other omissions have not been been noted as they are relevant for the textology but not for the metaphrastic approach.

[85] For the Slavonic phrase see Khristova-Shomova (Христова-Шомова 2007b: 115).

сборника Amphilochia, созданного как ответы на богословские вопрошания Амфилохия, митрополита Кизического, и включившего в себя около 300 мелких статей (публикация в PG. T. 101. Col. 1189–1233).[3] Статья была присоединена к предисловию Полихронию на книгу Иова,[4] вероятно, потому что греческий текст книги вызывал по своей темноте много недоразумений у образованных византийцев.

[3] Beck, H.-G. Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich. München, 1959. S. 523.

[4] На что указал уже А. Маи, первый издатель «Амфилохий» Фотия (PG. T. 101. P. 815)"[86].

This statement is inaccurate since the first translation has two prologues, the first by Polychronius and the second anonymous, although, as pointed out above, the title of the second is embedded in the text thus giving the impression that it is the subtitle of the second part of the first prologue. That Alekseyev's ascription of the first prologue to Photius is incorrect has already been pointed out in passing[87], but since he is not the only Russian scholar to have ascribed it to Photius[88], it is worthwhile examining the reasons for the error in more detail.

To begin with, Alekseyev's claim in his note 4 that Cardinal Angelo Mai (1782–1854) had pointed out that the first part of the prologue had been added to Polychronius' prologue by Photius and was the 152nd entry in the latter's *Amphilochia* is in fact the exact opposite of what Mai had stated. In 1825 Mai published his first edition of part of the erotapocritic *Amphilochia*, the second edition of which appeared in 1831[89]. In a footnote on Q 152 in both editions he

[86] Алексеев 2004: 374–375. His reference to the edition of Photius' *Amphilochia* in Migne, for which he refers the reader to Beck, is incorrect. Some of the *Amphilochia* are indeed in PG 101 (1860) but on coll. 45–1172, 1277–1296, and not on coll. 1189–1253. Beck 1959: 523, correctly indicates that the Photian "Katenenglieder" are on coll. 1189-1253, but these are not the *Amphilochia* but Photius' exegetic passages on the New Testament which are found in catenae. As Slobodan Fomić was wont to advise: *Lege lente et citationes prolatas semper proba*.

[87] See Христова-Шомова 2007a: 804.

[88] See Ковтун 1975: 24.

[89] See Mai (1) 1825[1], I: 193–361; 1831[2], I: (second pagination) 1–215. The second edition is quoted here, for Q 152, see ibid. 170–171. Most of the rest of the *Amphilochia* Mai published in 1837, see Mai 1837, IX: 1–158. All previous editions have now been superseded by the critical edition by Westerink 1986–1988: IV (1986), 1–190; V (1986), 1–265, and VI, 1 (1987), 1–138, whose numbering of the QQ from 1 to 329 is the accepted norm; for Q 152 see V (1986), 194–195, where in his apparatus fontium Westerink, ibid. 194, gives "Polychronius ap. Nicet. Cat. in Iob (ed. Junius,

wrote that Photius, without naming his source, had taken the entry from Polychronius and that after having compared Photius' text with Polychronius' unedited prologue in an early codex he, Mai, had found them identical[90]. In the preface to his second edition of 1831 Mai added that he had heard that Polychronius' prologue had been published at Göttingen and cited his source for this information: "Harl. ad Fabric. tom. VIII, p. 661, not."[91] The 1860 edition of the *Amphilochia* in the *Patrologia graeca*, which is quoted by Alekseyev, was prepared by Joseph Hergenröther (1824–1890) and is based on Mai's edition but also includes some questions taken from elsewhere as well as several edited for the first time[92]. In his edition Hergenröther retained all the information relevant to the source of Q 152 which is found in Mai's preface and Mai's footnote on Q 152 and correctly adapted the footnote by altering "*ex inedito Polychronio*" to "*ex prologo Polychronii*"[93].

Mai's source for the information about the edition of the prologue was clearly the revised fourth edition of the *Bibliotheca Graeca* by Johann Albert Fabricius (1668–1736) prepared by Gottlieb Christoph Harles (1738–1815), who wrote:

"Hamburger, zuverl. Nachricht III, pag. 124 sq. (ubi adnotatur, prologum in Iobum, qui in *Iunii* catena deest, ex cod. Bodleiano, in quo nominatur Polychronius, episcop. Apameensis, editum esse a

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Londinii 1637)", which is surprising since Polychronius' prologue is not found in Young's edition of the catena; see above note 22.

[90] See Mai 1831, I^2: 170, n. 1: "Hanc quaestionem ex inedito Polychronio sumi tacite a Photio, dixi in prolegomenis. Iam scripturam Photianam cum antiquissimo Polychronii codice collatam, inveni prorsus concordem;" the phrase 'dixi in prolegomenis' refers to his Editoris prolegomena, ed. ibid. V–XXXVI, see XX.

[91] Ibid. Editoris prolegomena XXX: "Illae certe Polychronii nostri satis copiosae reliquiae sunt, quae in catena ad Iobum a Iunio editae leguntur: quamquam illarum prologum partim desideravit Iunius, quem postea Gottingae cumulatum audio (7)." He then lists the source quoted above in footnote 7.

[92] 229 QQ are in PG 101 (1860): 45–1172, and eight more ibid. 1277–1296; for Q 152 see 816.

[93] PG. 101 (1860): 814, n. 34: "Hanc quæstionem ex prologo Polychronii in Jobum sumi tacite a Photio, dixi in prolegomenis. Jam scripturam Photianam cum antiquissimo Polychronii codice collatam, inveni prorsus concordem". Hergenröther also reprinted part of Mai's Editoris prolegoma including the statement on the prologue: PG 101 (1860): 29–38, see 38: "Item quaestiunculum CLII de obscuritate s. scripturae tacite ad verbum sumpsit Photius e Polychronii prologo ad Iobum: quae brevis lucubratio, quia non extat cum ceteris Polychronii ad Iobum excerptis, a me libenter edita fuit", cf. Mai 1831^2, I: XIV–XXI, see p. XX.

Davide Ottone Wahrendorf in Meditationibus de resurrectione, speciatim Iobi, pag. 124. Gottingae 1738, 4."[94]

This in turn is an obvious reference to the catalogue of authors from the dawn of writing down to 1500 compiled by Georg Christoph Hamburger (1726–1773), who devoted entry № DXXXVII to Polychronius, in which he wrote[95]:

"Von seiner Auslegung über den Hiob finden sich Fragmente in der Catena in Jobum, welche Patricius Junius herausgegeben, wiewol gezweifelt wird, ob sie diesem Polychronius zugehören. Einen Prologum über den Hiob, welcher in des Junius Catena nicht befindlich ist, hat David Otto Wahrendorf in seinen Meditationibus de resurrectione, speciatim Jobi, Gotting. 1738. 4 aus einer Bodleianischen Handschrift, p. 124, drukken lassen. In dieser Handschrift wird der verfasser Polychronius Bischof zu Apamea genant."

In other words, the *editio princeps* of the prologue in the catena was published in 1738 by the Lutheran cleric David Otto Wahrendorff (1713–1772)[96].

The basis of the over three hundred questions of Photius' *Amphilochia* consists of QQ 1–75, while the remainder were subsequently added at various times as the unsystematic arrangement of their contents reveals and in view of Photius' repeated complaints about

[94] See Fabricius 1802[4], VIII: 660–661, note e; on the edition of the catena by Young (Iunius) see pp. 647–650.

[95] Hamburger 1760, III: 124–125. The spellings 'wiewol', 'drukken' and 'genant' are in the original.

[96] Wahrendorff 1738: 124–125. He based his edition on three MSS of the thirteenth century, viz. codex *Bodleianus Laud. gr. 20*, *Parisinus Coislinianus 194* and *Parisinus graecus 151*, see p. 123; on these MSS see U. and D. Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 11, 76–87, 91–97, 102, 133 (Bodl.), 12, 25–26 (Coislin.) and 13, 45–48, 89 (Paris.); Karo and Lietzmann 1902: 323–324 (Bodl.), 303, 321 (Coislin.) and 301, 321 (Paris.); Rahlfs 1914: 172, № 523 (Bodl.), 189, № 540 (Coislin.), and 202, № 560 (Paris.). The preface to Wahrendorff's book was written by Magnus Crusius (1697–1751), who in 1735 was appointed professor of theology at the newly established University of Göttingen, where teaching began in 1734. He resigned in 1747 to become general superintendent at Harburg, in which post he was succeeded on his death in 1751 by Wahrendorff, who died in office in 1772. The epithet Wildeshusanus after Wahrendorff's name refers to the fact that he was born at Wildeshausen and the public mourning, luctum publicum, mentioned in the title refers to the death on 3 September 1737 of Johann Philipp von Hattorf (c. 1675–1737), Hanoverian minister in London at the court of George II (1714–1760), King of Great Britain and Ireland and Elector of Hanover, which was followed on 20 November by the death of George's wife, Queen Caroline (1683–1737), daughter of Margrave Johann Friedrich of Brandenburg-Ansbach (†1686).

straitened circumstances and the lack of books and scribes it is probable that the collection was compiled during his first exile in 867–877 between his two tenures of the office of patriarch of Constantinople (858–867, 877–886)[97]. Any claim that a passage attributed to an author of the first half of the fifth century is in fact by an author of the second half of the ninth century must obviously be accompanied by an examination of the textual tradition of the passage in question. Clearly Cardinal Mai did not need to do so since he believed that the prologue had been written by Polychronius, but equally clearly Alekseyev and Kovtun should have done so.

The earliest MSS of the catena on Job are *codex Patmiacus graecus 171* of the late seventh or early eighth century[98], followed by codex *Vaticanus graecus 749* of the ninth[99], and four of the tenth, viz. *codex Venetus Marcianus graecus 538* of 905[100], *codex Vaticanus graecus 338*[101], *codex Vaticanus graecus 750*[102] and *codex Pragensis Státní knihovna XXV B 3*[103]. Of these six MSS the second preface is not found in three[104]. It is missing in the earliest MS, which owing to a loss of folia is acephalous and only begins with the commentary on Job 1:3. There can, however, be no doubt but that the preface was originally in the codex since it is found in three MSS which are descended from it, viz. *codex Athous Vatopedi 590* of the twelfth century, which is a direct descendant[105], *codex Parisinus graecus 151* of the thirteenth century[106] and *codex Berolinensis Phillips 1407* of the

[97] See Westerink 1984, IV: XVI–XVII and XX–XXI; see also Krumbacher 1897: 75.

[98] On it see above note 18.

[99] See Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 17, 36–38, 48–50, 89–91; Karo and Lietzmann 1902: 322, who date it to the eighth century, and Rahlfs 1914: 255, № 258.

[100] See Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 19, 62–64, 71–76, 97–101, 103–105, 108, 112–113 and 132; Karo and Lietzmann 1902: 323, and Rahlfs 1914: 310, № 740.

[101] See Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 16, 53–61 and 89; Karo and Lietzmann 1902: 323, and Rahlfs 1914: 249, № 255.

[102] See Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 17–18, 34–36, 41–42, 81–83 and 89–91; Karo and Lietzmann 1902: 322, and Rahlfs 1914: 255, № 680.

[103] See Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 14, 36–37, 66–73, 87–89 and 102; it is not listed by Karo and Lietzmann or Rahlfs.

[104] On the textual transmission of the prologues see Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 89–97.

[105] On the codex see Hagedorns 1994–2004, I: 5, 45–48, 89. It is not listed by Karo and Lietzmann or Rahlfs.

[106] On the codex see above note 96.

sixteenth, which may have descended via the Paris codex[107]. The prologue is also missing in *codex Vaticanus graecus 338* of the tenth century because the beginning of the MS is defective: f. 1 is missing, ff. 2 and 3 are in inverse order and two folia are missing before f. 4. There can, however, be no doubt but that this codex too originally contained the prologue since its title, Οὕτω Πολυχρόνιός φησιν ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὸν Ἰώβ, is preserved at the foot of f. 2[v108]. The prologue is not found in *codex Vaticanus graecus 750* of the tenth century as it is the earliest of the few MSS of the γ recension which have no prefaces at all, which is clearly a secondary development[109]. The prologue is found, however, in *codex Vaticanus graecus 749*, codex *Venetus Marcianus graecus 583* and *codex Pragensis Státní knihovna XXV B 3*. The conclusion is inescapable: the prologue is not an interpolation and formed part of the original contents of the catena compiled no later than in the early eighth century and hence Photius included the beginning of Polychronius' catena prologue in his *Amphilochia* and not vice versa.

Photius' failure to acknowledge the source of his answer to Q 152 is not in the least surprising since in the *Amphilochia* he never names his sources, which he sometimes quotes verbatim and sometimes considerably revises with omissions and additions. To give but a few examples: the answer to Q 154 is an excerpt from Pseudo-Athanasius' *Synopsis scripturae sacrae* (CPG № 2249)[110]; the answer to Q 154 is an excerpt from *De mensibus* by John of Lydia[111]; QQ 244–245 and Q 248 are taken from *De verbo incarnato commentarius* (CPG № 6984) by Job the Monk, only part of which survives, principally in codex CCXXII of Photius' own *Bibliotheca*[112]. No less than thirty-two questions (QQ 249–272, 274–281) are based upon the *Quaestiones in Octateuchum* (CPG № 6200) by Theodoretus of Cyrrhus, who never-

[107] On the codex see Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 5, 45–48, 89, and Rahlfs 1914: 31, № 351. It is not listed by Karo and Lietzmann.

[108] See the apparatus criticus of the prologue in Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 151.

[109] It is possible that in the hyparchetype of these MSS the first quire had been lost, see Hagedorn 1994–2004, I: 90–91.

[110] Ed. PG 28 (1857): 284–437; cf. 433–436 and Q 154, ed. Westerink 1986, V: 197–198.

[111] Ed. Wuensch 1898: 1–181; cf. 44, 46 and 47 and Q 242, ed. Westerink 1987, VI, l: 27.

[112] Ed. Henry 1962, III: 152–227; cf. 204–205, 223–225 and 213–214 and QQ 244, 245 and 248 ed. Westerink 1987, VI, l: 29–31, 32 and 34–35.

theless remains unnamed[113]. The eminent Byzantine scholar Karl Krumbacher (1856–1909) pointed out that there was relatively little original thought in the *Amphilochia*[114], but as another Byzantine scholar, Hans-Georg Beck (1910–1999), pointed out, Photius is not only responsible for preserving much that otherwise would not have survived but at the same time he is original in the use that he made of it[115].

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CPG Geerard, M. (ed.), Clavis Patrum Graecorum, I–V (Turnhout, 1974–1987); *Supplementum* by M. Geerard and J. Noret (Turnhout, 1998), and III A by J. Noret (Turnhout, 2003) (Corpus Christianorum). (References are to numbers, not pages).

CPL Dekkers, E. and A. Gaar. *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, (Steenbrugge, 1995[3)]) (Corpus Christianorum). (References are to numbers, not pages).

PG Patrologiae cursus completus, seu bibliotheca universalis […]. Series graeca et orientalis […], ed. J.-P. Migne, 167 vols in 171 (Paris, 1857–1866).

RNL Russian National Library, St. Petersburg.

SCAS Spicilegium Casinense complectens Analecta sacra et profana e codd. Casinensibus aliarumque bibliothecarum collecta atque edita cura et studio monachorum S. Benedicti Archicœnobii Montis Casini, 4 vols in 5 (Monte Cassino, 1888–1936).

SHM State History Museum, Moscow.

SLR State Library of Russia, Moscow.

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[113] For a list of the sources used by Photius see Westerink 1986, IV: XVIII–XX; in his edition the details are given in the *apparatus fontium* below the printed text of the individual QQ.

[114] See Krumbacher 1897[2]: 75: "Wenn dies ein Beweis für die ausserordentliche Aneignungsgabe des Photios ist, so wird dadurch seine originelle Geistesarbeit auf ein im Verhältnis zu dem Umfang der Amphilochia geringes Mass heruntergedrückt."

[115] Beck 1959: 520: "Der große Überlieferer, der Photios auf dem Gebiet der klassischen und kirchlichen Literatur (in Bibliothek und Amphilochia) ist, ist zugleich einer der byzantinischen Theologen, welche diese Überlieferung am wenigsten sklavisch verwerten."

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Σακκελίων, Ἰ. Πατμιακὴ βιβλιοθήκη ἤτοι Ἀναγραφὴ τῶν ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον Πάτμον γεραρᾶς καὶ βασιλικῆς μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου τεθεσαυρισμένων χειρογράφων τευχῶν, Ἀθήνῃσιν, 1890.

THE BOOK OF PROVERBS IN VILNIUS 262[*]

Moshe Taube

Dedicated to the memory of Moshe Altbauer (1905–1998), who first wrote on the Vilnius 262 Book of Proverbs in 1967

A Ruthenian version of the Book of *Proverbs* is included in ms. 262 of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius. It is one of nine Old Testament books preserved in this unique early 16th century codex, which formerly belonged to the Supraśl Monastery, located in northeastern Poland. In addition to *Proverbs*, the codex contains *Ruth, Psalms, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Job, Daniel* and *Esther*. The translation was made into the language of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, i.e., Ruthenian, basically an East Slavic composite of vernaculars, comprising mainly Northern (Belarusian) but also Southern (Ukrainian) components. Several scribal errors make it clear that the codex is a copy of a somewhat earlier translation, most probably from the last decades of the 15th century. The scribe was undoubtedly Christian: he noted in the margin the working days on which the copying was done, and these include Saturday as well as Sunday, with the latter written in cinnabar. One of the translators, however, was clearly Jewish, making use in the translation of Jewish exegesis and, at least for some of the books, preserving the textual makeup of the Massoretic text (hereafter MT).

The books of *Daniel* and *Psalms* in the codex were translated with collateral use of Christian sources, namely Russian versions of the Church Slavonic texts of these books, alongside the Hebrew Massoretic Text. Thus in the bilingual (Hebrew-Aramaic) Book of *Daniel* the pre-Symeon OCS translation in a later Russian version was used to render the Aramaic parts of the original text (except for chapter 3), but was carefully checked against the Massoretic text and revised from the Aramaic (cf. Thomson 1998: 878). On the other

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hand, as I have shown elsewhere (cf. Taube 2004), the *Psalter* is based on the Church Slavonic text in its Russian form and revised from the Latin, without any attempt to make it conform to the Hebrew MT.

No Christian sources have been used for the translation of the other books. In the *Song of Songs* the translator made use of, but carefully revised, an earlier Ruthenian translation from Hebrew (see Алексеев 1981; Taube 1985; Thomson 1998: 874–875). The other books, Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Job, Lamentations, *Esther* and, as I will show, *Proverbs*, were translated using the Hebrew Massoretic Text exclusively.

1. *Proverbs in Vilnius 262: A Jewish Translation*

The effort to conform to the MT is reflected, among other things, in the imitation of the outward shape of the text, which places spaces between verses where they traditionally occur in the Hebrew, thus dividing the book into thematic sections called *parashot*, a division that is well established and discussed in the Talmud. As in *Job*, so also in *Proverbs* there are spaces left between certain verses creating "closed" and "open" *parashot*, representing more or less accurate thematic blocks. Thus there are "closed" spaces, with the next verse continuing on the same line, between 1.7-8, 3.6-7, 3.26-27, 4.19-20, 5.6-7, 6.5-6, 6.19-20, 10.13-14, 11.26-27, 26.21-22, 29.17-18, and 31.9-10. There are also "open" spaces, with the next verse continuing on a new line, between 3.17-18, 6.11-12, 6.15-16, 6.26-27, 8.12-13, 8.31-32, 15.19-20, 19.9-10, 21.11-12, 21.29-30, 22.21-22, 23.5-6, 23.14-15, 24.22-23, 25.13-14, 27.22-23, 28.10-11, 28.16-17 (put erroneously in the wrong place), 30.14-15, 30.17-18, 30.23-24, and 30.28-29. In this way the spaces precisely and exhaustively reflect the Hebrew Massoretic Text.

1.1. Copyist's errors

A series of omissions, doublets and corruptions clearly indicates that 262 is a copy, not the protograph of the translation.

1.1.1. Omissions

14.33 и посрєдє ‹нє›розѹмны[x] скажєтсѧ

Heb.:

וּבְקֶרֶב כְּסִילִים תִּוָּדֵע

KJV: *but that which is in the midst of fools is made known*.

The omission of the negative prefix нє turns 'fools' into 'wise men'.

8.24 въ нѣт'ствѣ ‹бєздныхъ сътворєна єсми въ нѣт'ствѣ› потоко^{в} чⷭтнѣиши^{х} во^{д}
Heb.:

בְּאֵין־תְּהֹמוֹת חוֹלָלְתִּי בְּאֵין מַעְיָנוֹת נִכְבְּדֵי־מָיִם

KJV: *When there were no depths, I was brought forth; when there were no fountains abounding with water*.
This omission is due to homoeoteleuton (въ нѣт'ствѣ... въ нѣт'ствѣ), indicating that the text is a copy.

15.11 адъ и погибє^{л} пєрє^{д} бⷭгомъ ажь па^{к} ‹lacuna: ср^{д}ца› сⷭновъ чⷧчии^{х} : 15.12 нє любить поглѫмни^{к} каранїа собѣ к мѫдры^{м} нє поидєть 15.13 ‹lacuna: ср^{д}цє...› : 15.14 ср^{д}цє розѫмного ищєть розѫма...
Heb.:

15.11 שְׁאוֹל וַאֲבַדּוֹן נֶגֶד יְהוָה אַף כִּי־לִבּוֹת בְּנֵי־אָדָם: 15.12 לֹא יֶאֱהַב־לֵץ הוֹכֵחַ לוֹ
אֶל־חֲכָמִים לֹא יֵלֵךְ: 15.13 לֵב שָׂמֵחַ יֵיטִב פָּנִים וּבְעַצְבַת־לֵב רוּחַ נְכֵאָה: 15.14 לֵב נָבוֹן
יְבַקֶּשׁ־דָּעַת...

KJV: *Hell and destruction are before the LORD: how much more then the hearts of the children of men? 15.12 A scorner loveth not one that reproveth him: neither will he go unto the wise.15.13 A merry heart maketh a cheerful countenance: but by sorrow of the heart the spirit is broken. 15.14 The heart of him that hath understanding seeketh knowledge...*
This lacuna is the result of a copyist's omission of the homoeoarcton ср^{д}цє... ср^{д}цє

1.1.2. Doublets

9.16 хто глѫпыи из'стѫпить сєз^{д}ѣ [и нєдостати] и нєдостаточныи ср^{д}цємъ рєкла ємѵ
Heb.: מִי־פֶתִי יָסֻר הֵנָּה וְחֲסַר־לֵב וְאָמְרָה לּוֹ
KJV: *Whoever is simple, let him turn in here: and as for him that wants understanding, she said to him.*
This is a doublet, clearly a copyist's mistake.

1.1.3. Corruptions

4.11 кѫпити м^{д}рсти наказахъ та.
Heb.: בְּדֶרֶךְ חָכְמָה הוֹרֵתִיךָ

KJV: I *have taught thee in the way of wisdom*.
The Slavic rendering is a corruption by a copyist of къ пѫти м^{д}рсти 'to the way of wisdom' to кѫпити м^{д}рсти 'to buy wisdom'.

16.11 и дѣло єго всє камєньє мѫшєнноє
Heb.:

מַעֲשֵׂהוּ כָּל־אַבְנֵי־כִיס

KJV: *all the weights of the bag are his work*.
The final word, мѫшєнноє ‘obligatory’, is obviously corrupted from кєшєнноє ‘of the bag’.

11.24 єсть кто травиᵀ и придастьсѧ болши.
Heb.: יֵשׁ מְפַזֵּר וְנוֹסָף עוֹד
LXX: εἰσὶν οἳ τὰ ἴδια σπείροντες πλείονα ποιοῦσιν
KJV: *There is that scattereth and yet increaseth*.
The inappropriate first Slavic verb, травит ‘poisons, hunts’, is certainly a corruption of тратит ‘scatters, spends’.

12.25 тѫга въ срⁿци мѫжа нагнєвит єго
Heb.: דְּאָגָה בְלֶב־אִישׁ יַשְׁחֶנָּה
KJV: *Heaviness in the heart of man maketh it stoop*.
Here the Slavic translation is certainly wrong. In Hebrew the agentive prefix of the verb -י (*ja*-) is in the masculine, with the only possible referent being ‘man’, whereas the object suffix -נה (*-nah*) is in the feminine, with the only possible referent being ‘anxiety’. Gersonides accordingly explains:

כשיקרה שיהיה דאגה בלב איש צריך להשתדל להכניע ולהשפיל הדאגה

‘When there happens to be anxiety in a man’s heart, he ought to try to overpower and subdue the anxiety.’ The verb нагнєвит єго ‘will make him angry’ is an *unicum* in *HSBM*, and should be seen as a corruption by a copyist of either нагнуть > нагнєт єго ‘will bend him down’ or of нагнєсти > нагнєтєт єго ‘will press him down’.

1.2. Dictation

As with some other texts in the corpus of translations from Hebrew into Ruthenian (e.g. the *Logika*), there is evidence that the translation was carried out in collaboration by a Jewish translator and a Christian scribe who wrote it down. Traces of this technique include syntactic doublets of self-correction, that is, doublets not of single words, but of phrases translated twice, with the unsuspecting scribe taking down both versions.

18.11 и каᵏ мѫра што крѣпка оукрєпиласѧ фун'домєнтомъ своиᴹ
Heb.: וּכְחוֹמָה נִשְׂגָּבָה בְּמַשְׂכִּיתוֹ

LXX: ὕπαρξις πλουσίου ἀνδρὸς πόλις ὀχυρά ἡ δὲ δόξα αὐτῆς μέγα ἐπισκιάζει.
KJV: *and as an high wall in his own conceit*.
The doublet што крѣпка оукрєпиласа ‘which is strong fortified’ reflects dictated translation. The interpretation of בְּמִשְׂכָּתוֹ as ‘in its foundation’ reflects the exegesis on that word found in Rashi (i.e Rabbi Shlomo Itzhaki, 1040–1105):

מפני שהבית נרצף ברצפת אבנים הסוככים על הארץ קרוי אבן משכית .

25.5 въими нєчєстиваго пєрє[д] цр̄ємъ и съwрꙗжитьса по правдє справєдливостью столєць єго:
Heb.: הָגֹו רָשָׁע לִפְנֵי־מֶלֶךְ וְיִכֹּון בַּצֶּדֶק כִּסְאֹו
LXX: κτεῖνε ἀσεβεῖς ἐκ προσώπου βασιλέως καὶ κατορθώσει ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ.
KJV: *Take away the wicked from before the king and his throne shall be established in righteousness*.
Most likely, the translator first read the penultimate word as בְּצֶדֶק ‘righteously’, but then corrected himself upon realizing that the vocalization was בַּצֶּדֶק ‘injustice’. This example demonstrates the method of oral dictation, since both renderings have survived.

1.3. Transliteration

Some Hebrew words were left untranslated:
30.1 Рѣчи агꙋровы сн̄а ѡкєєваго, бєрєма рєчє мꙋ[ж] лыитиєлъ съ мною бг̄ъ и пєрємогꙋ
Heb.:
דִּבְרֵי אָגוּר בִּן יָקֶה הַמַּשָּׂא נְאֻם הַגֶּבֶר לְאִיתִיאֵל לְאִיתִיאֵל וְאֻכָל

Rashi:

רש"י: "המשא" – נבואה זו אמר על כן "נאם הגבר לאיתיאל"- אמר הגבר זה שלמה המשא הזה על עצמו בשביל איתיאל ... "לאיתיאל ואוכל" – בשביל שאמר אתי אל ואוכל לעשות...

“The burden” – this prophecy he said, hence “the speech of the man to Itiel” – spoke the man, i.e. Solomon, this prophecy about himself for Itiel … “to Itiel and Ukal” for he said: “with me is God and I can do…”
KJV: *The words of Agur the son of Jakeh even the prophecy the man spake* ***unto Ithiel even unto Ithiel and Ucal***
LXX: τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους υἱέ φοβήθητι καὶ δεξάμενος αὐτοὺς μετανόει τάδε λέγει ὁ ἀνὴρ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν θεῷ καὶ παύομαι

Vulgate: *verba Congregantis filii Vomentis visio quam locutus est vir cum quo est Deus et qui Deo secum morante confortatus ait.*

Here the translator uses the repetition in Hebrew to render first the phonetic form of the personal name le-Itiel (with the preceding preposition), followed by its traditional interpretation by exegetes as 'with me God'.

A different situation obtains in the next example, where there may be an allegorical meaning to the name of the king, as is apparent from the Vulgate and KJV, as well as from the works of some Jewish exegetes, who understand it as 'no resistance with/against him'. Since, however, the foremost standard exegete, Rashi, explicitly disclaims knowledge of the plain meaning of the name, the translator simply left it untranslated.

30.31 крѣпки лѧ[д]вами и козє[л] и цр̄ь алъкꙋ[м] с ни[м] :
Heb:

זָרְזִיר מָתְנַיִם אוֹ־חָיִשׂ וּמֶלֶךְ אַלְקוֹם עִמּוֹ

Rashi:

ומלך אלקום לא ידעתי מה הוא לפי פשוטו

'and king *alqum* – I do not know what its plain meaning is.'
KJV: *A greyhound -- an he goat also and a king against whom there is no rising up*
LXX: καὶ ἀλέκτωρ ἐμπεριπατῶν θηλείαις εὔψυχος καὶ τράγος ἡγούμενος αἰπολίου καὶ βασιλεὺς δημηγορῶν ἐν ἔθνει
Vulg.: *gallus succinctus lumbos et aries nec est rex qui resistat ei*

1.3.1. Names of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet

The Hebrew names of the letters of the alphabet are supplied in chapter 31, although they do not figure separately in the Hebrew Massoretic Text. Since the translator was not able to preserve the acrostic nature of the "Praise of the Virtuous Woman" in Chapter 31, verses 10-31, he endeavoured to render at least the spirit thereof by preceding each of the 22 verses with the corresponding Hebrew letter with which the first word of the verse begins. Midway, however, he must have lost his bearings, since he prefaced verse 21 with the letter ха[ф], the affricate variant of the preceding letter ка[ф], instead of the expected ламє[д], so that from this verse on there is a one-letter gap between the Hebrew and the Slavic. Starting with verse 28, however, the gap increases to two letters, since the translator added another affricate variant, this time фє, variant of пє. After one more verse

(31.29) the translator finally realized that he would not be able to use all the remaining four letters *kof*, *reysh*, *shin*, and *tav* before the "Praise" came to its conclusion, so he simply abandoned the practice. Thus the final two verses are left without preceding letters.

алєфъ: 31.10 жонѫ почєстнѫю אֵשֶׁת־חַיִל
кгимєл. 31.12 платила ємѫ גְּמָלַתְהוּ
гє. 31.14 была הָיְתָה
заи֯н. 31.16 примыслила זָמְמָה
тєт. 31.18 коштовала טָעֲמָה
ка֯ф. 31.20 долони сво֯и כַּפָּהּ
ламєд. 31.22 ко֯ядри מַרְבַדִּים
нѫ֯н. 31.24 чохо֯л סָדִין
аи֯н. 31.26 оуста свои פִּיהָ
фє. 31.28 въстали קָמוּ
31.30 кривє֯дно є֯с שֶׁקֶר
31.31 даитє єъ... : амєнъ. תְּנוּ־לָהּ

бєт. 31.11 бєзпєчно в нєи בָּטַח בָּהּ
далєт 31.13 искала דָּרְשָׁה
ва֯в. 31.15 и въстала וַתָּקָם
хєт.31.17 ѡпасала חָגְרָה
єо֯д. 31.19 рѫки єє יָדֶיהָ
ха֯ф. 31.21 нє боитсѧ לֹא־תִירָא
мєм. 31.23 поѧви֯лсѧ נוֹדָע
самєх. 31.25 сила עֹז
пє. 31.27 ѡсмотрѧєт צוֹפִיָּה;
цадє. 31.29 многїи רַבּוֹת;

The transliteration of the names of the letters, as well as the transliteration of proper names (although many of the latter are given in their traditional LXX-based OCS form, e.g. Соломонъ, Іерусалимъ etc.), represents a pronunciation of the Hebrew which is neither Ashkenazi, nor Sephardi nor Oriental. It appears to be Byzantine, or Romaniote, pronunciation, which in in its major features is surprisingly close to the Modern Hebrew pronunciation by most speakers in present-day Israel. (Romaniote also includes the pronunciation of Hebrew by East European Jews prior to the arrival of Ashkenazi Jews from the West.) That is, the vowel system is a simple five-vowel system, without either quantitative or qualitative length distinctions of the kind we have in Ashkenazi pronunciation. Both long and short vowel /a/ (*qamaṣ* and *pataḥ*) are therefore represented with the Cyrillic letter *a* (not *o/u* and *a*, as in the Ashkenazi variant), and both long and short /e/ (*seyre* and *segol*) are represented by the letter *e* (not *ey/ay* and *e*).

The consonant letter system, too, reflects the Byzantine pronunciation, by an absence of distinction between:

a. the Semitic velarized and non-velarized stops /t/ and /ṭ/, spelled ת/ט, and /k/ and /q/, spelled כ/ק, a distinction preserved in Oriental pronunciation. The distinction between /s/ and /ṣ/ (ס/צ) is maintained as [s]/[ʦ], i.e. a voiceless alveolar fricative against a voiceless alveolar affricate, a pronunciation common to Ashkenazi and Byzantine pronunciation;

b. “strong” and “weak” /t/, spelled ת/ ת (t/þ), preserved in Ashkenazi pronunciation as [t]/[s];

c. velar and pharyngeal /ħ/ and /χ/, spelled כ/ח, both of which are pronounced [χ], as in Ashkenazi;

d. the glottal and pharyngeal stops /ʔ/ and /ʕ/, spelled א/ע, both of which are weakened to the point of almost total absence in syllable-initial and syllable-final position, another characteristic shared with Ashkenazi.

1.4. Literality

The translation is marked by instances of extreme literality. Thus:

1.17 чи дарма простєрта сѣтка въ ѡчью всѧкого стєжатєлѧ крылатого

Heb.:

כִּי חִנָּם מְזֹרָה הָרֶשֶׁת בְּעֵינֵי כָל בַּעַל כָּנָף

KJV: *Surely in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird*

LXX: οὐ γὰρ ἀδίκως ἐκτείνεται δίκτυα πτερωτοῖς

Vulg: *frustra autem iacitur rete ante oculos pinnatorum*

Here the translator has rendered literally the circumlocution for ‘fowl’ as ‘possessors of wings’

30.1 Рѣчи агѹровы сн҃а ѩкєєваго, бєрємѧ рєчє мѹ҆ж

Heb.:

דִּבְרֵי אָגוּר בִּן יָקֶה הַמַּשָּׂא נְאֻם הַגֶּבֶר

Rashi: נבואה - המשא ‘burden’ – ‘prophecy’.

LXX: τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους υἱέ φοβήθητι καὶ δεξάμενος αὐτοὺς μετανόει τάδε λέγει ὁ ἀνὴρ

Vulg: *verba Congregantis filii Vomentis visio quam locutus est vir*

KJV: *The words of Agur the son of Jakeh even the prophecy the man spake*

The word הַמַּשָּׂא has been translated infelicitously by its literal equivalent бєрємѧ ‘load’, rather than by its accepted understanding (according to Rashi) as ‘prophecy’.

The translator was surely aware of that meaning, since he rendered the same word as ‘prophecy’ in the next example:

31.1 Рѣчи ламѹєла цр҃ѧ прⷪрчьство ижь казнила єго мт҃ка єго

Heb.:

דִּבְרֵי לְמוּאֵל מֶלֶךְ מַשָּׂא אֲשֶׁר־יִסְּרַתּוּ אִמּוֹ

LXX: οἱ ἐμοὶ λόγοι εἴρηνται ὑπὸ θεοῦ βασιλέως χρηματισμός ὃν ἐπαίδευσεν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ

Vulg.: *verba Lamuhel regis **visio** qua erudivit eum mater sua*
KJV: *The words of king Lemuel the prophecy that his mother taught him*

25.17 ѡдорожи ногѹ свою ѿ домѹ дрѹга своє͂ ачєи бѹдєть сы͂ тєбє и въз'нєнавиди͂ тєбє
Heb.: הֹקַר רַגְלְךָ מִבֵּית רֵעֶךָ פֶּן־יִשְׂבָּעֲךָ וּשְׂנאֶךָ
LXX: σπάνιον εἴσαγε σὸν πόδα πρὸς τὸν σεαυτοῦ φίλον μήποτε πλησθείς σου μισήσῃ σε
KJV: *Withdraw thy foot from thy neighbour's house lest he be weary of thee and so hate thee*

The otherwise unattested verb ѡдорожи is a literal rendering of Heb. הֹקַר'make precious'. This is probably a neologism in Slavic. *HSBM* quotes only this instance, glossed as аддаліць 'remove'.

1.5. Assignment of Hebrew gender

In our translation, as in the Hebrew original, Wisdom is personified as a woman, and the pronouns referring to her are in the feminine, even where the chosen noun in Slavic is not the feminine мѹдрость or прємѹдрость, which have corresponding feminine nouns in Hebrew – חכמה, תבונה, but the masculine nouns розѹмъ and оумъ:
2.3 толко къ розѹмѹ възываи къ оумѹ даваи гла͂ свои : 2.4 в'зыщєш' ли єє какъ сєрєбро и какъ поклажа и бѹдєшь пєрєворошивати єє
Heb.:
כִּי אִם לַבִּינָה תִקְרָא לַתְּבוּנָה תִּתֵּן קוֹלֶךָ: אִם־תְּבַקְשֶׁנָּה כַכֶּסֶף וְכַמַּטְמוֹנִים תַּחְפְּשֶׂנָּה
KJV: *Yea if thou criest after knowledge and liftest up thy voice for understanding; If thou seekest her as silver and searchest for her as for hid treasures*.

3.13 бл҃зѣ чл҃кѹ которыи нашо[л] м[д]рсть и чл҃къ которыи вымысли[л] розѹмъ : 3.14 ижє лѣпшє торговлѧ єє ни[ж]ли торговлѧ срєбрѧна и ни[ж]ли дорогоє золото ѡбильє єѣ : 3.15 дорожєи ѡна жєнчѹгоу и вси захотѣньѧ твои нє прировнають сѧ єи : 3.16 долгии дн҃и въ правици єє а в лѣвици єє бг҃тство и ч҃ть : 3.17 пѹтї єє пѹти сладки и вси стє[ж]ки єє сполнєньє:
Heb.:
אַשְׁרֵי אָדָם מָצָא חָכְמָה וְאָדָם יָפִיק תְּבוּנָה: כִּי טוֹב סַחְרָהּ מִסְּחַר־כֶּסֶף וּמֵחָרוּץ תְּבוּאָתָהּ:
יְקָרָה הִיא [כתיב מפניים] [קרי מִפְּנִינִים] וְכָל־חֲפָצֶיךָ לֹא יִשְׁווּ־בָהּ: אֹרֶךְ יָמִים בִּימִינָהּ
בִּשְׂמֹאולָהּ עֹשֶׁר וְכָבוֹד: דְּרָכֶיהָ דַרְכֵי־נֹעַם וְכָל־נְתִיבֹתֶיהָ שָׁלוֹם

KJV: *Happy is the man that findeth wisdom and the man that getteth understanding : For the merchandise of it is better than the merchandise of silver and the gain thereof than fine gold : She is more precious than rubies and all the things thou canst desire are not to be compared unto her : Length of days is in her right hand and in her left hand riches and honour : Her ways are ways of pleasantness and all her paths are peace.*

1.6. Mistranslations

8.18 добыто^{к} старыи
Heb.: הוֹן עָתֵק
LXX: κτῆσις πολλῶν;
Vulg.: *opes superbae*
KJV: *durable riches*;
The form עָתֵק 'abundant' here is a hapax, probably related to עָתָק 'arrogance' in I Samuel 2.3: יֵצֵא עָתָק מִפִּיכֶם
LXX: μὴ ἐξελθάτω μεγαλορρημοσύνη ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ὑμῶν
KJV: *let not arrogancy come out of your mouth*.
The form עָתִיק appears once in Isaiah 23.18 with the meaning 'superb'.

Our translator wrongly chose the meaning of the form עתיק 'ancient,' which is regularly used in medieval Hebrew and derives from the adjective עַתִּיק attested in I Chronicles 4.22: וְהַדְּבָרִים עַתִּיקִים Vulg. *haec autem verba vetera*, KJV *and these are ancient things*, as well as in Aramaic in Daniel 7.13 and 7.22 in the expression עַתִּיק יוֹמַיָּא 'the Ancient of days'.

The rendering 'durable' instead of 'superb' of Prov 8.18 in KJV seems to be influenced by the meaning 'ancient' in these three instances, as is the Vulgate's rendering of I Samuel 2.3 *recedant* ***vetera*** *de ore vestro.*

10.3 нє ѡголодить господи^{и} дш҃ѧ правє^{д}ного
Heb.: לֹא יַרְעִיב יהוה נֶפֶשׁ צַדִּיק
The rendering господинъ 'lord' for господь 'lord' / 'Lord' can be explained either as the Jewish translator's incapacity to distinguish between the two in Slavic, or as a copyist's corruption.
LXX: οὐ λιμοκτονήσει κύριος ψυχὴν δικαίαν;
KJV: The Lord will not suffer the soul of the righteous to famish

1.7. Jewish exegesis

30.15 адѯ два конци даваи даи, три сїи нє насытатсѧ а чотыри нє ркѯть досы[т]

Heb.: לַעֲלוּקָה שְׁתֵּי בָנוֹת הַב הַב שְׁלוֹשׁ הֵנָּה לֹא תִשְׂבַּעְנָה אַרְבַּע לֹא־אָמְרוּ הוֹן

LXX: τῇ βδέλλῃ τρεῖς θυγατέρες ἦσαν ἀγαπήσει ἀγαπώμεναι καὶ αἱ τρεῖς αὐταιοὐκ ἐνεπίμπλασαν αὐτήν καὶ ἡ τετάρτη οὐκ ἠρκέσθη εἰπεῖν ἱκανόν

Vulg.: *sanguisugae duae sunt filiae dicentes adfer adfer tria sunt insaturabilia et quartum quod numquam dicit sufficit*

AKJV: *The horse leach has two daughters, crying, Give, give. There are three things that are never satisfied, yes, four things say not, It is enough*:

Russ.Synod: У ненасытимости две дочери: „давай, давай!" Вот три ненасытимых, и четыре, которые не скажут: „довольно!"

The rendering of 'leech' by 'hell' reflects traditional Jewish exegesis, e.g. Rashi *ad locum*, quoting unnamed 'exegetes': והפותרים אומרים שהוא לשון שאול 'and the exegetes say that it means "hell".'

30.17 ѡко и[ж] глѯмитсѧ ѡ҃ю и гани[т] сморчкѡ[м] мт҃рны[м]

Heb.:

עַיִן תִּלְעַג לְאָב וְתָבֵז לִיקְהַת אֵם

LXX: ὀφθαλμὸν καταγελῶντα πατρὸς καὶ ἀτιμάζοντα γῆρας μητρός

Vulg.: *oculum qui subsannat patrem et qui despicit partum matris suae*

AKJV: *The eye that mocks at his father, and despises to obey his mother*

The rendering of Hebrew לִיקְהַת by сморчкѡ[м] 'wrinkles' (Russ. морщина) reflects Rashi's comment on the word: לקמטים הנקבצים ונקהין בפני אם 'to wrinkles gathering on a mother's face'.

A case of consistent rendering of a Hebrew word by a term reflecting a particular Jewish exegete is the translation following Gersonides of Hebrew תּוּשִׁיָּה, תֻּשִׁיָּה, which Mandelkern's *Concordance sub* יש glosses as *auxilium, salus, consilium, sapientia*.

2.7 сховаєть прѧмымъ законорѧ[д]є

Heb.:

[יִצְפֹּן :קרי] [וְצָפַן :כתיב]

לְיֹשָׁרִים תּוּשִׁיָּה

LXX: καὶ θησαυρίζει τοῖς κατορθοῦσι σωτηρίαν

Vulg.: *custodiet rectorum salutem.*
AKJV: *He lays up sound wisdom for the righteous.*
Gersonides explains here: הרצון בתושיה הנימוס המושכל אשר בדברים 'What is meant by the word תושיה is the rational order of things.'

3.21 сн҃ѵ мои нє ѿкривили бы сѧ ѿ очью твои[x] храни рѧ[д] законныи и смыслъ
Heb.:
בְּנִי אַל־יָלֻזוּ מֵעֵינֶיךָ נְצֹר תּוּשִׁיָּה וּמְזִמָּה
LXX: υἱέ μὴ παραρρυῇς τήρησον δὲ ἐμὴν βουλὴν καὶ ἔννοιαν
Vulg.: *fili mi ne effluant haec ab oculis tuis custodi* ***legem*** *atque consilium*
AKJV: *My son, let not them depart from your eyes: keep* ***sound wisdom*** *and discretion*:

8.14 моѧ рада и рѧд законныи ѧ розѵмъ и моѧ хоробрость:
Heb.: לִי־עֵצָה וְתוּשִׁיָּה אֲנִי בִינָה לִי גְבוּרָה
LXX: ἐμὴ βουλὴ καὶ **ἀσφάλεια** ἐμὴ φρόνησις ἐμὴ δὲ ἰσχύς
Vulg.: *meum est consilium et* ***aequitas*** *mea prudentia mea est fortitudo*
AKJV: Counsel is mine, and sound wisdom: I am understanding; I have strength.

18.1 Къ захотѣнью ищєть ѿлѵчє[н҃] въ всє[м] рѧдѵ закон'но[м] зѧвлє[н҃] бѵдє[т]
Heb.:
לְתַאֲוָה יְבַקֵּשׁ נִפְרָד בְּכָל־תּוּשִׁיָּה יִתְגַּלָּע
LXX: προφάσεις ζητεῖ ἀνὴρ βουλόμενος χωρίζεσθαι ἀπὸ φίλων ἐν παντὶ δὲ καιρῷ ἐπονείδιστος ἔσται
Vulg.: *occasiones quaerit qui vult recedere ab amico omni tempore erit exprobrabilis*
AKJV: *Through desire a man, having separated himself, seeks and intermeddles with all wisdom.*

The same rendering of תושיה by рѧд законныи is found also in the Vilnius version of *Job* 5.12, 6.13, 11.6, 12.6, 26.3 and 30.22 (Cf. Taube 2005).

1.8. A case of Yiddish influence?
8.19 кги[м] for Heb. פָּז. 'pure gold'. The adjective кгимовы derived

from this noun appears also in 25.12 for Hebrew כֶּתֶם ‘fine gold’; similarly in *Lamentations* 4.2, *Job* 28.17 and *Daniel* 10.5. Cf. *Song of Songs* 5.15, where the same Hebrew is rendered by чистоє золото. This word is attested in *HSBM* only from Vil. 262. It does not appear in other Slavic Bible translations (see discussion in Altbauer 1992: 72). The word ultimately derives from Latin *gemma*, from which it entered into Old High German (see Grimm’s *Deutsches Wörterbuch* under *gimme*, (http://germazope.uni-trier.de/Projekte/WBB2009/DWB/wbgui_py?lemid=GA00001). In Yiddish Bible translations it is frequently attested since ca. 1400 (see Timm 2005: 300), as the rendering of פָּז and כֶּתֶם, just like our кгимъ, and in Modern Yiddish it is preserved in the compound גינגאָלד ‘fine gold’. It is therefore highly likely that the word entered our translation from the Yiddish tradition, as suggested by Altbauer, whether or not the translator was Ashkenazi and knew Yiddish himself.

2. *Ruthenisms*

23.29 комѹ горє комѹ ѡхъ комѹ клопоты комѹ гварєнїє
Heb.: לְמִי אוֹי לְמִי אֲבוֹי לְמִי

לְמִי שִׂיחַ [מְדָיָנִים :קרי] [מדונים :כתיב]

LXX: τίνι οὐαί τίνι θόρυβος τίνι κρίσις τίνι ἀηδίαι
Vulg.: *cui vae cuius patri vae cui rixae cui foveae*
AKJV: *Who has woe? who has sorrow? who has contentions? who has babbling?*
Russ.Synod 1876: У кого вой? у кого стон? у кого ссоры? у кого горе?

The form гварєнїє ‘babble’ is related to Polish *gwarzenie* < *gwarzyć* ‘to chat’, perhaps corruption of: сварєнїє ‘quarrel’. *HSBM* has only this example, which it glosses гаварэнне.

31.30 кривє^{д}но є$^{\bar{с}}$ цѹдность и лапшо є$^{\bar{с}}$ краса жона боѩзни бо^{ж}єи та маєт быти похвалєна
Heb.:

שֶׁקֶר הַחֵן וְהֶבֶל הַיֹּפִי אִשָּׁה יִרְאַת־יְהוָה הִיא תִתְהַלָּל

In the second, traditional translation of that same verse, found in the ‘Praise of the Virtuous Woman’ in a separate section of the Vilnius 262 codex (see Altbauer 1967), we read:
31.30 ложна блг^{д}ть и праздна єсть краса . жона боѧщаѩса $\bar{г}$а та похвалитсѧ:

LXX: ψευδεῖς ἀρέσκειαι καὶ μάταιον κάλλος γυναικός γυνὴ γὰρ συνετὴ εὐλογεῖται φόβον δὲ κυρίου αὕτη αἰνείτω
Vulg.: *sin fallax gratia et vana est pulchritudo mulier timens Dominum ipsa laudabitur*
AKJV: *Favor is deceitful, and beauty is vain: but a woman that fears the LORD, she shall be praised.*
Under the entry лапшо *HSBM* has only this example, marked with a question mark instead of a gloss.
Cf. Russ. лапша ‘noodles’; probably a metaphor for הבל ‘vanity’ > ‘trifles’.

26.14 двєрь вєртитьс҃ на пѧтцє своєи а лѣнивыи на постєли своєи:
Heb.:

הַדֶּלֶת תִּסּוֹב עַל־צִירָהּ וְעָצֵל עַל־מִטָּתוֹ

LXX: ὥσπερ θύρα στρέφεται ἐπὶ τοῦ στρόφιγγος οὕτως ὀκνηρὸς ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ
Vulg.: *sicut ostium vertitur in cardine suo ita piger in lectulo suo*
AKJV: *As the door turns on his hinges, so does the slothful on his bed*.

The form пятка literally ‘little heel’ for ‘hinge’ and ‘pole’ is attested in the corpus of Ruthenian translations from Hebrew, and beside that, to the best of my knowledge, only in Skaryna where, however, we have пята, not пятка. Thus in Al-Ghazali’s *Intentions of the Philosophers*, logical section, we read (quoted from my forthcoming edition):
ꙗко р҃ємь въ пѣрво҃ ѿ аклидаса нєво҃можⷮно нє вызнати абы всѧкаа ты҃ка нє пѧ҃тка, зань҄ можє҃ на нєи чини҃ кр̏г҃
‘… as it is said in the first (book) of Euclid: “It is impossible not to admit that every point is [not] (potentially) a center, for one can make a circle around it”.’

The same term is attested several times in Sacrobosco’s *Book of the Sphere*, for ‘pole’: а снуръ то что приходить съ однои стороны круговои и до другоє чєрєзъ тычку єго. а вєрги того снура нарицаютьсѧ пѧтки свѣтови, ‘And the axis (lit. line) is that which goes from one side of the sphere to the other through its midpoint. And the extremities of that axis are called the poles of the world’ (Соболевский 1903: 410). Sobolevskij does not identify the *Book of the Sphere*, labelling it *Космография* (Соболевский 1903: 409; see Taube 1995).

In Skaryna’s 16th century translation, we find пята in this verse. Aničenka II: 157 gives ‘hinge’ as a second meaning for пята, [but not пятка] (after ‘heel’): ‘пята[2] шып для насадкі дзвярэй; яко двери

ворочают'сѧ на пѧте своеи тако и ленивыи на ложи своемъ', 'As a door turns on the hinge, so does a sluggard on his bed'.

3. *Conclusions*

The translation of *Proverbs* in the Vilnius codex is clearly Jewish, that is, carried out with the participation of a Jew who dictated the Ruthenian version to a Slavic scribe, and reflecting Jewish understanding of the Old Testament text as transmitted in the Massoretic tradition, reflected in the preservation of spaces for *parashas* and in renderings which correspond to traditional Jewish exegesis, e.g. of Rashi and Gersonides. It is also at times quite literal, as are many Jewish translations into other languages. The language into which it is translated is the Ruthenian vernacular with which the Jewish translator was familiar, not the bookish variety of Ruthenian which served as written chancery language in the Great Duchy of Lithuania. Nevertheless, the origins of the codex as a whole remain a mystery. The text was clearly intended for a Christian readership, and the circumstances in which it came into being remain unknown. It remains unclear whether we are dealing with a faithful rabbinical Jew, or perhaps with a Jew converted to Christianity, as the book of *Psalms* in this collection seems to suggest. A detailed analysis of the Vilnius *Psalter* may supply some answers to this question.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AKJV – American King James Version
Heb. – Hebrew Massoretic Text
HSBM – Жураўскі, A. I. et al. (eds.) *Гістарычны слоўнік беларускай мовы* (Минск, 1982–).
KJV – King James Version
LXX – Septuagint Version
Rashi – Rabbi Shlomo Itzhaki, 1040–1105
Vulg. – St. Jerome's Vulgate

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HSBM = Аркадзь Іосіфавіч Жураўскі [Žurawski] *et al.* (eds.), *Гістарычны Слоўнік Беларускай Мовы* (Навука і тэхніка; Мінск, 1982–).

Mandelkern, S. = *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae Hebraice atque Chaldaice...* collegit et concinnavit Salomon Mandelkern… Editio nona aucta atque emendata (Schocken; Jerusalem–Tel Aviv, 1971).

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SOPHIA, THE WISDOM OF GOD
(*According to Proverbs 9:1–11 in the Slavic Tradition of Word and Image*)

Iskra Hristova-Shomova

1. Sophia in the Old and New Testaments

A new personage appears in the biblical books of Wisdom which were created as a result of the dialogue with Hellenic civilization: this is Sophia (Σοφία) the Wisdom of God. The Jews had their great insights into the monotheistic God and the unity of the universe, but in their system of cosmology the Creator is somehow very solitary, alone with his creation. Sophia fills the emptiness in this rather masculine concept, being a personification of the idea of the feminine principle and of the hierogamy, the celestial marriage, well known in all ancient religions. Further, the important motif of the internal and external God begins with Sophia. The first book in which Sophia appears is Job. There we read: "Behold, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom"[1] (Job 28:28). This phrase corresponds to Proverbs 1:7 and 9:10: where "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge". In the Greek, however, there is a difference between the two phrases. In Proverbs it is ἀρχή Σοφίας φόβος θεοῦ, but in Job 28:28 it is θεοσέβεία ἐστιν Σοφία. While φόβος θεοῦ undoubtedly means `fear of God`, θεοσέβεια means `respect`, which does not refer to a primitive fear, but to the respect for God within us, the capacity to distinguish between good and evil.

In the New Testament the concept of Sophia is introduced by St. Paul (Rom 11:33, 1Cor 1:21, 1:30, 2:7, Eph 1:8, 3:10, Col 2:3). He also speaks about the three main Christian values: Faith, Hope and Charity, or Love (1Cor 13:13, Heb 10:22–24). Later these concepts are embodied in the image of Saint Sophia and her three daughters, Faith, Hope and Charity. Through these saintly images the main difference between the Old Testament and New Testament concepts of God is manifested. Whereas in the New Testament the children of Sophia (the Wisdom of God) are Faith, Hope and Charity, in the Old

[1] All quotations from the Bible are according to the RSV.

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Testament God is Fear. The idea of the three daughters of Sophia personifying the main Christian values, Faith, Hope and Charity, agrees with the eternal Christian search for God within human beings, expressed in the insight that God is love.

Sophia has many interpretations in the Old Testament, and subsequently in the writings of the Gnostics, in the New Testament and in Christianity in general. One of the most persistent interpretations is that of Sophia as a personification of the female principle. In Proverbs Sophia is interpreted as a woman, and more than that, as a wife (cf. McCreesh 1985): she is a manifestation of the female nature of God and an expression of the idea of hierogamy.

In Christianity Sophia is identifiable with the Logos, with the Holy Spirit and with the female principle. The images of the bridegroom and the bride are basic ones in Christianity: God`s Son often is interpreted as a bridegroom, and nuns are Christ`s brides, who enter into a holy matrimonial union with the celestial bridegroom in place of an unrealized or unconsummated terrestrial (human) marriage. In Christianity Mary, the Mother of God, is the personification of the female principle and the idea of maternity, and Sophia often is identified with her. It is not by chance that the beginning of chapter 9 of Proverbs is chosen as a lection for the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary. Sophia has the features of a young girl, woman, fiancée or bride, and not only when she is identified with Mary. We can find the phrase "*He made Wisdom his sister*" or "*He made Wisdom his bride*" in many liturgical chants. Yet one of the most significant examples of the idea of Sophia as a personification of the female principle and of her connection with the hierogamy is in the history of the Slavs.

Eleven centuries ago a seven-year-old boy in Thessaloniki had a prophetic dream which predestined the fate not only of the boy, but of entire peoples. In his dream Sophia, the Lord`s Wisdom, appeared to him, and he chose her for his fiancée. A product of this celestial marriage was the Slavic culture, especially the Orthodox Slavic culture. Not many years later the same boy together with his elder brother began the great work of giving the Lord`s Word to the Slavs. In their translations they created a special Christian terminology for Slavs.

They invented the Slavic word прѣмѫдрость for the Christian concept which is denoted by Σοφία. The root of this word is *mond-*

and one of the possible etymologies is that it is the same root represented in the word мѫдъ, which denotes the receptacle of the male reproductive potential (see Иванов, Топоров 1984: 190; sf. Vasmer 1986–1987 for a different etymology). This reflects the ancient human concept that wisdom is located in male reproductive ability, as represented in the mythologies of many other peoples (see Eliade 1976: 93–119). The adjective мѫдръ conveys a reinforced idea of virility, not only because its root is connected with manhood, but also because the suffix *-r-* is used in adjectives which denote male qualities: мѫдръ, добръ, храбръ, бъдръ, ядръ. At the same time the suffix -ость is specific to abstract nouns of feminine grammatical gender, and in the word мѫдрость it is as if the celestial marriage were realized on a linguistic level. But SS. Cyril and Methodios translated Σοφία in reference to God`s Wisdom not as мѫдрость but as прѣмѫдрость. There are many examples of this in the translation of the Epistles of St. Paul, e. g. 1Cor 1:30: о х҃ѣ и҃сѣ иже бъıстъ прѣмѫдрость намъ отъ бога (in Christ Jesus who became for us Wisdom from God); 1Cor 2:7: глаголемъ божиѭ прѣмѫдрость (we speak God`s Wisdom) etc. (the examples are based on the earliest Slavic copies of the book of Apostolos (Acts and Epistels), see Христова-Шомова 2004: 210; 604). In the Athonite redaction of the Apostolos (Acts and Epistles) usually прѣмѫдрость is changed to мѫдрость (Христова-Шомова 2004: 604). The words мѫдрость and мѫдръ are also used in Old Church Slavonic manuscripts, but in other contexts, e.g. воите сѧ в҆сѣхъ мѫдростеи ꙁемънъıхъ (Euchologium Sinaiticum, f. 45r, SR 1999: 890)[2]. The prefix прѣ- means ‘more, ever so, over’, but it could mean also overcoming and negation. So, the word прѣмѫдрость expresses the idea that Σοφία, the Wisdom of the Lord, is a supreme wisdom, and at the same time a negation of human wisdom, because “the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is

[2] More examples can be found in SJS: 266–267, 463–464, and in SR 1: 890–891; SR 2: 507–508.

stronger than men" (1 Cor 1:25). The noun прѣмѫдрость corresponds to the apophatic theology of St. Dionysios who teaches that God can be described as a negation of human and other tellurian qualities, not as non-existence but as super-existence. There was a tendency in the redactions of the biblical texts to remove the prefix прѣ- and replace прѣмѫдрость and прѣмѫдръ with мѫдрость and мѫдръ but the term прѣмѫдрость has survived in the Slavic languages.

2. The lection for the Nativity of the Virgin Mary

The relation between Sophia and the Virgin Mary is expressed in a poem by Alexander Blok in which Sophia is called queen (*царица*) and Mary is called princess (*царевна*) (see Murjanov (Мурьянов 1971), who published the poem together with a comprehensive commentary). As mentioned above, the connection between Sophia and the Virgin Mary can be seen from the fact that the lection for the Nativity of the Virgin Mary is Proverbs 9:1–11. In these verses Sophia is represented as a woman and housewife. The Slavic translations of this lection will be analysed here. The text appears as a lection, and also as a part of the full text of Proverbs. The lection was included in two types of liturgical books: in the early period it was included in Old Testament lectionaries, and from the 13th century onwards it was included in liturgical *menaia*: collections of hymnal offices for the feasts of the church year over the twelve months. Scholars differrentiate two groups of *menaia*: archaic *menaia*, which preserve the early tradition formed in Bulgaria during the reign of Simeon and Peter, and newly revised *menaia*, which reflect the introduction of the Jerusalem Typikon to liturgical practice in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, when the menaia were newly compiled and textually revised. All kinds of sources are employed in the comparison made here. The following manuscripts are used:

1. GP. Grigorovič Parimejnik, 12th century, written in Middle Bulgarian orthography. The edition of Ribarova and Hauptova is used (Рибарова, Хауптова 1998).

2. F.I.461. 14th-century manuscript, F.I.461, kept in the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg, written in Middle Bulgarian orthography. Contains a large number of biblical books (cf. Николова 1994).

3. GB. Gennadian Bible of 1499, kept in the State Historical Museum (GIM) in Moscow, No. 915, written in Russian orthography. Contains a full Bible (cf. Горский, Невоструев 1855: 66–73).

4. DM. Draganov *Menaion*, 13th century, kept in the Zographou Monastery on Mount Athos, written in Middle Bulgarian orthography. Contains a festal menaion, archaic version (see Райков, Кожухаров, Миклас, Кодов 1994: 52).

5. NBKM 122. Manuscript of 1435, kept in the National Library "SS. Cyril and Methodius" in Sofia, No. 122, written in Serbian orthography, except for f. 276r, which is written in Middle Bulgarian orthography with two *jusy*. Contains a liturgical? Menaion for September, revised version (see Христова-Шомова 2009).

6. TrS 465. Early 15th-century manuscript kept in the Svjato-Troickaja Sergievaja Lavra, No. 465, written in Russian orthography. Contains a festal menaion, revised version.

The Greek text is taken from Rahlfs's edition of 1979.

9:1 Ἡ σοφία ᾠκοδόμησεν ἑαυτῇ οἶκον καὶ ὑπέρεισεν στύλους ἑπτά.

GP: Прѣмдростъ създа себѣ храмъ. и оутвръди стлъпъ седмъ.

F.I.461: Прѣмдрꙋ̑ създа себѣ храмъ, и̓ оу̓тврѣди стлъпъ седмъ.

GB: Прѣмдрость създа себѣ храминꙁ. и̓ ꙁтврѣди стлъпъ седмь.

DM: Прѣмдростъ създа себѣ храмь. и̓ оу̓тврѣди стлпъ седьмъ.

NBKM 122: Прѣмоудрость съ̑зда себе храмь. и̓ оу̓тврьди стльпъ сѣ̑мь.

TrS 465: Премоудрость созда себѣ храмь. и оутверди столпъ .ѕ́.

The first verse is the same in all the sources.

9:2 ἔσφαξεν τὰ ἑαυτῆς θύματα, ἐκέρασεν εἰς κρατῆρα τὸν ἑαυτῆς οἶνον καὶ ἡτοιμάσατο τὴν ἑαυτῆς τράπεζαν.

GP: заколе и своꙗ жрътъвнаѣ. и чръпа въ кратири вино свое. и оуготова своа трапезѫ.

F.I.461: закла своа жрътвнаа. и̓ чрипа въ кратїри свое винѡ. и̓ оуготова своа трапезѫ.

GB: закла своа жрътъвнаа. и̓ черпа в чаши своеи ви́но. и̓ ꙁготова свою трапезꙁ.

DM: и закла своꙗ жрътвнаа. и̓ чръпа въ чѣши своеи вино. и̓ оу̓готова своѫ трапезѫ.

NBKM 122: ꙁакла своꙗ жрьтьвнаа. и҆ чрьпа вь чашїи своѥи винѡ. и҆ ꙋготова свою трапезоу.

TrS 465: ꙁакла своꙗ жертовнаа. и҆ чер′па в′ чаши своеи вино. оуготова свою трапезоу.

In the second verse, there are two different counterparts of κρατήρ. In GP and F.I.461 the word is not translated, while in GB and the menaia Greek κρατιρъ is changed to Slavic чаша. This occurred in a South Slavic milieu, most probably in Bulgaria (or on Mount Athos), but before the reform of liturgical books connected with the Jerusalem Typikon. Here the GP form ꙁаколе for ꙁакла should be mentioned. It is an aorist, based on the model of verbs with consonantal infinitive stems (such as идѣ, рече, несе). This form may be earlier than the form ꙁакла, because originally the verb also had a consonant stem (**kolti*) after liquid metathesis occurred, it moved to the group of verbs with vocalic stems.

9:3 ἀπέστειλεν τούς ἑαυτῆς δούλους συγκαλούσα μετὰ ὑψηλοῦ κηρύγματος ἐπί κρατῆρα λέγουσα.

GP: посла своа рабъı съꙁывааци съ въıсѡкомъ проповѣданїемъ. на чѣшѫ гла҃ции.

F.I.461: посла своа рабы съꙁываѫци съ высѡкымъ проповѣданїемъ. на чаша гла҃ци.

GB: посла своа рабы съꙁывающи с высокомъ проповѣданїемъ на чашю гла҃ци.

DM: и посла своѫ рабы съ высокомъ проповѣданиемъ. на чашѫ гла҃ще.

NBKM 122: и посла своѥ рабы҃. съꙁивающе сь високымь проповѣданиѥм. на чашоу гла҃ющїи.

TrS 465: посла своꙗ рабы. съꙁывающи съ высокымь проповѣданїемь. на чашоу гла҃ющи.

In the third verse there are no variants.

9:4 Ὅς ἐστιν ἄφρων, ἐκκλινάτο πρός μεῶ καὶ τοῖς ἐνδεέσι φρενῶν εἶπεν.

GP: еже естъ безꙁменъ да ѕклонитъ сѧ къ мнѣ. ї трѣбоу҃щимъ оума ре҃.

F.I.461: иже є҃ безоумень да оу҆клонїт сѧ къ мнѣ. и трѣбоу҃щимъ оума рече.

GB: иже єсть безъменъ да оуклонит са къ мнѣ. и хотащимъ оума рече.

DM: иже ѥ безоумень да оуклонитa къ мнѣ. трѣбоужщимъ оума ре.

NBKM 122: иже ѥ безоумнь да оуклони се кь мнѣ. и трѣбоующїимь оума ре.

TrS 465: иже є безоуменъ да оуклонит са ко мнѣ. и трѣбжющимъ оума рече.

In the fourth verse the verb ἐνδέω is translated by трѣбовати everywhere with the exception of GB where it is changed to хотѣти. The Greek verb means ‘fall short, lack’, so probably this individual change was made without reference to the Greek text. It is difficult to say whether it was changed in the South Slavic source or in Russia.

9:5 Ἐλθατε φάγετε τῶν ἐμῶν ἄρτων καὶ πίετε οἶνον, ὃν ἐκέρασα ὑμῖν.

GP: придѣте ѣдите мои хлѣбъ. и пїите вино еже чръпахъ вамъ.

F.I.461: пр҃те ѣдите мои хлѣбъ. и пїите винw єже чрипахъ вамъ.

GB: прїидѣте ѣдите мои хлѣбъ. и пїите вино єже черпахъ вамъ.

DM: придѣте и ѣдите мои хлѣбъ. и пиите вино єже чрьпахъ вам᷾.

NBKM 122: придетѣ и ѣдите мои хлѣбь. и пите вино иже чрьпахь вамь.

TrS 465: придѣте ѣдите мои хлѣбъ. и пиите вино еже черпа̑ вамь.

In the fifth verse there are no variants.

9:6 ἀπολείπετε ἀφροσύνην, καὶ ζήσεσθε, καὶ ζητήσατε φρόνησιν, ἵνα βιώσητε, καὶ κατορθώσατε ἐν γνώσει σύνεσιν.

GP: оставите безъмие ї жївї бж҃дете. възъщате мж҃дрость и пожївете. исправите въ свѣдѣнїи разоумъ.

F.I.461: оставите безоумїе и живи бж҃дете и възъщѣте прѣмж҃дрость да поживете. и ісправите въ сѣ̑нїи разоумъ.

GB: ѡставите безъмїе и живи бъдете. и възщете премъдрости и поживете. ісправите въ свѣдѣнїи разъмъ.

DM: ѡставите безоумие и живи бж҃дете. възъщате прѣмж҃дрость да поживете. ісправите въ сѣ̑ние разоумъ.

NBKM 122: ѡставѣте безоумиѥ и поживетѣ. възищїите роукама да живи боудете. ісправите разоумь вь видѣнь҃і.

TrS 465: wставите безоумїе и поживете. и възщите разж҃ да живи бъдете. ї ісправите по свѣдєнї разж҃мь.

In the sixth verse φρόνησις is translated by прѣмѫдрость everywhere, except that GP has just мѫдрость, and in NBKM 122 there is an error (роукама). Although the variant прѣмѫдрость occurs in the majority of manuscripts, I surmise that the first translation is preserved in GP: at first φρόνησις was translated as мѫдрость, while прѣмѫдрость was reserved for the rendering of σοφία. 9:7 Ὁ παιδεύων κακούς λήμψεται ἑαυτῷ ἀτιμίαν, ἐλέγχων δὲ τὸν ἀσεβῆ μωμήσεται ἑαυτήν.

GP: наказаѧи зълыа прииметъ себѣ досаждение. ѡбличѣаи нечьстїва поречетъ себе. wбличениѧ бо нечьстивъімъ мозолие имъ.

F.I.461: кажаи зл҃ы, прїиметъ себѣ досажденїє. ѡбличѣжи же нечьстива поречеть себе. ѡбличенїа бw нечьстивымъ мозолїе и҃мъ.

GB: кажаи зл҃ы, прїимлѣ̃ себѣ досаж̾енїе. с̾бличаѧи же нечьстива поречеть себѣ. с̾бличенїа҃ нечьстивы҃ мозолїе и҃мъ.

DM: кажѫи злыѫ приметъ себѣ досаждение. wбличѣжи бо нечьстиваго по҆реть себе. ѡбличение бо нечьстивымъ мозолиѣ̃мъ.

NBKM 122: кажеи злыѭ приѣмлѣть себе безчестиѭ. wбличаѧ иже нечьстиваѧго по҆реть себѣ. wбличение же нечьстивомоу мозоли емѹ.

TrS 465: кажаи злыѧ прїемлеть себѣ безьчьстие. wбличаи же нечьстива по҆рече себе. wбличенїѧ бw нечьстивомоу мозолїе емѹ.

In the seventh verse ἀτιμία is translated by досаждение everywhere except for two revised menaia, where we find безьчьстие, a calque of the Greek word; this change corresponds to the principles of the Athonite redaction of the Gospels, Acts and Epistles and Psalter. Obviously, This change was made when the service books were revised in connection with the adoption of the Jerusalem Typikon. In the same verse the word мозоль is the counterpart of μωμήσεται, which means `blame, reproach`.

9:8 μὴ ἔλεγχε κακούς, ἵνα μὴ μισῶσίν σε· ἔλεγε σοφόν, καὶ ἀγαπήσει σε.

GP: не wбличѣи нечъстивъіхъ да не възненавидитъ тебе. wбличѧи прѧмѫдра и възлюбитъ та.

F.I.461: не обличѣи зл҃ы, да не възненавидатъ тебе. обличѣи прѣмѫдра и възлюбитъ та.

GB: не сбличаи нечьстивы҃ да не възненавид҃а̃ тебе. сбличаи мѫдра и възлюб҃и̃ та. безѹмна же и҃ възненавид҃и̃ та.

DM: не ѡ҃бличѣи нечьстивы҃ да не възненавидатъ тебе. ѡ҃бличѣи же прѣмѫдра и възлюбитъ та.

NBKM 122: не ѡ҃бличаи зълы҃ да не възненавидеть тебе. ѡ҃бличаи прѣмоудраа и вьзлюбит те.

TrS 465: не ѡбличаи зълы҃ да не възненавидать тебе. ѡ҃бличи премѫдра и вьзлюбить та.

In the eighth verse the adjective κακός is translated as нечьстивъ in GP, DM and GB, while in F.I.461, NBKM 122 and TrS 465 it is translated as зълъ, which is more literal. The use of κακός for нечьстивъ is specific to the early translations, while зълъ is specific to the Athonite redaction. In this case, however, the change was made before the redaction on Mount Athos, because it is attested in F.I.461. It may have been made in Preslav. In the same verse, σοφός is translated as прѣмѫдръ everywhere except in GB, where it is changed to мѫдръ. This kind of change is characteristic of the Preslav redaction.

9:9 δίδου σοφῷ ἀφορμήν, καὶ σοφώτερος ἔσται· γνώριζε δικαιῳ, καὶ προσθήσει τοῦ δέχεσθαι.

GP: даи прѣмѫдроу винѫ и прѣмѫдрѣае бѫдетъ. сказаи праведномѫ. и приложитъ приимати.

F.I.461: даи прѣмѫдроу винѫ и прѣмѫдрѣи бѫд҃е. сказаи праведномоу ѝ приложитъ приимати.

GB: даи премѫдроу винѫ прѣмѫдрѣе бѫдеть. сказаи же премѫдрѫ ѝ приложить прїимати.

DM: даи прѣмѫдрѫ винѫ и прѣмѫдрѣи бѫдетъ. сказаи праведномоу ѝ приложитъ прииимати.

NBKM 122: даи прѣмоудрѫ винѫ и прѣмоу҆реи боудеть. сказаи правѣ҆номоу и приложи҃ ти прииматы.

TrS 465: даи прѣмоудрѫ виноу. и прѣмѫдрѣ бѫдеть. сказаи праведномоу и приближить прїимати.

In the ninth verse we find прѣмѫдръ in GB for δικαίος, instead of праведьнъ, but perhaps this is just a scribal error. There are no other variants in this verse.

9:10 ἀρχὴ Σοφίας φόβος κυρίου, καὶ βουλὴ ἁγίων σύνεσις· τὸ γὰρ γνῶναι νόμον διανοίας ἐστὶν ἀγαθῆς·

GP: зачало прнамѫдрости боѣзнь гн҃ѣ. (и съвѣ)тъ с҃тыихъ разѫмъ. а еже разоумѣти законъ помъишлениѣ естъ бл҃га.

F.I.461: ꙁачало пръмѫдрости боѧзнь гнѣ. и̑ съвѣтъ стхъ разꙋмъ. а еже разꙋмѣти ꙁаконъ помышленїа є̑ бл҃га.

GB: ꙁа̑ло премоудрости боѧзнь гна. и̑ съвѣтъ сты̑ разꙋмъ. а̑ е̑же разꙋмѣти ꙁаконъ помышленїа е̑сть бл҃га.

DM: ꙁачало пръмѫдрости боѩзнъ гнѣ. и̑ съвѣть стхъ разꙋмъ. а еже разꙋмѣти ꙁаконъ. помышлѣеть бл҃го.

NBKM 122: ꙁачело пръмоудростыи стра̑ гне̑. и̑ сьвѣть стыхь разоу̑мь. а ѥже разꙋмѣты ꙁаконь. помысла ѥ̑ бл҃гаа.

TrS 465: ꙁачало̀ премѫдрости, стра̑ гне̑. и свѣтъ стхъ разѫмь. а еже разѫмѣти ꙁакона, помысла е̑сть бл҃га.

In the tenth verse there are two different renderings of φόβος. The earlier one is боѧзнь, which occurs everywhere except in the two revised menaia, NBKM 122 and TrS 465, where it is changed to страхъ. The replacement of боѧзнь with страхъ is characteristic of the Athonite redaction of the Acts and Epistles, e. g. in 1 Pet 3:15, 1Jo 4:18 (cf. Христова-Шомова 2004: 409), so it is not surprising to find it in the revised menaia. The same verse contains another doublet of variants with the same distribution: διανοία is translated as помъшление and помъсль. The first variant appears in GP, F.I.461, DM and GB, whereas the the second occurs in both the revised menaia. Moreover, the structure of the phrase in this verse has been changed in DM.

9:11 τοῦτῳ γὰρ τῷ τρόπῳ πολὺν ζήσεις χρόνον, καὶ προστεθήσεταί σοι ἔτη ζωῆς σου.

GP: сїмъ бѡ коваръствомъ много пожывеш(ї) лѣ҃. и̑ приложѧтъ ти с(а л)ѣ҃та животоу ⁘

F.I.461: симъ бѡ коваръствомъ много пожывеши лѣ҃. и̑ приложѧтъ ти са лѣта жывѡтоу ⁘

GB: симъ бо коварствомъ мно́го пожывеши лѣтъ. и̑ приложа҃ ти са лѣта животѕ.

DM: сим бо коварьствомъ много пожывеши лѣтъ. и̑ приложѧтъ ти са лѣта животоу ⁘

NBKM 122: сі҃ бо ѡ̀бразомь много пожывешїи врѣме. и̑ прїиложетъ ты се лѣта животоу.

TrS 465: сі҃ бо коварьствомь много пожывеши врема. и̑ приложать ти са лѣта животоу ⁘

In the eleventh verse τρόπος is translated as коварьство, which is attested in all manuscripts except the revised menaia, where it is changed to образъ. The word коварьство, which is derived from the verb коути-ковѫ, originally did not have the same meaning as nowadays. It was connected with the craft of blacksmiths, who occupied a high position in the social hierarchy of ancient societies, and were esteemed as masters of magic. The word originally means 'skill, mastership'. Later its meaning was narrowed to 'skill of deception', and this is probably the reason why it was changed to образъ in two of the revised menaia. Similarly, in 2 Thes 2:3 τρόπος is translated as коварьство or as variants къзньство and хѣитрость in the archaic manuscripts, and the same alteration of коварьство to образъ was made in the Athonite redaction (see Христова-Шомова 2004: 330–331). The original translation коварьство, however is preserved in the Russian revised menaion. The last set of variants is for χρόνος, which is translated as лѣто, and changed to врѣмѧ in the revised menaia. This alteration is also in the style of the Athonite redaction, which reflects a later period in the development of the language. At this stage the original meaning of лѣто, 'time', was narrowed to a certain period of time, 'year'. A change of лѣто to врѣмѧ is found in many places in the Acts and Epistles as well (see Христова-Шомова 2004: 511).

On the basis of this comparison and analysis the following conclusions can be drawn. First, the same translation is represented in all different sources, but some changes have been made during the centuries. Second, the text in the Grigorovič Parimejnik and in the full Biblical text represented in F.I.461 are the same. There is only one difference between them: нечьстивъıхъ vs. злъıхъ in the eighth verse. This fact makes it more probable that the translation of St. Methodius has been preserved in F.I.461. The same translation was included in GB, which diverges from F.I.461only in two places: the change of кратиръ to чаша in 9:2, and the change of нечьстивъ to зълъ in 9:8. Furthermore, the same translation as in GB was included in the archaic *menaia*: it is attested in DM. The lection was not retranslated for the revised *menaia*. The same translation was used in them, but the text was systematically revised and the following changes were made: досаждение to бесчьстие, боѩзнь to страхъ, коварьство to образъ, лѣто to врѣмѧ. These changes are typical of the Athonite redaction of the Gospels, Acts and Epistles and Psalter. They show that the revised Slavic *menaia* were all compiled in the circle of Bulgarian bookmen on Mount Athos, i.e., the circle of the elders John and Josef, who pro-

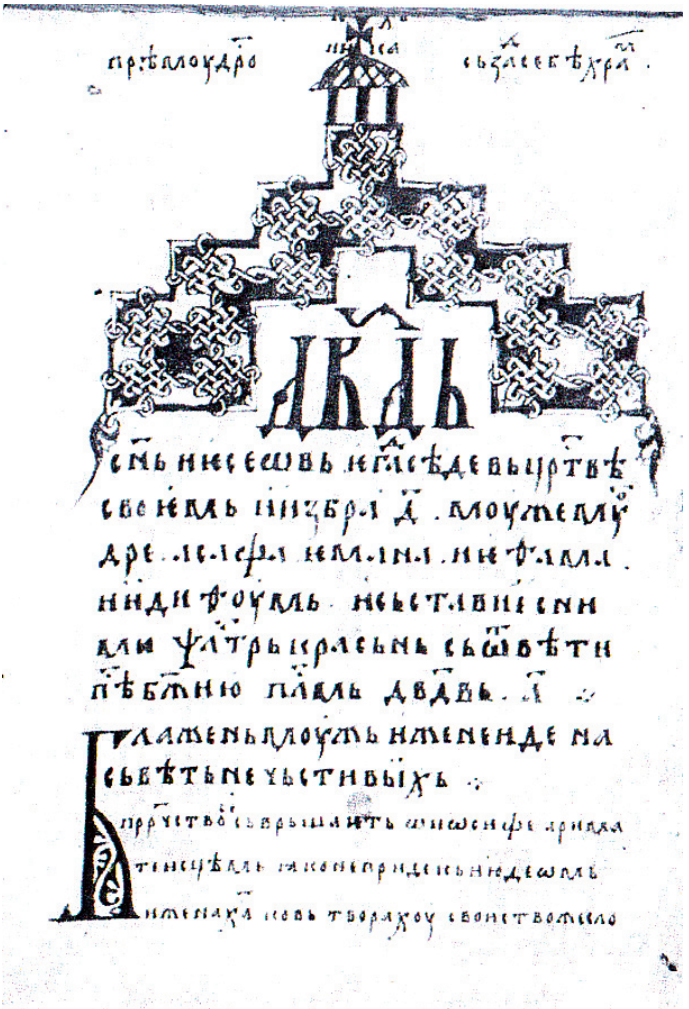

Fig. 1: The Temple of Sophia. The Psalter of Branko Mladenović, 1346

duced the Athonite redaction of the biblical liturgical books, the revision of the Triodion, Pentecostarion and Octoechos, and the Bulgarian translation of the Jerusalem Typikon. The same revision of the lection was included in the Russian menaion, with the exception of one place where the archaic translation was preserved (коварьство vs. образъ). This shows that the Bulgarian redaction was adopted in Russia. Indeed there are orthographic traces of a Bulgarian source with two *jusy* in the manuscript TrS 465.

3. THE IMAGES OF SOPHIA AS AN ILLUSTRATION TO THE LECTION (PROVERBS 9:1–11)

Sophia the Wisdom of God has different interpretations in church painting[3]. The oldest known image of Sophia is from the sixth century in a catacomb in Alexandria. She is represented as an angel and the image bears the inscription *Sophia – Jesus Christ*. This is one of the interpretations of God`s Wisdom: as the Son of God. It is based on the words of St. Paul: "*But unto them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God"* (1 Cor 1:24); and "*But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who was made unto us wisdom from God, and righteousness and sanctification, and redemption"* (1 Cor 1:30). Sophia could be depicted also just as an angel who carries inspiration and wisdom to one or other of the saints. Most often she was depicted as the source of inspiration for the Evangelists. Such an image is preserved in the "St. Sophia" Church in Ohrid: Sophia is depicted as an angel together with St. John the Theologian.

There are some examples of images of Sophia in her temple as a reminiscence from / allusion to Proverbs 9:1. Two illustrations in Slavonic psalters from the fourteenth century represent the idea of the temple of Wisdom. One of them is in the Psalter of Branko Mladenović dated 1346. The temple is depicted as a headpiece and Sophia herself is not represented (see Radojčić 1975). The illustration is accompanied by the inscription прѣмоудрꙋ҃ сьзда̑ себѣ хр҃а̑ (Fig. 1). The other illustration is a miniature in the Kiev Psalter of 1397. Sophia is depicted as an angel in a temple with three domes (see Вздорнов 1978: 64, 118). The illustration is accompanied by the inscription прѣмоудрꙋ҃ ст҃аа софіа (Fig. 2).

[3] On the images of Sophia in Christian art see Grabar 1956; Meyendorff 1959; 1987; Radojčić 1975; Balcárek 1999; Mavrodinova 1999 and the bibliographies to these articles.

Fig. 2: Sophia in her Temple. The Kiev Psalter, 1397

Although these pictures convey the idea of the temple of Wisdom, they do not illustrate in fact the story in Proverbs 9:1–11. The images of Sophia as illustrations to the lection from Proverbs discussed here are typical of the Palaeologan period and are connected with the new aesthetic horizons in Byzantine art, which gave rise to outstanding models and influenced the development of the art of painting in Europe. It is characteristic of the Palaeologan period that artists returned to the traditions of antiquity: the paintings depict a large number of stories and personages from the Hellenic Age. Numerous Old Testament scenes and personages are also typical of the art of the Palaeologan period[4], as is an urge to develop a distinctive logic and psychological treatment of subjects. L. Ouspensky (1992: 243) remarks: 'The connection between what is represented and the viewer also changed. Whether the icon represented a single person or a given scene, it was no longer turned outward, toward the believer who prayed before it. Frequently, the representation unfolded like a scene, having a life of its own, independent of the viewer, as if it was closed in upon itself.' The art of the Palaeologan period, magnificent in its diversity and vitality, had a considerable influence on the Italian *trecento*, which adopted from Byzantine artists their principles of depiction as well as their taste for Old Testament topics and the models of antiquity. This last feature of the Italian continuation of Palaeologan art is the reason why it was called the Renaissance.

It is typical of the Old Testament scenes depicted in this period that the artists clothe or embody their symbols in visible images, e. g. the Theotokos in the burning bush that was not consumed, Abraham and the angels (the Old Testament Trinity), Christ as an angel. Perhaps the most characteristic example of this tendency is the image of Sophia as an illustration to the lection from Proverbs discussed above. Ouspensky (1992: 245) states: 'It should be kept in mind that the theme of Wisdom was very current at the time of the conflict between the hesychasts and their opponents; it is unquestionably in this context that the symbolic image of Sofia became especially widespread at the time of the Paleologi. In the development of this type of symbolism one cannot help but see the influence of the "humanist" renaissance. However, in spite of its incompatibility with hesychast concepts, it

[4] The traditional term Palaeologan Renaissance is rejected by many modern scholars who state that it is not appropriate to speak of a Renaissance in Byzantium, because the art of antiquity was never forgotten there; see Mavrodinova 2005.

Fig. 3: Sophia in her Temple. Gračanica, 1321

must be said that this symbolism, as well as borrowings from Antiquity, were not always alien to hesychasm. The symbolic representation of Wisdom can therefore be understood not only as a "humanist" encroachment, but also as an attempt on the part of the hesychasts to contrast the wisdom of the philosophers to the Wisdom of God'. As a matter of fact these images are contradictory to the Orthodox doctrine of icons, and they break the rules of the Church councils, especially that of the Council in Trullo which condemned iconoclasm, but prescribed strict rules for images of the Divine. According to these rules, Christ could be depicted only in his human existence in concrete scenes of his life, not as a symbol or an abstract idea.

The most magnificent examples of illustrations to this lection are preserved in Bulgaria, Macedonia and Serbia. What they have in common is the figure of Sophia and the presence of the seven pillars. Sophia is usually depicted as Christ Emmanuel: an angel with a doub-

Fig. 4: Sophia in her Temple. Ohrid, the church of the Theotokos Peribleptos, 1295

le nimbus (rectangular and circular) who often has female features. Some scholars assume that these images were influenced by the Bogomils and their belief that Christ was only an angel and not equal to his father (cf. Balcárek 1999: 598–599). Usually the figure is in the background to a building with seven pillars, and sometimes the pillars are depicted as the columns of an ancient temple. This is especially characteristic of the fresco in Gračanica of 1321. The artists provide different details of the table. Sometimes the food is spiritual and consists of scrolls and books, as in the fresco in Gračanica (Fig. 3), sometimes it is more domestic and there are plates and pots with wine, as in the fresco painted by the masters Michael and Eutychios in the Church of the Theotokos Periblepta (St. Clement) of 1295 in Ohrid (Fig. 4)[5]. The servants mentioned in verse 9:3 are usually also included in the scene, serving at the table. John Meyendorff mentions a specific peculiarity of the frescoes in Gračanica and Ohrid: they contain female figures, i. e., they are not manservants but maidservants. He considers that this is based on the text in the Vulgate:

[5] On the table of Sophia see also Radojčić 1975; on the church and its frescoes see Poposka 2006.

Fig. 5: Sophia. The Tower of Hreljo in the Rila Monastery, 1335

misit ancillas suas (RSV 'she has sent out her maids'), but the Septuagint has ἀπέστειλεν τούς ἑαυτῆς δούλους. Meyendorff concludes that this image is based on the Slavonic text, influenced by the Vulgate (Meyendorff 1959: 272).

The most abstract illustration ['unique' doesn't take comparative of superlative] is the unique composition in the vault of the church of the Transfiguration in the Tower of Hreljo, built in 1335 in the Rila Monastery in Bulgaria: a figure in fluttering garments with a rectangular nimbus superimposed onto a circular one (Christ Emmanuel), without any table or servants. The figure is surrounded by seven small semi-naked figures; these are the seven pillars (Fig. 5). This scene is surrounded by four groups of Apostles, Church Fathers, martyrs and prophet-kings (see Прашков 1973: 22–40, 120–121). These are people who were enlightened by Sophia. While the artists in Gračanica and Ohrid were Greek (Byzantine), the master of this unique scene

was most probably a Bulgarian, who interpreted in inimitable manner the idea of God`s Wisdom, and managed to express the idea of soaring spiritual exaltation which Sophia gives to those who seek her.

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RSV: *The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments*. Revised Standard Version. Translated from the original tongues; being the version set forth A.D. 1611, revised A.D. 1881–1885 and A.D. 1901; compared with the most ancient authorities and revised A.D. 1952.

SJS: *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského* (Praha, 1958–1997).

SR: Старобългарски речник. Отг. редактор Д. Иванова-Мирчева. Т. 1 (София, 1999); Т. 2 (София, 2009).

BIBLICAL QUOTATIONS IN THE LATE SOUTH SLAVONIC TRANSLATION OF CATENA B_2 WITH COMMENTARIES ON THE SONG OF SONGS

Margaret Dimitrova

The Slavonic translation of the Greek catena containing the commentaries on the Song of Songs by Theodoret of Cyrrhus (393–458/466), Michael Psellus (1018 – after 1078), and by the so-called "Three Fathers" (Gregory of Nyssa (c. 335 – after 394), Nilus of Ancyra (c. 345 – c. 430), and Maxim the Confessor (c. 580–662)), classified by M. Faulhaber (1902: 6–19, 64–65) as *Catena* B_2[1], survives only in one copy: on ff. 115r–241v of manuscript no. 2/24, from the end of the fifteenth century, kept in the Rila Monastery, Bulgaria (henceforth RM 2/24). The difficulties in the study of this translation stem from the lack of a critical edition of the Greek catena[2] and from the lack of other copies of the Slavonic translation[3].

In this paper I shall examine biblical quotations in RM 2/24, mostly in Theodoret of Cyrrhus' *Explanatio in Canticum canticorum*, which abounds in New Testament quotations. I shall try to throw light on the *modus operandi* of the Slavonic bookman confronted with the task of translating both biblical texts, which had been translated and revised in South Slavonic milieux before he set to work, and exegetical texts by three different authors who in some places offer different interpretations of the same verse of the Song of Songs and

[1] In G. Karo and J. Lietzmann's (1902: 317–318) classification, it is type IV and in *CPG* (1980, vol. 4: 222–224) it appears under C 81, Typus B; on this catena, see Bossina 2008.

[2] For this paper, I use *PG* 81: 27–214 (Theodoret's commentary extracted from the catena) and *PG* 122: 609–669 (the commentaries by the Three Fathers and Michael Psellus extracted from the catena), and the critical edition of Psellus' exegetical poem by Westerink 1992: 13–67.

[3] There are two South Slavonic manuscripts of the 16th century which contain an abridged version of this translation of *Catena* B_2 (Алексеев 2002: 156) but the text preserved is relatively short and cannot contribute much to the textological study of the Slavonic translation of *Catena* B_2.

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who used for their commentaries different underlying texts and different genres. I shall analyse examples suggesting answers to the following questions:

Did the Slavonic translator respect and use the previous translations of the Bible circulating among the South Slavs?

Did the interpretations in the commentaries on the Song influence his treatment of the biblical quotations?

Did his lexical choices in the translation of the quotations influence his strategies in the translation of the commentaries?[4]

1. The manuscript and the translation

1.1. Manuscript 2/24 is likely to have been written in the Rila Monastery by monk Spiridon (a productive scribe who worked at the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century)[5] and by another hand (starting on f. 211r) in the last decade of the fifteenth century or at the very beginning of the sixteenth century[6]. The two copyists used Resava orthography with some inconsistencies. There are a few cases in which ѧ was written for ь or ѧ was corrected to ь, and *vice versa,* which suggests that the antigraph may have been Serbian. In RM 2/24 several portions of the commentaries by the Three Fathers and Michael Psellus in the Greek catena are omitted. Psellus' poem was translated into prose, but the end of each of the original verses is marked with larger red points by the scribe, as was typical for versified texts. In the margins of the Rila manuscript, there are glosses explaining Greek loanwords and calques introduced by the

[4] The role of biblical quotations in medieval literature has been extensively discussed from different perspectives in scholarship, in particular from the perspectives of textual criticism, intertextuality, history of literatures, languages and liturgy, and the bibliography is huge. My approach here is textological; on the role of the biblical quotations in the study and editing of medieval Slavonic texts, see Shivarov (Шиваров 1991).

[5] On this scribe, see B. Hristova (Краева 1978).

[6] The first scholar who made a description of the manuscript was E. Sprostranov (Спространов 1902: 44–45) who dated it to the 16th century. N. Vutova (Атанасова 1984: 107) identified the watermarks as originating from the last two decades of the 15th century. In the catalogue by B. Hristova, D. Karadzhova, and A. Ikonomova (Христова, Караджова, Икономова 1982: 88) it is dated to the end of the fifteenth century and the scribe is identified. For an identification of the scribe, see Raykov and Hristova (Райков, Христова 1986: 135). This manuscript is included in the list of the Slavonic Old Testament sources by R. Mathiesen (1983: 31, № 128).

translator. Also in the margins are special signs indicating the biblical quotations. At its first appearance, each verse of the Song is written in red ink. The names of the commentators are also written in red ink.

1.2. The Slavonic translation of *Catena B_2*, in the form in which it is preserved in RM 2/24, renders a Greek version that is earlier than the one which survives in Greek manuscripts. The translation in RM 2/24 corroborates the hypothesis of Luciano Bossina that the folios of the Greek protograph of the extant Greek copies of *Catena B_2* (the earliest of which dating from the first half of the fourteenth century Vind. theol. gr. 314 in the Austrian National Library in Vienna)[7] are in the wrong order and that this order was reproduced in the extant Greek copies and therefore in *PG* 81. Thus the scholar established that in the Greek text available today to us there is inconsistency in the semantics of the text and wrong attribution of the commentaries (Bossina 2008: 25–27). The Slavonic translation coincides with Bossina's reconstruction of the original Greek text. For example, according to him, the right order of the folios in Vind. theol. gr. 314 is ff. 90–92–91–93, which produces a text that exactly corresponds to the Slavonic translation in RM 2/24. For instance, Bossina's reconstruction of the original Greek text is as follows: f. 92v *expl.*: ἐζήτησα αὐτὸν καὶ οὐχ εὗρον αὐτόν. ἐκάλεσα αὐτὸν καὶ οὐκ ὑπήκουσέ μου. Δηλονότι, κατὰ πρᾶξιν καὶ θεωρίαν ἐζήτησα αὐτόν, μιμουμένη + f. 91r *inc.* αὐτοῦ τὸ κατ' ἐνέργειαν εὐεργετικόν, καὶ τὸ κατ' οὐσίαν ἄτρεπτον ... The Slavonic translation exactly reflects the sequence of phrases reconstructed by Bossina: RM 2/24, 174r26–27 Вьзы́скѫ̀ ѥ̑го ѝ не ѡ̑бря́тѫ̀ ѥ̀го · вьзвѣ́ ѥ̀го ѝ не оу́слы́ша ме :~ 174v1–2. Ѩ́вѣ ꙗко, по дѣа́нїю ѝ вн́дѣ́нїю · вьзы́скѫ̀ ѥ̀го̀ подра́жаю́щи ѥмоу̀ · ѥ̑же по дѣлатєл҃номꙋ бл҃годѣ́тєлноє ѝ́ по соу́щьствоу̀ непрѣврáтноє.

According to the Greek manuscripts (and *PG* 81: 113–116 and *PG* 122: 597), the text on f. 91r, αὐτοῦ τὸ κατ' ἐνέργειαν εὐεργετικόν, καὶ τὸ κατ' οὐσίαν ἄτρεπτον..., belongs to Theodoret, while according to Bossina's reconstruction and RM 2/24 (173v23–174v2), it belongs to the Three Fathers. Therefore the Slavonic translation can be used as a witness to the Greek tradition since it

[7] According to the description of the manuscript in the catalogue by Hunger, Lackner (1992: 412–413), this is a paper manuscript, 176/178 X 120/ 125 mm; the *catena* is written on ff. 1r–195v.

testifies to a stage of the textual transmission that is earlier than the known extant Greek manuscripts.

In many cases the translation in RM 2/24 differs from the Greek texts in *PG* 81 and *PG* 122. Still, the variant readings in the edition of Psellus' poem by L. Westerink clearly show that in several of these instances the translation in RM 2/24 corresponds to a Greek version that differs from the one in *PG* 122. The text in RM 2/24 usually reflects the Greek variant in the manuscript chosen by Westerink as representative of the catena, **w** (= Vind. theol. gr. 314), and differs from the variants typical of the copies of the poem produced outside of the *catena*, e.g. the word-order ἡ νυμφὴ οὖν προκόψασα (**w**, *PG* 122**)** = невѣ́ста оу҃бо пр҃ъспѣ́вшн *vs* ἀλλὰ προκόψασα non-catena copies of Psellus's poem; θρόνοι χερουβίμ (**w**, *PG* 122**)** = пр҃ѣстолн хе́рувїмъ RM 2/24, 149r *vs* θρόνος non-catena copies. Also, there are verses of the poem which are omitted in the catena version and therefore are also absent from the translation in RM 2/24 (Димитрова 2005: 135). Yet there are instances in which the Slavonic translation does not agree with the catena version in the form in which it is available to us in the edition of Psellus' poem by Westerink 1992 (represented by **w**) and in *PG* 122, but agrees with variant readings from copies of the poem outside of the catena, e.g. въ сло́во съ҆ꙁда́нїа 136v16–17 does not correspond to the plural εἰς λόγους πλαστουργίας in **w**, but to the singular εἰς λόγον πλαστουργίας in copies which contain the earliest dedication of the poem to the Byzantine emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (ruler 1042–1055), in the edition of Westerink 1992: **c** (Athous Panteleimonis 548 of the 15th century), **c**$^{\mathbf{f}}$ (Athous Iberorum 329 of the 16th century) and in the revised version in **p** (Parisinus gr. 2875 of the 13th century). Such examples indicate once again that the Greek copies of *Catena B*$_2$ are not unanimous and that the translation may shed additional light on the textual history of the Greek text.

1.3. The translation techniques and linguistic characteristics of the Slavonic version of *Catena B*$_2$ are similar to those in late South Slavonic translations and revisions of the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, such as the Athonite redaction of the liturgical books (Тасева, Йовчева 2006), the two translations of a catena on the Book of Job (Христова-Шомова 2006; 2007) and of a catena on the Books of Kings (Попруженко 1894; Николова 1995), and also some translations of non-biblical texts (see, for instance, Sels 2009; Бруни 2004;

Тасева 2000; Спасова 1999; Weiher 1987). *Catena B_2* may have been translated in Tărnovo (the capital of the Second Bulgarian Empire) in the second half of the fourteenth century, or on Mount Athos in the early fifteenth century (possibly in the Hilandar Monastery), or by Konstantin Kostenečki in the court of the Serbian ruler Stefan Lazarević (prince 1389–1402, despot 1402–1427): the name of Konstantin is written in the title of one of the two extant copies of the abridged version of the catena: прѣвѣдено констан'тинѡ̃ философѡ̃, вунтѣлиемь сръб'скынм (Трифуновић 1971). This translation was made before the time when Konstantin composed his *Treatise on the Letters* (i.e., before 1423–1427)[8], because in the treatise he quotes a sentence from Theodoret's commentary on the Song of Songs in the same translation in which we find it in RM 2/24[9].

Konstantin is known to have been a spiritual descendant of the Tărnovo *literati* who were particularly interested in the Song of Songs, in the image of the Bride and the cult of the Theotokos and who quoted the Song in their compositions[10]. Konstantin also quoted the Song in his *Treatise on the Letters* (сказанне изьявленно о писменехь) and *Vita of Stefan Lazarević* (Трифуновић 1971: 89–90; Куев, Петков 1986: 530–532). Moreover, he worked for Stefan Lazarević, who was interested in the rulers of Antiquity (according to his *Vita*) and therefore he would have been interested in the Books of Kings, and also in the Song of Songs, whose author was believed to have been Solomon[11]. Further, the Serbian despot had a particular interest in Christian love as he is thought to have been the author of a *Sermon on Love* (Трифуновић 1979: 146, 198–202; Трифонова 2006). In addition, a translation of a catena which includes the exegetical poem by Michael Psellus on the Song was quite appropriate to be made for a ruler, because the poet often addresses a ruler (the Byzan-

[8] On this dating of the *Treatise*, see Goldblatt 1987: 41 and Гагова 2006: 99.

[9] Димитрова 2009.

[10] See Ангушева 2008: 522–527; Драгова 2005: 410–413; Иванова 1983; Станчев 1982: 72–75.

[11] On Stefan Lazarević's literary interests, see Трифуновић 1979: 77–98, 114–129, 209–219; Трифонова 2006. On a possible project of his for translation and/or redaction of earlier translations of Old Testament books, see Гагова 2006.

tine emperor[12]) in it, referring to him as στεφηφόρος 'wearing a crown, crowned,' but without mentioning his name.

The purpose of the comparison in this paper between the New Testament quotations in RM 2/24 and the known Slavonic versions of the Gospels and Acts and Epistles is to shed additional light on the *modus operandi* of the translator and on the authoritative versions of the New Testament amongst the South Slavs in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

2. Corpus comparandi

From the nineteenth century on and in recent research it has been shown that the initial (Cyrillo-Methodian) translations of the Gospels, Acts and Epistles underwent several later revisions. Following G. A. Voskresenskij (Воскресенский 1879, 1892–1908, 1894, 1896) scholars usually accept four major redactions (text-types) of the Gospels and Acts and Epistles: the archaic redaction (which is believed to be close to the Cyrillo-Methodian translation); the second, Preslav, redaction; the Athonite redaction; and the Čudov New Testament[13]. Moreover, commentated New Testament texts have their own peculiarrities[14]. Since I am studying a late South Slavonic translation, I use the basic differentiation between the archaic, Pre-Athonite versions (sources) and the authoritative later Athonite redaction. Still, as has been already shown by scholars, the sources which in general belong to the Athonite redaction are not unanimous[15].

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[12] Initially the poem was dedicated to Constantine IX Monomachos and his name was included in the title; later, it was replaced with the name of Michael VII Doukas (ruled 1071–1078). There are copies of the poem in which there is no specific name of an emperor, including in the *catena* (Westerink 1992: 13–14).

[13] For a recent survey of the versions, see Алексеев и др. 1998; Алексеев и др. 2005; Алексеев 1999: 132–216; Христова-Шомова 2004; Спасова 2005; Cleminson 2006; Пентковская 2009.

[14] For a study of the late commentated Gospels, see Пентковская 2011.

[15] In the editions of the Slavonic versions of St. John's Gospel and St. Matthew's Gospel, Athonite redaction A is differentiated from Athonite redaction B on the basis of a limited number of sources; see A. A. Алексеев и др. 1998; Алексеев и др. 2005. In general the Athonite variant readings given in these two editions coincide with the diagnostic features of the Athonite redaction as summarized by T. Slavova (Славова 1990), but not always. As M. Spasova (Спасова 2005) has noted, the 14th–16th-century Slavonic Gospel manuscripts pose more questions and await further studies; on the Slavonic versions of the Gospels, see also Garzaniti 2001. On the problems of identifying the Athonite redaction of the Psalter, see MacRobert 1995.

In addition to the manuscripts used by Slavova (Славова 1990), Hristova (Христова-Шомова 2004), and Alekseev's group (Алексеев и др. 1998; Алексеев и др. 2005) as representative of the Athonite redaction, I consulted also the following sources which belong to the Athonite redaction: Gospel manuscripts: Hilandar 9, 11, 12, and 13, of the 14th century[16] and manuscripts of the Acts and Epistles kept in the SS Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia: no. 885 from the beginning of the fifteenth century, no. 887 from the mid-fifteenth century, no. 96 and no. 97, both from the sixteenth century[17]. Further, I culled readings from some manuscripts of commentated Gospels: two manuscripts in the Library of Saratov State University in Russia: SGU 26 and SGU 27 from the sixteenth century, and two manuscripts of the Svjato-Troickaja Sergievaja Lavra (today kept in the Russian State Library in Moscow): TSL 107 from the fourteenth century and TSL 108 from the sixteenth century and also a manuscript of commentated Acts and Epistles: TSL 116 from the fifteenth century[18]. Moreover, I consulted the Čudov New Testament (henceforth Čud)[19] using the variant readings given by Hristova (Христова-Шомова 2004) and Alekseev (Алексеев и др. 1998; Алексеев и др. 2005). For the Greek New Testament, I use the edition of Nestle-Aland (*Novum Testamentum Graece* 1993) and for the version of the quotations in Theodoret's commentaries, I use *PG* 81.

In most cases, the fourteenth-century Hilandar Gospel manuscripts consulted have the readings regarded by Slavova as diagnostic for the Athonite redaction, but Table 1 also has examples in which Hilandar 9, 11, and 12, and the printed Tărgovište Gospel (Trg) of the sixteenth century (regarded by Slavova as representative of the Tărnovo version

[16] On these manuscripts held in the Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos, see Богдановић 1978; Matejic and Thomas 1992.

[17] On these manuscripts, see Цонев 1910; Стоянов, Кодов 1964.

[18] The Hilandar manuscripts and those from Saratov were examined by me on microfilms at the Hilandar Research Library, Ohio State University, USA during my stay there as a Fulbright scholar and I would like express my gratitude to Dr. Predrag Matejić, Dr. Lyubomira Parpulova-Gribble and M.A. Johnson for their assistance. TSL 107, 108, 116 were recommended to me by Tatjana Pentkovskaja, to whom I am thankful for that; digital copies of these manuscripts were used at the website of the *Свято-Троицкая Сергиевая лавра*; see *Дом живоначальной Троицы, официальный site*. *Рукописи* (http://www.stsl.ru/manuscripts/index.php, accessed on 04.02.2010).

[19] On the Čudov New Testament see recently Пентковская 2009.

of the Gospel) retain archaic (Pre-Athonite) variants or have individual readings.

Table 1

Gospel verse	Greek	Pre-Athonite (archaic) versions	Athonite redaction	Čud	Commentated Gospel manuscripts (SGU 26, 27, TSL 107)
Matt. 5:9	εἰρηνοποιοί	съмирлѣ҇щин (=Hil 12)	мироτворьцн	мироτворьцн	мироτворьцн
Matt. 6:30	εἰς κλίβανον	въ огнь (пещь)	въ пещь	въ пещь	въ пещь
Matt. 8:24	ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων	влънамн (= Hil12, Trg)	отъ влънъ	отъ влънъ	влънамн
Matt. 10:25	οἰκοδε-σπότης	господннъ домоу	домовладъıка	домоу владъıка	господннъ домоу
Matt. 12:41	εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα	проповѣдни҇ (= Hil 12, Trg)	въ проповѣдь	въ проповѣдь	проповѣдни҇, проповѣда-ннємь
Matt. 13:34	ἐν παραβολαῖς	прнтъчамн	въ прнтъчахъ	въ прнтъчахъ	въ прнтъчахъ
Matt. 16:28	οὐ μὴ γεύσωνται	не имѫтъ въкоуснтн (= Hil 12, Trg, Athonite A and B)	не въкоусѧтъ[20]	не въкоусѧтъ	не въкоусѧтъ
Matt. 21: 32	τοῦ πιστεῦσαι	ѧтн вѣры	вѣроватн[21]	вѣроватн	вѣроватн
Matt. 20: 23	οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν δοῦναι	нѣстъ мьнѣ (сего) датн	нѣстъ мое датн	нѣстъ мое датн	нѣстъ мьнѣ дано
Matt. 18:30	τὸ ὀφειλόμε-νον	длъгъ	длъжьное	длъжьное	длъгъ, длъжьное
Matt. 22:15	συμβού-λιον ἔλαβον	съвѣтъ сътворнша	съвѣтъ прнємъше	съвѣтъ прнаша	съвѣтъ сътворнша, съвѣщанне прнємше

[20] On the efforts of the Athonite redactors to achieve formal symmetry with the Greek text: one word in Greek – one word in Slavonic, see Тасева, Йовчева 2006: 225–226.

[21] On this type of change, see ibid., p. 225.

Matt. 25:1	εἰς ἀπάντησιν τοῦ νυμφίου	противоу женихоу	въ срѣтенне женихоу	въ срѣтенне женихово	въ срѣтенне женихоу
Matt. 25:16	εἰργάσατο ἐν αὐτοῖς	дѣла о нихъ	дѣла въ нихъ	дѣла о нихъ	дѣла въ нихъ
Matt. 26:39	ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον	паде ниць	паде на лицѣ (на лице Hil 12)	паде на лицѣ	паде на лицѣ
John 1:1	ἐν ἀρχῇ	исконѣ (= Hil 11, Hil 9); испрьва	въ началѣ (въ начало Hil 12)	исконѣ	исконѣ
John 1:14, 18	μονογενής[22]	иноудѧдьи, единоудѧдьи	единородьнъ	единоудѧдъ	единоудѧдьи
John 1:28	Βηθανία, Βηθαβαρα	витанїа	Вифавара	Вифавара	Вифавара
John 3:2	οὐδεὶς γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ σημεῖα δύναται	никъто бо не можетъ	никъто бо можетъ[23]	никъто бо можетъ	никъто бо можетъ
John 4:6	πηγή	стоуденьць, кладѧзь, кладѧць	истоуьникъ	стоуденьць	кладѧзь

Table 2 illustrates similar variation in the witnesses of the Athonite redaction for the Acts and Epistles:

Verse	Greek	Pre-Athonite versions	Athonite redaction
Acts 2:31	**(οὐδὲ ἡ σάρξ** αὐτοῦ εἶδε) **διαφθοράν**	... истлѣнїа (= no. 97 in the National Library in Sofia)	истлѣнне
1 Cor 10:24	μηδεὶς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ζητείτω, ἀλλὰ **τὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου** ἕκαστος	никъто же своего да не ищетъ нъ **дроужьнѣаго**	никъто же своего сн да ищетъ нъ **дроужьное** / **дроужнѣаго** no. 97, **дроужнаго** no. 96 in the National Library in Sofia

[22] On the preference for единородьнъ in other Athonite texts, such as the Psalter, Octoechus, Acts and Epistles, and the Liturgy of Pre-sanctified Gifts, see Тасева, Йовчева 2006: 227.

[23] On the avoidance of the double negation in the Athonite redaction of different books, see Тасева, Йовчева 2006: 226.

Eph 2:14	τὸ μεσότοιχον	прѣгражденне	срѣдостѣнне[24] / прѣдостѣнне no. 93 in the National Library in Sofia, Čud

3. In what follows I shall discuss to what extent the New Testament quotations in RM 2/24 coincide with one of the Slavonic redactions of the Gospels and Acts and Epistles.

3.1. First, it is not uncommon for the quotations in Theodoret's commentaries[25] to differ from the Greek New Testament manuscripts and therefore from their Slavonic counterparts. In such cases, the Slavonic translator of *Catena B₂* follows closely, even in small details, Theodoret of Cyrrhus's versions of the New Testament quotations. For instance, Theodoret omits γάρ in Gal 3:27 and therefore it is not translated in RM 2/24: ѥли́цн въ хⷭ̃а кр̾ти́сте се *versus* the Slavonic manuscripts of the Acts and Epistles in which бо corresponds to γάρ: ѥли́цн бо въ хⷭ̃а крьстнсте се. Also, the translator of *Catena B₂* follows strictly the wordorder of Theodoret's paraphrase of Acts 4:20: *PG* 81, 32 ἡμεῖς γὰρ οὐ δυνάμεθα = RM 2/24, 117r мы̀ бо̀ не мо́жѣ̀ *versus* οὐ δυνάμεθα γὰρ ἡμεῖς = не мо́жем бо̀ мы in the Greek and Slavonic manuscripts of the Acts and Epistles, respectively.

Still, there are rare cases in which RM 2/24 has a variant from the manuscripts of the Acts and Epistles which differs from Theodoret's paraphrase. For instance, verses 1Cor 9:21, 22 contain a first-person narration by St. Paul while Theodoret paraphrased it as a third-person narration, e.g.

Greek text of the Epistle: 1Cor 9:22 ἐγενόμην (1 p.) τοῖς ἀσθενέσιν ὡς ἀσθενής, ἵνα τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς κερδήσω (1 p.) […] 9:21 τοῖς ἀνόμοις ὡς ἄνομος, μὴ ὢν ἄνομος Θεῷ, ἀλλ' ἔννομος Χριστῷ, ἵνα κερδήσω (1 p.) ἀνόμους

Theodoret's paraphrase (*PG* 81:181): [ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος] ἐγένετο (3 p.) τοῖς ἀσθενέσιν ὡς ἀσθενής, ἵνα τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς

[24] On the use of срѣдостѣнне in other Athonite texts, see Тасева, Йовчева 2006: 236.

[25] On Theodoret's commentary and the biblical quotations in them, see Guinot 1995.

κερδήσῃ (3 p.)· καὶ τοῖς ἀνόμοις ὡς ἄνομος, μὴ ὢν ἄνομος Θεῷ, ἀλλ' ἔννομος Χριστῷ, ἵνα κερδήσῃ (3 p.) ἀνόμους.

RM 2/24, 222r/222v: бы҃ (3 p.) немо́щныимь ꙗ҆́ко немощнь, да ѝ немо́щные прнѡ҆вре́щеть_(3 p.) · ѝ безако́ннымь, ꙗ҆́ко безако́нь· не сы҃ безако́нь бг҃ъ· нь҃ зако́ннꙑкь хв҃ь, да прнѡ҆вре́щѹ (1 p.) безако́нныѥ :~

The first two verbal forms in RM 2/24 are in the third person following Theodoret's paraphrase but the last verb in the quotation (прнѡ҆вре́щѹ) is in the first person in contrast to Theodoret's version but in agreement with the variant in the Greek and Slavonic manuscripts of the Acts and Epistles. Since the Greek *Catena B_2* does not have a critical edition yet, it is not clear whether this use of the first person of the verb in the last phrase of the quotation was the choice of the Slavonic translator or whether he properly rendered a Greek variant reading which is not known to me. Moreover, as the Slavonic translation survives only in one copy, it is not clear whether the first-person form was introduced by the translator or by a later copyist. Nevertheless, this example shows that either a Greek scribe or a Slavonic translator or scribe was influenced by his knowledge of the original text of the *First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians* when he was copying or translating a paraphrased quotation in the framework of a catena.

3.2.1. In comparison with the different Slavonic versions of the texts of the Gospels and Acts and Epistles, the quotations in RM 2/24 are much closer to the Athonite variants than to the variants in the Pre-Athonite sources; see examples on the lexical level in Table 3.

Greek	Biblical verse	RM 2/24 = Athonite redaction[26]	Archaic redactions
αἴνιγμα	1Cor 13:12	гадание	прнтъча
ἐγκράτεια	Gal 5:22	въздрьжание	трѣзвение
ἠλπικότες	1Cor 15:19	оупъваѭще	надѣѭще сѧ
ἐνεργήματα	1Cor 10:12	дѣиствиа	дѣѣниа
ἐπεφάνη	Tit 3:4	ꙗвн сѧ	просвѣти сѧ
ἐξ Ἰούδα	Heb 7:14	ѿ иоудꙑ	ѿ колѣна июдова
εὐαγγέλιον	Eph 6:15	благовѣствованиѥ	евангелиѥ
θέλειν	1Tim 2:4	хотѣти	велѣти

[26] The Slavonic forms are given in reconstructed Old Bulgarian (OCS) orthography.

κόσμος	Matt 13:38, 1Cor 4:13, Gal 5:14	мръ	вьсь мръ
λοιδορούμενοι	1Cor 4:12	оукарaемн	оклеветaемн
μακροθυμία	Gal 5:22	длъготрьпѣнне	трьпѣнне
μισθαποδότης	Heb 11:6	мьздовъздатєль	въздатєль мьздъ, възмьздитєль
παρεμβολή	Heb 13:13	плъкъ	станъ
πλήρωμα νόμου	Rom 13:10	нспльненне	коньць, коньунна, коньуанне
πλουσίως	Tit 3:6	богатьно	обнльно
σκληροτράχηλοι	Acts 7:51	жестоковъиннн	отажнвнн
στενοχωρία	Acts 8:35	тѣснота	тѫга
στρατευόμεθα	2Cor 10:3	вонньствуемъ	воннн есмъ
συγκληρονόμος	Heb 11:7	сънаслѣдьннкъ	наслѣдьннкъ, прнучстьннкъ
ταῦτα ἥγημαι	Phil 3:7	снѧ въмѣннхъ	сн нмамь

Also, on the grammatical level the translations of the New Testament quotations in RM 2/24 coincide with the Athonite redaction, e.g. Heb 11:6 προσερχόμενον τῷ θεῷ: прнхо́дещомꙋ бв҃н RM 2/24, 162r = Athonite redaction and Čud *vs* къ богоу archaic redactions; Gal 2:19 Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι: хр҃оу съраспѧх се RM 170v = Athonite redaction and Čud *vs* съ хр҃мь раснаты (пропатъ) есмь archaic versions. In both examples, the Athonite version and RM 2/24 follow the Greek in not using prepositions, in contrast to the earliest (Cyrillo-Methodian) Slavonic translation, which kept close to native Old Bulgarian syntax and used the expected prepositions and cases. These examples are a manifestation of the aspiration to adhere closely to the Greek syntax whenever possible, a tendency which is present both in the Athonite redaction of the liturgical books and in the Slavonic translation of *Catena B*$_2$.

3.2.2. Still, although close to the Athonite redaction, the translation of the New Testament quotations in Theodoret's commentaries in RM 2/24 has some Pre-Athonite variants, e. g.

Gal 3:16 αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι ѡ҆бѣтова́нїа RM 2/24 = Karpin manuscript of the Acts and Epistles and Apostolus Christinopolitanus which belong to the archaic group *versus* ѡ҆бѣтн and обѣщанниа in most of

the witnesses to the archaic version of the Epistles, in the Athonite redaction and in Čud (Христова-Шомова 2004: 275).

1Cor 15:41 ἀστὴρ γὰρ ἀστέρος διαφέρει ἐν δόξῃ звѣзда бо҃ звѣздꙑ҇ ра҂зли́куетъ въ сла́вѣ RM 2/24. In this verse the verb ра҂зли́куетъ is close to the verbs in the Pre-Athonite versions of the Acts and Epistles, such as ра҂злы҃аетъ, ра҂злоуѵнтъ, ра҂злнуаѥть, in contrast to the Athonite нз҃ъѡбнлствоуетъ, but on the grammatical level both the Athonite redaction and RM 2/24 imitate closely the Greek syntactic construction with genitive case but no preposition (звѣзда бо҃ звѣздꙑ) in contrast to the Pre-Athonite sources which use prepositions: звѣзда бо ѿ звѣздꙑ / по звѣздѣ, or instrumental case: звѣздоі҃ (Христова-Шомова 2004: 242).

In all likelihood, these readings common to the quotations in RM 2/24 and Pre-Athonite sources found their way into the translation of *Catena* B_2 via an Athonite source which retained some archaic readings.

3.2.3. Further, there are common readings between RM 2/24 and Čud, e.g.

Acts 5:29 πειθαρχεῖν повнноуѵтн сѥ RM 2/24 = Čud *vs* вѣровати Athonite redaction *vs* послоушати Pre-Athonite sources;

Eph 2:14 τοῦ φραγμοῦ сѷплота RM 2/24 = Čud *vs* ограды Athonite redaction *vs* оградѣ, огражденню, оградьноѥ Pre-Athonite sources;

Eph 6:16 τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ стрѣ́лы лоукáваго RM 2/24 = Čud, Ostrih Bible *vs* стрѣ́лы нєпрнѩзнныѧ Athonite redaction *vs* стрѣлъы нєпрнѩзннъыѧ/ вражнѧ Pre-Athonite sources;

Phil 3:21 σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι съсѷбразнѵ тѣлесн RM 2/24 = Čud *vs* въ тъжде ѡбразъ (зракъ) тѣлесн archaic and Athonite sources.

The common readings between RM 2/24 and Čud came from a common South Slavonic source. These coincidences show once again that the bookman who produced Čud in Russia used South Slavonic New Testament versions. Still, some common grammatical features, such as the rendition of the Greek verbal prefix συν- with съ- in combination with a noun in the dative case, may have been independently introduced into the translation of *Catena* B_2 and Čud as a result of an attempt to render the Greek syntax as close as possible.

3.3.1. RM 2/24 also has individual readings which are not known to me from other sources; see Table 4.

Greek	Verse	RM 2/24	Athonite redaction (and Čud)	Pre-Athonite versions
εἰρήνη	Gal 5:22, Eph 2:14, 6:15, etc.	съмирєнїе	миръ	миръ
εὐάρεστος	Rom 12:1	благоврѣтьнъ	благоугодьнъ	(благо)угодьнъ
κατοπτριζόμενοι	2Cor 3:18	съзрьцáющи, съзрѣцающе	възирáще	виджще
κέρδη	Phil 3:7	прибытькь	приобрѣтение	приобрѣтение
λύσας	Eph 2:14	разрѣшь	разорь (разорьшь Čud)	раздроушь, раздроушивъ
ὀσμή	John 12:3	оухание	воня	воня
πανοπλία	Eph 6:15	въсеѡроужьство	вьсꙗ оружиꙗ	вьсꙗ оружиꙗ
μείζονα πλοῦτον	Heb 11:26	лоу'ш'ее богат'ство	большее богатьство	большее богатьство
παρῴκησεν	Heb 11:9	присѣлн се	въселн сѧ	приндє, прѣселн сѧ, обита
προέκοψεν	Rom 13:12	прѣспѣ	оуспѣ	оуспѣ
προϊδών	Acts 3:31	прѣвѣды	прѣвидѣвъ	прѣжде видѣвъ
πορνεία	1Cor 5:1	блоудъ	любодѣиание	любодѣание
σκηνή	Heb 11:7	сѣнь	кровъ	кровъ

Some of these choices in RM 2/24 result from the search for a closer counterpart to the Greek morphological structure. For instance, the compound word вьсеѡружьство is a more precise counterpart of the Greek compound πανοπλία, and the one-root word блоудъ renders the Greek simple word πορνεία better than the compound word любодѣание. Further, the translator of *Catena* B_2 consistently uses съмирение for εἰρήνη (Gal 5:22, Eph 2:14, 6:15) whereas he reserves миръ for κόσμος. Thus, his translation achieves formal symmetry with the Greek original (two different words in Greek: two different words in Slavonic) and avoids the polysemy of the Slavic word миръ meaning both ‘peace’ and ‘world’. In the earliest (Cyrillo-Methodian) translation of the Acts and Epistles, εἰρήνη is translated as миръ, while κόσμος as вьсь миръ ‘all the world’ but the Athonite redaction

prefers only мнѵъ for κόσμος aiming at *verbum de verbo* translation.[27] In this case the translator of *Catena B₂* found another word with which to translate εἰρήνη – съмнѵенне, containing the same root *mir-*. Actually, such a use could again have been known to the translator of *Catena B₂* from the Athonite redaction: съмнѵенне translates εἰρήνη in the witnesses of the Athonite redaction in Heb 13:20[28]. The translator uses съмнѵенне for εἰρήνη not only in New Testament quotations but also in the translation of the commentary, for instance in Theodoret's commentary of Cant 8:10 in RM 2/24, 238r7 εἰρήνη is translated with съмнѵенне but εἰρηνική with мнѵьна (RM 2/24, 138r8).

The individual choices in RM 2/24 on the grammatical level aim at closer imitation of the Greek syntax. For instance, the translator of *Catena B₂* prefers in most cases the genitive case for the Greek *Genitivus possessivus* in contrast to the possessive adjectives largely used in the archaic New Testament sources and also sometimes in the Athonite ones, e.g. Gal 5:22 καρπὸς τοῦ Πνεύματός пло̑ во дх̑а RM 2/24 116r *vs* плѡ̑ же дх̑овныи manuscripts of the Acts and Epistles. Also, RM 2/24 pefers constructions with prepositions *versus* the instrumental case without preposition for the Greek combination ἐν plus dative case, e.g. 1Cor 12:13 ἐν ἑνι πνεύματι въ є҆дноѵь дс̑ѣ RM 2/24, 191a27 *vs* єдноѵѣмь дх̑оѵь manuscripts of the Acts and Epistles. In the following example RM 2/24 mirrors the Greek preposition διά using the Slavonic ѵади as a preposition and also renders the Greek *Genitivus possessivus* with the genitive, while the sources consulted for the Acts and Epistles render the Greek διά + genitive by means of the instrumental case and the Greek *Genitivus possessivus* by means of a possessive adjective: Tit 3:5 διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως ѵадѣ̀ бане пакы̀бы́тїа· и҆̑ ѻ҆бно́вле́нїа RM 2/24 *vs* банеи҃ пакъıбъытенскоı҃ н обновленнемъ sources for the Acts and Epistles.

3.3.2. Still, when I included more sources in my *corpus comparandi,* I found more common readings between the translation of the New Testament quotations in RM 2/24 and particular manuscripts of the Gospels or Acts and Epistles which, in general, belong to the

[27] Христова-Шомова 2004: 516–517.
[28] Ibid.

Athonite redaction. On the one hand, this observation confirms the impression that the Athonite redaction is not monolithic, and, on the other hand, it shows that the translator of *Catena B_2* was less independent in his choices than it seems when a limited number of sources are juxtaposed. In what follows I shall give some examples in which New Testament quotations in RM 2/24 share common readings with individual manuscripts of the Gospels in contrast to the witnesses regarded as being typical of the Athonite redaction. First, the phrase οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Matt. 16:18 is translated as съꙁижⷣѫ ц҃ркꙑь моиѫ in most Gospel manuscripts consulted. RM 2/24 has another variant: съꙁнижⷭ сн ц҃ркꙋ̀вь. The same variant appears in Hilandar 18, 32r съꙁижⷣѫ сн цркꙋе. In all likelihood, the translator of *Catena B_2* used a Gospel manuscript which had the reflexive pronoun сн instead of the first-person possessive pronoun мон, or he knew this quite popular phrase by heart with сн, which is still typical of eastern Bulgarian dialects.

Second, while the Greek Gospel sources usually have ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ σου Matt. 22:37, Theodoret prefers ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας σου (*PG* 81, 140). Therefore, RM 2/24, 189r has възлюбншн г҃а б҃а своѐ ѿ всѐго̀ ср҃ца твоѐго̀ *vs* всѣмь с҃рдцемь твонмь Gospel manuscripts. Still, Hil 13 has the variant which we find in RM 2/24 ѿ всего с҃рца своего, which may correspond to a Greek variant ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας σου. Therefore in this case the translation of Theodoret's variant may have been backed by a variant which already existed in the Slavonic Gospel textual tradition.

3.3.3. The close adherence of the translation in RM 2/24 to Greek grammar and word-formation is undoubtedly the result of the translator's aspiration to produce a theologically faithful and formally exact translation; but such translational choices may also have been prompted by the ideas and interpretations in the commentary of Theodoret. I shall give an example. In Greek the name of Jerusalem is feminine since it is πόλις, ἡ (towns were presented as female figures in miniatures). In Gal 4:26 Jerusalem on high is seen as a mother: ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν, ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν. In the earliest (Cyrillo-Methodian) translation of this verse the name of Jerusalem is treated as masculine and this version was retained in many later sources, including in the Athonite redaction of the Acts and

Epistles: вышнии ἰерⷭ҃лимъ, свободь є́стъ· иже є̀стъ мт̄и вьсѣмъ намъ. The rendition of Greek indeclinable nouns ending in consonants as masculine nouns of the *o*-declension is typical of the early Slavonic translations. This applies also to the name of Jerusalem. Moreover, while πόλις 'town' in Greek is feminine, in Slavonic the word for town, градъ, is masculine.

Still, in RM 2/24 there is a close imitation of the Greek feminine gender of the name of Jerusalem: the adjective and the pronoun are feminine in the verse under discussion. In fact, the quotation appears four times in RM 2/24 137r, 158v, 214v вы́шнѧа же ѝе́р҃лимь сво́бодна і҃е · ѧ́же і҃е мт̄и вс҃е́мь на́мь and 173v вы́шнѧа же ѝер҃лимъ своб́одь і҃е · ѧ̂же і҃е матн въсѣмъ на́мъ. Such a treatment is characteristic also of two archaic sources for the Acts and Epistles: Apostolus Christinopolitanus of the twelfth century and Šišatovac Apostolus of the fourteenth century. The treatment of the name of Jerusalem as feminine may have been introduced independently in an early revision of the Acts and Epistles and in the translation of *Catena B*$_2$. The translator of the catena may have chosen such an approach for two reasons: first, he sought a closer imitation of the Greek syntax, and second such a treatment of the name of Jerusalem fits Theodoret's commentary best.

The choice of feminine gender in the translation of this verse corresponds to the context of the allegory of the two women representing the earthly Jerusalem seen as Hagar, a slave woman, and Jerusalem on high seen as a free woman. Theodoret quotes Gal 4:26 four times, always emphasizing the interpretation of Jerusalem as a mother. Thus Theodoret associates "the mother's house" in Cant 3:4 ("I did not let him go before I brought him into my mother's house and into the chamber of the one who conceived me") with Jerusalem understood as a mother: "After these she [the Bride] finds the bridegroom attended by guards and attendants, she lays hold of him, clings to him and is reluctant to leave him before she brings him into her mother's house and the inner chamber of the one who conceived her. Now, we recognize the mother of the pious as the Jerusalem on high, of whom blessed Paul says, "The Jerusalem on high is free in being mother of us all."[29] The "daughters of Jerusalem" in Cant 2:7 are also associated by Theodoret with the perception of Jerusalem on high as a mother: "Clearly by daughters of Jerusalem he refers to those of the heavenly

[29] Trans. by R. Hill 2001: 71 (= *PG* 81: 116).

city, of whom blessed Paul says "The Jerusalem on high is free in being mother of us all"[30]. Also, in the commentary (*PG* 81: 69) on Cant 1:6, "My *mother*'s sons were angry with me", Theodoret understands the mother as Jerusalem and quotes Gal 4:26. In the commentary (*PG* 81: 165) on Cant 6:3, in which the Bride is compared to Jerusalem, ὡραία ὡς Ἰερουσαλήμ "comely as Jerusalem", Theodoret again mentions that Jerusalem is a mother and quotes Gal 4:26. Thus the interpretations of Theodoret also influenced the translational choices of the Slavonic bookman in the rendition of biblical quotations.

And, *vice versa*, the wording of the New Testament quotations influenced his lexical choices when he was translating the Song. For instance, in the first appearence of Cant 2:13, виноградъ translates ἄμπελος: RM 2/24, 166r8-9 ви́нограды цѣвтоуть даше вѡ́ню for αἱ ἄμπελοι κυπρίζουσιν, ἔδωκαν ὀσμήν. In the commentary of Theodoret on this verse, there is a quotation (paraphrase) of John 15: 1(5), RM 2/24, 2166v5-9: а҃зъ е̑смь лозá и̑стинаа, вы же ро́жїе. / ѿц҃ь мои̑ дѣ́латель і̑е̑ · въсáкоу ро́зг8 с̑ мнѣ̀ / не носе́щоую пл̑о́, и̑зме́щ҃е сїю̀ · въсакоу̀ носе́-/ щю пл̑о́, с̑ѹ́ститъ сїю̀ · да мно́жаншн пл̑о́/ прине́с҃е.̀ In the translation of ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἄμπελος, лоза renders ἄμπελος. The use of лоза in John 15:1 is known both from the most archaic Gospel version and from witnesses to the Athonite redaction. Also, in the Athonite redaction of the Octoechus, лоза is preferred to виноградъ[31]. In the translation of Cant 2:13, the use of виноградъ in RM 2/24 for ἄμπελος 'grapevine' was most likely due to the influence of the earlier translations of the Song: виноградъ appears in Cant 2:13, 2:15, 6:10, 7:8, 7:12 in both the earliest translation of the Song and the early commentated translation of the Song. RM 2/24 has виноградъ only once for ἄμπελος. In all other appearances of ἄμπελος, it is translated as лоза. The word лоза is used in all further appearances of Cant 2:13 after the quotation of John 15:1, e.g. 167v7 и̑ ло́зы же цьвтоу̑ даше во́ню; 168r15 ло́зы на́ше цьвтоуть даше вѡ́ню. The word ἀμπελών (Cant 1:5, 1:13, 2:15, 7:12, 8:11 (2), 8:12) 'vineyard' is always translated as виноградъ in RM 2/24.

[30] Trans. by R. Hill 2001: 58 (= *PG* 81: 92).
[31] Тасева, Йовчева 2006: 230.

4. The attitude of the translator of *Catena* B_2 towards the Old Testament quotations varies in accordance with the type of the text. I shall analyse some quotations in RM 2/24 from the Psalter, Song of Songs, and Ezekiel.

4.1. To begin with, like the translation of the New Testament quotations, the translation of the Psalter quotations in RM 2/24 is closer to the Athonite redaction of the Psalter and the translator may be suspected to have used it (in all likelihood, he knew most of the verses by heart). I compared the Psalter quotations in RM 2/24 with the archaic version of the Psalter as represented in the Glagolitic Old Bulgarian Psalterium sinaiticum of the eleventh century (henceforth Sin), and later versions: the Middle Bulgarian Tomić Psalter of the fourteenth century (henceforth Tom) as a witness to the Athonite redaction, the Middle Bulgarain Norov Psalter of the fourteenth century (henceforth Nor), and the so-called Cyprian's Psalter (ms f. 173, no. 142 of the fifteenth century, kept in the Russian State Library in Moscow)[32]. There are many examples showing that the Psalter quotations in RM 2/24 coincide with the later Psalter versions and differ from the archaic one in Sin, e.g. τίμιος Ps 18: 11 ѹьстьнъ RM 2/24 = Tom, Nor, Cyprian's Ps *vs* драгъ Sin[33], ἐπιθυμήσει Ps 44:12 въжелѣеть RM 2/24 = Tom, Nor, Cyprian's Ps *vs* възхощетъ Sin; ὀξυγράφος Ps 44:2 скорописьць *vs* адрописьць. In several cases, RM 2/24 coincides with Tom and Cyprian's Psalter and differs from Nor, e.g. τῷ συστῆναι τὸν ἁμαρτωλόν Ps 38:2 въстати грѣшномꙋ RM 2/24 = Tom and Cyprian's Ps *vs* въстанетъ грѣшьникъ Sin *vs* състанѫти грѣшникꙋ Nor; πεποικιλομένη Ps 44:10 прѣпѣстрѣна PM 2/24 = Tom and Cyprian's Ps *vs* прѣкрꙋшена Sin *vs* прѣꙋкрашена Nor; ἐκλείπει Ps 83:2 скончава́ѣ се RM 2/24 = Tom, Cyprian's Ps, Sin *vs* ѥстѣзаетъ Nor; κατανοήσω Ps 118:18 разꙁмѣю RM 2/24 = Tom, Cyprian's Ps, Sin *vs* поразꙁмѣѫ Nor; ἔθετο Ps 83:4 положи RM 2/24 =

[32] On the versions of the medieval Slavonic Psalter, see MacRobert 1998. I have used the following editions: Северьянов 1922; Джурова 1990; Чешко и др. 1989 and the variant readings in it.

[33] On this diagnostic reading, see Карачорова 1989: 163, on the general preference of the Athonite redaction of the liturgical books for ѹьстьнъ, see Тасева, Йовчева 2006: 229.

Tom, Cyprian's Ps, Sin. *vs* положнть Nor, which is a translation of the Greek variant θήσει.

Still, there are a few readings shared by the Psalter quotations in RM 2/24 and the Norov Psalter: they are mostly on the grammatical level and in all likelihood were independently introduced in the two sources as a result of the common aspiration to adhere more closely to the Greek original, e.g. τοῦ διαφυλάξαι Ps 90:11 ѥ́же съхр҃а́ннтн RM 2/24 = Nor *vs* съхр҃аннтн Sin, Tom, and Cyprian's Psalter; ἐν τῷ ἐκκλῖναι αὐτήν Ps 108:23 вънiе́гда ѹ҆клоннтн се iѣн RM 2/24 = Nor *vs* iе́гда ѹ҆клоннтъ сѧ Sin, Tom, and Cyprian's Psalter; ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ въ весели RM 2/24 = Nor *vs* въ веселнe Sin, Tom, and Cyprian's Psalter.

As in the case of the New Testament quotations, there are lexemes and forms in the Psalter quotations in RM 2/24 to which I have not found counterparts in the Psalter manuscripts consulted, e. g. ἀποκάλυψον Ps 118:18 ѿвр҃ьзѝ RM 2/24 *vs* ѿкр҃ы the Psalters consulted; Ps 79:13 τρυγάω въстръгатн, отръгатн RM 2/24 *vs* обнматн, обьнматн the Psalters consulted – similarly in Cant 5:1 τρυγάω is translated as отръгатн in *Catena* B_2 in RM 2/24, in contrast to обьматн and обѹнматн in the two earlier translations of the Song of Songs; Ps 71:7 ἀνταναιρεθῇ ѿнѯ́змѣт се RM 2/24 *vs* ѿнмєтъ сѧ the Psalters consulted; Ps 71:5 συμπαραμενεῖ пр҃ѣбы́ваѥ́ть RM 2/24 *vs* пр҃ѣбѫ́дєтъ the Psalters consulted; Ps 67:14 πτέρυγες περιστερᾶς кр҃ылъ голѹбицн RM 2/24 *vs* кр҃ылъ голѫбн Sin/ голѫбннъ Tom and Nor / голѫбнин Cyprian's Psalter. The *corpus comparandi* chosen is too small to allow for clear-cut conclusions. Possibly, if I compare with more Psalter manuscripts, I shall find more counterparts of the lexemes in RM 2/24.

4.2. Next, while translating the Song of Song in the framework of *Catena* B_2, the Slavonic bookman was probably aware of and used the two earlier, probably Old Bulgarian, translations of the Song: the earliest one without commentaries (ascribed to St. Methodius) and a slightly later one in the framework of a catena (in all likelihood, made in north-eastern Bulgaria in the tenth century)[34]. Still, he introduced

[34] Both Slavonic versions of the Song are published by Алексеев 2002.

many innovations and therefore I would call the version of the Song in RM 2/24 "a secondary translation" for the following reasons: first, there is more than 35% of lexical and syntactical differences among the three Slavonic versions of the Song; second, there are individual mistakes by the three boookmen; third, the influence of the commentaries on the lexical choices of the translators is detectable, and, fourth, it seems that three different versions of the Greek text of the Song were used by the three Slavonic translators[35]. The translator of *Catena* B_2 exploited some of the lexical choices of his predecessors but for him the Greek version of the Song imbedded in the catena exerted the highest authority and he tried to render faithfully its peculiarities. Further, he eliminated the outdated lexemes used in the ninth- and tenth-century Slavonic translations of the Song and kept close to the standards of his contemporary literary language.

4.3. The approach of the translator towards the other Old Testament texts quoted in *Catena* B_2 is different. He does not seem to have used earlier translations. This question requires further investigation since there are no detailed studies of the Slavonic versions of several biblical books and especially of their later Slavonic versions[36]. I shall

[35] The term "secondary translation" is suggested by Horace G. Lunt, but he, in contrast to me, thinks that neither the early *catena* version nor the later *catena* version of the Song associated with Konstantin Kostenečki can be termed secondary translations but rather both are revisions of the earliest translation of the Song; see Lunt 1985: 290, 304–305, 313–314. I follow not only his criteria for the differenttiation of a translation from a revision, but also those of L. Taseva (Тасева 2006); on the relations of the late version of the Song with its earlier versions, see also Алексеев 2002: 157; Thomson 1998: 836–837; Минчева 1989; Димитрова 2007.

[36] It is still debatable which biblical books and commentaries were translated (or revised) on Mount Athos and in Bulgaria during the time of Tsar Ivan Alexander (1331–1371) and Patriarch Euthymius (1375–1393). There is a hypothesis that the Pentateuch was translated or its earlier translation was revised in Tărnovo, probably in the circle of the Bulgarian Patriarch Euthymius; for an overview of the opinions about the translations of biblical books in Tărnovo, see Tasseva, Yovcheva (Тасева, Йовчева 2008: 557). Also, as mentioned above, there is a hypothesis that the Serbian ruler Stefan Lazarević promoted a project for translation, revision, and copying of Old Testament books, but the scope of these translations has not yet been clarified (Гагова 2006). What is known for the late 14th or early 15th century is that two translations of a *catena* with commentaries on the Book of Job were made, one by monk Gavriil in the Hilandar Monastery and another one by an unidentified translator (Христова-Шомова 2006; 2007), and further a translation of a *catena* on the Books of Kings (Попруженко 1894) was produced; for an overview of the translations and copies of Old Testament books with commentaries in that period, see Hristova (Христова 1994), Gagova (Гагова 2006). Further, it has been established that the *paroimiae* (liturgical

give only one example from RM 2/24. In the introduction by Theodoret of Cyrrhus, there is a long quotation (paraphrase) from Ezekiel (since the verses are commentated, some of them are repeated more than once by Theodoret). The translation of this passage from Ezekiel differs from the Old Bulgarian translation of this biblical book with commentary. Apparently, the translator of *Catena B_2* did not use it. The differences between the Old Bulgarian translation and the translation in RM 2/24 are not due only to the differences between the Greek originals of the two Slavonic translators but also to different translational techniques and lexical preferences.

Ezekiel	Old Bulgarian translation[37]	RM 2/24, 119v-121r
16:4	въ нже сѧ дн҃ь родиль ѥсн. не завазашѫ тн пѫпа. и̓ водоѧ не ѡ̓мышѫ тебе нас сп̃а.	въ нже дн҃ъ ро́дн се р̃ѣ, не свѣ́заше сьсцѣ̀ твоѥ̀ … въ н̓же дн҃ь ро́дн се, не свезаше съсцѣ̀ твоѥ … въ водѣ р̃ѣ не и̂змы се … не ѿрѣза се пу̏пь твон
16:6-7	и̓ прои̓дѡ̀ сквозѣ тѧ̀, и̓ вндѣх тѧ съмѧтенѫ. въ крѣвн твоѥ̀ѧ жнтїе твое ѡ̓множн сѧ уни́стѣ … и̓ ѡ̓множн сѧ и̓ ѡ̓вели́чн сѧ. … съсцн твоѭ̀ възрастошѫ. и̓ власн твон просїашѫ. ты же бы̃ на́гь и̓ бес красы.	и̂ пр҃їи́дѡ̀ тебѣ̀ ра́дн и̂ вн́дѣх те · и̂ се р̃ѣ̀ твоѥ и̂ врѣмѐ разраю́щїн … т̏е́ прострѣ̀ кри́лѣ мо́н на́ тѣ̀, и̂ покры̀ безстѫдїе́ твоѥ … и̂ клех тн се … кле́х тн се и̂ вънндохь въ за́вѣ̀ с то́бою г̃лѥ̀ а̂донаї г̃ь … и̂ вънн́дѫ̑ въ завѣ́ть с тобо́ю г̃лѥ а̂донаї̀ г̃ь, и̂ во́у̓дн мн · и̂ о̂мы̀х те вѡ̀ю· н о̃мы̀ крьвь твою ѿ тебѣ̀ · и̂ помазах те масло́· · и̂ о̂бле́кох те пьстрѣнн́цею · и̂ съпе́х те у̂а̀кынѳ́ѫ̑ · и̂ опоꙗсах те вуссш̑.

readings from the Bible) in *Triodia* and *Menaia* were revised by the Athonite redactors of the liturgical books; see recently Hristova-Shomova (Христова-Шомова 2009) and the literature quoted by her.

[37] The text is edited by Тасева, Йовчева 2003: 201–205.

	сннѧ. и҆ въ҃ложнхъ на тѧ҃ тр҃їхаптнь.	

In conclusion, while translating the biblical quotations in *Catena B_2* with commentaries on the Song of Songs, the Slavonic translator rendered closely the versions of the biblical verses which he had in the catena. Still, in many cases, he exploited the lexical decisions of his Slavonic predecessors who translated or revised the New Testament and Psalter. In particular, he kept closer to the Athonite redaction of the Gospels, Acts and Epistles, and Psalter. This redaction was, at that time, the most authoritative version of the liturgical books, including the three biblical books mentioned. Yet there are some differences between the quotations in RM 2/24 and the sources regarded as representative of the Athonite redaction. These divergences could be due to two reasons. First, the translator of *Catena B2* used manuscripts of the Gospels, Acts and Epistles, and Psalter which were close to but not identical with those ones which are now regarded as typical witnesses of the Athonite redaction. Second, the translator may have felt free to introduce his individual preferences in order to be as close to the Greek original as possible. In this, the Athonite redaction may not have completely satisfied his taste because in some places the Athonite redactors retained the translational choices of their Slavonic predecessors who placed emphasis on the *sensus* at the expense of the *verbum de verbo* translational strategy. The translator of *Catena B_2* aimed at both formal and semantic equivalence between his translation and the Greek text and tried to achieve formal symmetry as much as possible. Such an attitude is characteristic of other South Slavonic translations of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries made in Bulgaria and Mount Athos. Still, his translational decisions did not depend only on his aspiration to be close to the Greek text and on his adherence to the most authoritative versions of the Gospels, Acts and Epistles, and Psalter in his time, the Athonite versions. He was also influenced by the context, that is, by the interpretations of the commentators which he was translating.

While in the translation of the verses of the Song of Songs, the translator of *Catena B_2* introduced many innovations in comparison with the ninth- and tenth-century Slavonic versions of this biblical book, in the rendition of the New Testament and Psalter quotations in the catena he kept much closer to the existing Slavonic versions. This difference in the treatment of the two kinds of quotations may stem

from three circumstances. First, the central text in the catena is the Song of Songs and the new commentaries translated required new translation of the Old Testament text. Second, in contrast to the Song of Songs, the Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Psalter were often read in liturgy, their authority was high and monks and priests knew many verses by heart. Third, at the time when the translation of *Catena* B_2 was produced, there existed in the Balkans revised Slavonic versions of the Gospels, Acts and Epistles, and Psalter, while there is no information about a systematic revision of the early translations of the Song of Songs in this period. Further research is necessary to shed additional light on the attitude of the translator of *Catena* B_2 towards the other Old Testament quotations in the catena. At this stage, it seems that he translated anew the Old Testament quotations and did not consult previous Slavonic translations. The reason could be the same: revised versions of the early Old Testament translations were not available to him.

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ABBREVIATIONS

PG 81 "Theodoreti cyrensis episcopi opera omnia. Explanatio in Canticum canticorum". In: Migne, J. P. *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca*. T. 81 (Paris, 1864), coll. 27–214.

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THE COMPOSITION AND STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK OF BEN SIRA IN THE OLDEST SLAVONIC TRANSLATION

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Ecclesiasticus, known in the Eastern Orthodox tradition as 'The Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach'(hereafter: Sirach), is one of the most closely studied books of the Bible. Over 3000 editions and studies of it have been recorded in the period 1475–1998 alone, mostly during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries[1]. Over the past years several scholarly meetings have been dedicated to issues linked with the Book of Ben Sira[2]

[1] See for instance: F.V. Reiterer, *Bibliographie zu Ben Sira*. Gemeinsam mit N. Calduch-Benages, R. Egger-Wenzel, A. Fersterer, I. Krammer. Hrsg. von F. V. Reiterer (BZAW 266; Berlin–New York, 1998); P.C. Beentjes, "Five Years of Ben Sira Research (1994–1998). An Annotated Bibliography", *Bijdragen* 61 (2000), pp. 76–88; N. Calduch-Benages, "La situació actual dels estudis sobre el libre del Siràcida (1996–2000)", *RCT* 26 (2001), pp. 391–398; Ch. Wagner, *Die Septuaginta-Hapaxlegomena im Buch Jesis Sirach. Untersuchungen zu Wortwahl und Wortbildung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des textkritische und übersetzungstechnischen Aspekts* (BZAW 282; Berlin–New York, 1999); *Zählsynopse zum Buch Ben Sira*. Erstellt von F. V. Reiterer unter Mitarbeit von R. Egger-Wenzel, I. Krammer, P. Ritter-Müller und L. Schrader (Berlin–New York, 2003)

[2] See for instance: F. V. Reiterer (ed.), *Freundschaft bei Ben Sira. Beiträge des Symposions zu Ben Sira – Salzburg 1995* (BZAW 244; Berlin–New York, 1996); P. C. Beentjes (ed.), *The Book of Ben Sira in Modern Research. Proceedings of the First International Ben Sira Conference 28–31 July 1996 Soesterberg, Netherlands* (BZAW 255; Berlin–New York, 1997); T. Muraoka, J. F. Elwolde (eds.), *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira. Proceedings of a Symposium held in Leiden University 11–14 December 1995* (STDJ 26; Leiden, 1997); T. Muraoka, J. F. Elwolde (eds.), *Sirach, Scrolls, and Sages. Proceedings of a Second International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead See Scrolls, Ben Sira, and the Mishnah, held at Leiden University, 15–17 December 1997* (STDJ 33; Leiden, 1999); R. Egger-Wenzel (ed.), *Ben Sira's God. Proceedings of the International Ben Sira Conference, Durham – Ishaw College, 2001* (BZAW 321; Berlin–New York, 2002); J. Corley and V. Skemp (eds.), *Intertextual studies in Ben Sira and Tobit. Esseys in Honor of Alexander A. Di Lella, O.F.M.* (The Catholic Biblical Quarterly 38; Washington, 2005); G.G. Xeravitz and J. Zsengellér (eds.), *Studies in the book of Ben Sira. Papers of the Third International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Shime'on Centre, Pápa, Hungary, 18–20 May, 2006* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 127; Leiden–Boston, 2008; also: Brill-e-Books, 30 October 2011); J. Joosten, J.-S. Rey (eds.), *Conservatism and Innovation in the Hebrew Language of the*

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and several large volumes have been published on it[3]. A considerable number of problems have been studied in this

Hellenistic Period: Proceedings of a Fourth International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrools & Ben Sira (STDJ 73; Leiden–Boston, 2008); J. Joosten and J.-S. Rey (eds.), *The Texts and Versions of the Book of Ben Sira. Transmission and Interpretation* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 150; Leiden, 2011).

[3] *The Wisdom of Ben Sira. A New Translation with Notes. By P. W. Skehan. Introduction and Commentary. By Al. A. di Lella* (The Ancor Bible 39; New York–London–Toronto–Sydney–Aukland, 1987); B. G. Wright. *No small Differences. Sirach's Relationship to its Hebrew Parent Text* (Atlanta, Georgia, 1989); R. Eggers-Wenzel, I. Krammer (eds.), *Der Einzelne und seine Gemeinschaft bei Ben Sira. Festschrift F. V. Reiterer* (BZAW 270; Berlin–New York, 1998); N. Calduch-Benages and J. Vermeylen (eds.), *Treasures of Wisdom. Studies in Ben Sira and the Book of Wisdom. Festschrift M. Gilbert* (BETL 143; Leuven, 1999); J. Marbock, *Weisheit in Wandel. Untersuchungen zur Weisheitstheologie bei Ben Sira* (BZAW 272; Berlin, 1999); *The Ben Sira scroll from Masada.* Introduction, Emendations and Commentary Y. Yadin; Notes on the Reading E. Kimron; Bibliography Fl.-G. Martínez (Masada VI; Jerusalem, 1999); J. Liesen, *Full of Praise. An Exegetical Study of Sir 39, 12–35* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 64; Leiden–Boston–Köln, 2000); J. Corley, *Ben Sira's Teaching on Friendship* (Brown Judaic Studies 316; Providence, 2002); O. Mulder, *Simon the High Priest in Sirah 50. An Exegetical Study of the Significance of Simon the High Priest as Climax to the Praise of the Fathers in ben Sira's Concept of the History of Israel* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 78; Leiden–Boston, 2003); E.D. Reymond, *Innovations in Hebrew Poetry. Parallelism and the Poems of Sirach* (Studies of Biblical Literature 9; Atlanta, 2004); W. Th. van Peursen, *The Verbal System in the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira* (Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 41; Leiden–Boston, 2004); J. Corley and V. Skemp (eds.), *Intertextual Studies in Ben Sira and Tobit. Essays in Honor of Alexander A. di Lella* (Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series 38; Washington, DC, The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2005); P. C. Beentjes, "*Happy the One Who Meditates on Wisdom" (Sir.14,20). Collected Essays on the Book of Ben Sira* (Leuven–Paris–Dudley, MA, 2006); M. Milani, *La correlazione tra morte e vita in Ben Sira. Dimensione antropologica cosmica e teologica dell' antitesi*. Estratto dalla Dissertazione per il grado di in Sacra Scrittura. (Roma, 2006); F. Reiterer, *"Alle Weiseit stammt vom Herrn...". Gesammelte Studien zu Ben Sira* (Hrsg. R. Egger-Wenzel) (BZAW 375; Berlin–New York, 2007); Fr. Ueberschaer, *Weiseit aus der Begegnung. Bildung nach dem Buch Ben Sira* (BZAW 379; Berlin–New York, 2007); B. G. Wright III. *Praise Israel for Wisdom and Instruction. Essays on Ben Sira and Wisdom, lte Letter of Aristeas and the Septuagint* (Journal for the Study of Judaism 131; Leiden–Boston, 2008); A. Passaro and G. Bellia (eds.), *The Wisdom of Ben Sira. Studies on Tradition, Redaction, and Theologie* (Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies 1; Berlin–New York, 2008); J. Corley and H. van Grol (eds.), *Rewriting Biblical History. Essays on Chronicles and Ben Sira in Honour of Pancratius C. Beentjes* (Deuterocanonical and cognate literature studies, 7; Berlin–New York, 2011); Fr. V. Reiterer, *Die Vollendung der Gottesfurcht ist Weisheit (Sir.21,11). Studien zum Buch Ben Sira (Jesus Sirach)* (Stuttgarter Biblische Aufsatzbände 50; Stuttgart, 2011);

enormous amount of publications. Attention has been devoted to problems concerning the name of the author, the time when the book was written, and information about the person Ben Sirach. The problems of its canonicity have also been discussed. An enormous number of studies have been dedicated to the detailed study and publication of the Hebrew manuscripts and texts discovered in the geniza of the Cairo synagogue, at Qumran and Masada, which unfortunately contain only two thirds of the book. A large number of works have likewise been devoted to the study and publication of the early translations: the Greek, Syriac (Peshitta) and Latin (Vetus Latina) versions. There has also been a rather detailed study of the themes linked with the transmission of the text and its history with regard both to Hebrew and to the Greek, Syriac and Latin translations. Many questions have been raised in connection with the composition of the book, specifically with the definition and delimitation of its semantic entities, its division into separate parts, and the numbering of the chapters and verses. Intense exegetical studies have been made. For the interpreters of the text the central concerns have been to trace the external and internal cultural influences on the author, especially the influence of Hellenism and of the other books of the Bible, and to analyse problems relating to Wisdom, the Law and the Creation and Ben Sirach's attitude towards women. Special analyses have been dedicated to the poetical structure of the book. As a result there are now a number of certain or suppositional decisions on a wide range of problems that are linked not only with the original Hebrew text, but

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K. Kearns, *The Expanded Text of Ecclesiasticus. Its Teaching on the Future Life as a Clue to its Origin*. Enlarged with A Biographical Sketch of Kearns by G. Norton. An Introduction to Kearn's Dissertation by M. Gilbert. Bibliographical Updates (1951–2010) by N. Calduch-Benages. Ed. P. C. Beentjes. (Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies 11; Berlin–New York, 2011); M. Martila, *Foreign nations in the wisdom of Ben Sira: a Jewish sage between opposition and assimilation* (Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies, 13; Berlin–Boston, 2012); G. Sauer, *Studien zu Ben Sira. Redigiert und mit einem Corwort versechen von Siegfried Kreuzer* (BZAW 440; Berlin–Boston, 2013); R. Egger-Wenzel, K. Schöpflin und J.F. Diehl (eds.), *Weisheit als Lebensgrundlage. Festschrift für Friedrich V. Reiterer zum 65. Geburstag* (Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies 15; Berlin–Boston, 2013); S. Bussino, *The Greek Additions in the Book of Ben Sira*. Translated from Italian by M. Tait (Analecta Biblica 203; Roma, 2013); N. Calduch-Benages (ed.), *Wisdom for life: Essays Offered to Honor Prof. Maurice Gilbert, SJ on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday* (BZAW 445; Boston, 2014); M. Gilbert, *Ben Sira: Recueil d'Etudes/Collected Essays* (BETL 264; Leuven–Paris–Walpole, MA, 2014).

also with its different early translations[4]. At the same time, however, many problems continue to be the subject of discussions and many questions remain open.

In this boundless literature consisting of hundreds of thousands of pages, which deals with a vast number of subjects, however, there is not a single line about the Slavonic translation of the book made in Great Moravia as early as the ninth century AD, most probably by St. Methodius, one of the authors of the Slavonic alphabet, in cooperation with his disciples, nor anything about the development of its text during the Middle Ages among the Eastern Orthodox Slavs and among the Catholic Slavs in the Croatian lands where the translation was disseminated. The only mention known to me of this translation in the literature on biblical studies that is devoted to the Book of Ben Sira belongs to Friedrich Reiterer. In 1998, when he analysed the problem of the canonicity of the Book of Sirach, he mentioned in a brief footnote, without giving his sources, that there are two Slavonic manuscripts in the collection of the Russian National Library in Saint Petersburg in which it is included: a Russian manuscript of the eleventh century (the so-called 'Izbornik' of 1076) and a Bulgarian biblical manuscript of the third quarter of the fourteenth century, F.I.461[5].

The first Slavonic translation of the Book of Sirach and its history in the Slavic world have been ignored so far, largely because to date this translation has not been studied at all and has not even been published. In 1998 F.J. Thomson wrote categorically: 'since the translation has neither been edited, nor studied in detail, both its relations to the Greek and its textual history remain unelucidated'[6]. This opinion remains valid to this day.

During the last decade I have been working on the first scholarly edition of the full text of the book on the basis of its earliest text in chronological terms, that contained in the Bulgarian manuscript mentioned by F. Reiterer; and since 1994 I have published a number of studies on it, including on the text of Sirach. The Bulgarian codex is of exceptional interest not only because it includes the oldest Slavonic full copy of the book and presents the first Slavonic translation

[4] For the main results see: M. Gilbert, "Siracide", in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Fascicule 71. Sichem-Songe (Paris, 1996), pp. 1389–1437.

[5] Reiterer, "Bibliographie zu Ben Sira", p. 10.

[6] F. J. Thomson, "The Slavonic Translation of the Old Testament", in *Interpretation of the Bible (*Ljubljana–Sheffield, 1998*)*, p. 841.

made at the earliest stage in the use of the Slavonic alphabet, but also because it is the first attempt in the Slavonic area to gather in one volume the books of the Old Testament[7]. I think it is high time for the history of this translation and its textual tradition to be included in the work on the early translations of the Book of Ben Sira together with studies of the Greek, Latin, Syriac, Aramaic, Arabic, Armenian, Coptic and Georgian versions, which have attracted the attention of scholars ever since the nineteenth century.

Basing my work on the earliest full text, the Bulgarian copy in the manuscript from the Russian National Library in Saint Petersburg, F.I.461, I shall dwell only on two problems which in my opinion are important ones. On their solution depends to a large extent the location of the oldest Slavonic translation in the early history of the book, and hence its importance not only to Slavonic biblical studies, but also to the study of the entire early textual tradition of the book. These are the problems of the composition and structure of the text. I must point out, however, that my investigations of these problems are as yet incomplete and the results given here will be elaborated in the future.

At the same time I must emphasize that this should not be understood in the sense that there have been no studies on the Slavonic texts of the Book of Ben Sira. From the beginning of the nineteenth century information began to appear in scholarly literature about its texts in the literature of the Eastern Orthodox Slavs. Here the first expression of opinion about the composition and character of the Slavonic version is to be found. It is based on an analysis of the first

[7] For details about this manuscript see: Св. Николова, "За най-стария български средновековен ръкопис на Стария Завет", in *Старобългарска литература* 28–29 (1994), pp. 110–118. In the early 1990s I took the initiative to prepare a scholarly edition of the biblical books included in this manuscript. Since then I have lead the project for editing of the texts. The Cyrillo-Methodian Research Center at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences has already published three volumes of this edition: *Старобългарският превод на Стария Завет*. Под общата редакция и с въведение от Св. Николова. Т. 1. Р. Златанова, *Книга на дванадесетте пророци с тълкования* (Св. Николова, "Проблемът за издаването на небогослужебните български средновековни текстове на Стария Завет", pp. IX–XXXVII; Studies are published in Bulgarian with abstracts in Bulgarian, English and German, 605–612) (София, 1998); Т. 2. *Книга на пророк Иезекиил с тълкования*. Изданието е подготвено от Л. Тасева, М. Йовчева. Подбор на гръцкия текст Т. Илиева (Св. Николова, "Въведение", pp. 7–30; Studies are published in Bulgarian with Abstracts in Bulgarian, English and German, 446–454) (София, 2003); Т. 3. Т. Илиева, *Старобългарско-гръцки словоуказател към Книгата на пророк Иезекиил*. Отговорен редактор Т. Мострова (Abstract in English, pp. 645–647) (София, 2013). Now under preparation are other three volumes.

complete codex of the Bible known among the Eastern Orthodox Slavs and prepared in Novgorod on the initiative of Archbishop Gennady, known as 'Gennady's Bible'. This manuscript, dated 1499, was described in 1855 by A. Gorskii and K. Nevostruev in their catalogue of the collection of the Synodal Library in Moscow[8]. The authors note the absence of the Prologue on the translation of the book from Hebrew into Greek. They direct the attention of the reader to the fact that the order and size of chapters 30–36, which differ in the Greek and Latin manuscripts of the Vulgate, have here been brought into agreement with the Latin version and the book has been named ѣкл҃иастикъ (Ecclesiasticus) in the inscriptions on the folia of the codex.

As for the translation itself, in their view it follows the redaction of the Vatican Greek manuscript, but there are readings that correspond to other Greek manuscripts too. They say that there are cases of incorrect reading of words from the Greek original, and that there are corrections and additions in the text which are probably not due to the translator and are not quite 'reasonable', but 'the translation is generally correct with the exception of some few places, which have not been translated exactly'. Gorsky and Nevostruev write that the language of the translation has been considerably modernized in Gennady's Bible. However they also use in their analysis three other Russian copies of the book (2 full ones and 1 incomplete one from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries); they note that these are older in their linguistic peculiarities and that both in Gennady's Bible and in the other two full copies of the Bible, 'many traces' have been preserved 'of the archaic nature of the translation not only in the words and in the grammatical forms, but in some places also in the orthography'. A hundred and forty years later Francis Thomson[9] again drew attention to the absence of the Prologue and suggested that most of the readings come from the Vatican Greek manuscript rather than from the Alexandrian one, observed that there are many 'missing' verses, as he calls them, and indicated several differences in that respect between the full copies and the Croatian First Vrabnitsa Glagolitic Breviary of

[8] А.В. Горский, К.И. Невоструев, *Описание славянских рукописей Московской Синодальной библиотеки.* Отд. 1: *Священное Писание* (Москва, 1855), pp. vi, 80–84, 135–137, 143, 155.

[9] Thomson, "The Slavonic Translation of the Old Testament", pp. 840–843.

the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries published in 1910 by J. Vajs[10], which is one of the liturgical books of the Croatian Catholics. He also accepted the opinion of Vajs that where the breviary texts have a translation made from Greek, this translation must in principle derive from the original Old Church Slavonic translation, but that it has been corrected in accordance with the text of the Vulgate. He also agreed with the opinion of Gorsky and Nevostruev that the order of chapters 30–36 in Gennady's Bible has been made to follow the order of the Latin translation, although the text itself has not been edited to bring it in line with the Latin.

As can be seen from these studies, to this day there has been no discussion of the composition of the text, i.e. the division of the text into parts by the first Slavonic translator, nor about its structure, i.e. the composition and character of the verses in the oldest Slavonic translation, whether in full, or in any of its manuscripts. Yet the exact elucidation of these problems must be to a large extent the key to the problem of the relationship between this translation and the early versions in other languages that have been preserved so far.

What is the composition of the text in the Bulgarian manuscript from Petersburg? From the appended chart (Tabl.1), it is clear that its division into parts does not coincide with that adopted in the critical edition of J. Ziegler[11], which reflects the composition of a 'pre-Septuagint'. This edition is based on an enormous number of manuscripts containing the various translations of the book, but in practice priority is given to the three earliest known representatives of the text of the Septuagint: the uncial Vatican manuscript of the fourth century, the Sinai manuscript of the fourth century and the Alexandrian manuscript of the fifth century. They are thought to reflect in the best way this proto-text, known among scholars as the oldest text of Sirach so far, and called 'GI'[12]. It can be seen also that only in six of the

[10] J. Vajs, *Nejstarší breviár chrvatsko-hlaholský (Prvý breviár Brbnický)* (Praha, 1906), XIX, XXIV, XXX, XLVII, LI, LV, LX, LXVI, LXXII, LXXV, LXXXIX. CIV, 3, 34, 35, 38, 39, 70–88.

[11] J. Ziegler, "Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach" (Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Gottingensis Editum, 12, 2). (Göttingen, 1965; 2 ed. 1980).

[12] See for Instance: Ziegler, "Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach", pp. 67–69; M. Gilbert, "Où en sont les études sur le Siraside?", *Biblica* 92/2 (2011), pp. 165–167; Kearns, "The Expanded Text of Ecclesiasticus"; J. Gile, "The Additions to Ben Sira and the Book's Multiform Textual Witness", in J. Joosten and J.-S. Rey (eds.), *The Texts and Versions of the Book of Ben Sira. Transmission and Interpretation* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 150; Leiden, 2011), pp. 237–256.

Tabl. 1. Headlines in F.I.461, in the Editions of J. Ziegler and J. Hart

F.I.461		Ziegler	Hart
Before			2:1 Περὶ ὑπομονῆς
3:1	о чьстн родитель		
4:11	о прѣмѫдростн		
7:29	w іереехъ		
9:1	о женахъ		
18:30	о оудрѣжанїн дш҃ѫ	Ἐγκράτεια ψυχῆς	+
20:27	словеса прнтъчна	Λόγοι παραβολῶν	+
22:11	о мрѣтвѣцехъ		
23:1	нісоусшва молнтва. съ оумленїемъ дховнѣмъ		
		23:7 Παιδεία στόματος	+
24:1	прѣмѫдростн сїе хваленїе	Ξοφίας αἴνεσις	+
24:8	о женѣ		
		between 24:23b Ἐκ τοῦ δευτερονομίου	
30:1	w чадѣхъ	Περὶ τεκνῶν	+
		30:16 Περὶ βρομάτον	+
			30:33 Περὶ δούλων
31(34):1	w сънїнхъ		
32(35):6	w десатынѣ		
34(31):12	w врашнѣ		
34(31):(30)25	о внѣ		
34(31):(42)	w старѣншннѣ		
35(32):(10)7	w юношахъ		
37:1	w дроужѣхъ		
38:1	w балїн		
38:16	о мрѣтвецехъ		
38:24	о книжницѣ		
44:1	w҃цемъ похвала	Πατέρον ὕμνος	+
51:	молнтва іоусшва сн҃а сурахова	Προσευχὴ Ἰησοῦ Υἱοῦ Ξιραχ	+

eight cases in which Ziegler accepts the titles as part of the text, do the titles of the separate semantic entities delimited in the Bulgarian manuscript coincide in position and name with the Greek ones: those before 18:30, 20:27, 24:1, 30:1, 44:1 and 51:1. It is also striking that the miniscule manuscript No. 248 (Vat. gr. 336) of the thirteenth century, published in 1909 in Cambridge by John Henri Arthur Hart[13] and considered to be the main representative of the Lucianic redaction, has in addition to these five titles another three: before 2:1, 24:23b and 30:33. None of them is in the St. Petersburg manuscript, but it has another seventeen titles that are not in Ziegler's edition, nor in Hart's. Unfortunately, however, hardly any attention has been paid to these titles and for the time being it is not possible to say whether they are linked to a tradition that exists in other translations of the book. Some of the titles are also found in the later Russian copies of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, where they are sometimes altered and supplemented with ones which are in not the St. Petersburg manuscript. Whatever their origin, however, they are no doubt the result of attempts to direct special attention to certain verses. This is evident from the fact that in some cases the titles separate very small textual entities (as, for instance, those before 3(31):12, 34(31):(30)25 and 34(31):(42)). Their frequent occurrence may be due to a less than perfect understanding by the scribes of the entire composition of the book, which is not very clear as it is.

The evidence that the separate parts of the book were not delimited categorically when it was created consists in the fact that even the scholars who conduct research into the text are not of one opinion with regard to their delimitation. Even today there exist different opinions in that respect, which were recently summed up very well by Otto Mulder[14]. Moreover it is significant that the composition suggested by scholars does not coincide at all with that in Ziegler's Greek 'proto-text' (see, for example, the composition suggested by Patrick

[13] J.H.A. Hart, *Ecclesiasticus. The Greek text of Codex 248 edited with a textual commentary and prolegomena* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1909).

[14] Mulder, "Simon the High Priest in Syrach 50", pp. 25–34. See also: K. Jenner & W. van Peursen, "Unit Delimitation and the Text of Ben Sira", in: M.C. Korpel and J.M. Oesch (eds.), *Studies in Scriptural Unit Division* (Koninklijke van Gorem, 2002), pp. 144–199; P.C. Beentjes, "Some Major Topics in Ben Sira Research", *International Journal in Philosophy and Theology* 66 (2005), pp. 134–137; J. Corley, " Searching for Structure and Redaction in Ben Sira. An Investigation of beginning and endings", in: A. Passaro and G. Bellia (eds.), *The Wisdom of Ben Sira. Studies on Tradition*, pp. 21–47; Gilbert, "Où en sont les études", pp. 170–174.

Shehan and Alexander Di Lella in 1987[15]). Scholars are most often unanimous concerning the separation into larger or smaller parts in the instances of titles before 24:1, 44:1 and 51:1.

There are also different interpretations of the titles: they are defined either as arbitrary interpolations, or reliable principles for delimiting textual entities[16]. It cannot be doubted that some of the titles belong to the Hebrew text. This is the case with the title before 44:1, which is in manuscript B from the Cairo geniza and is almost identical to the title in the Greek and the Slavonic texts. It is a pity that there are no findings concerning the titles in a larger number of Greek manuscripts and that consequently one cannot say whether the oldest Slavonic translation follows one of them. It is interesting, however, to note that two of the titles in the St. Petersburg manuscript are closely linked in their content to one of the titles in the Hebrew manuscript mentioned above and that the first of these two titles is in the same place as the Hebrew title. These are the titles before 34(31):12 and 34(31):(30)25, which in manuscript B are combined into one before 31:12, on folio IV r, line 1 before the beginning of the text, and indicate its content in an exact manner: 'Teaching concerning eating and drinking wine together' (see the Hebrew text from Mulder[17]). Here it is not superfluous to recall that manuscript B is the most extensive Hebrew text discovered so far (19 folia from the twelfth century, which contain the bulk of the text after 30:11[18] and moreover retain the stichometrical structure of the text[19]. This is the only Hebrew manuscript that has titles and these have been put at the beginnings of the folia. Neither title in the manuscript is there by chance: both are linked to the content. The parts that they denote are well delimited and were obviously understood precisely as delimited entities of the text by the Hebrew scribe, the Greek copyists and also the Slavonic copyist.

The answer to the question concerning the structure of the oldest Slavonic translation of the Book of the Wisdom of Jesus, Son of Sirach, which is extant in the St. Petersburg manuscript, is an interesting one. The studies carried out so far show that the Hebrew text of the book is metrically organized and that the book was written not

[15] "The Wisdom of Ben Sira", pp. XIII–XVI, 4–6, 131–580.
[16] Mulder, "Simon the High Priest in Sirach 50", p. 32.
[17] Mulder, "Simon the High Priest in Sirach 50", p. 33.
[18] See for instance: "The Wisdom of Ben Sira", pp. 51–53.
[19] See for instance: "The Wisdom of Ben Sira", pp. 63–74.

in prose, but as a work of poetry. What is more, some of the extant copies of the text are also written as poetry and organized stichometrically, not only in manuscript B, which has already been mentioned, but also in the single folio that belongs to the undated medieval manuscript E, in the single folio of manuscript F from the eleventh century as well as in the oldest fragments that have been discovered: the two folia from Qumran Cave Two from the second half of the first century B.C., which only contain several words and remnants of words, and the twenty-six fragments that constitute seven columns preserved in the Massada scroll from the first half of the first century B.C., in which five chapters have been preserved. It has been found that every verse consists of two, or more rarely, three cola metrically linked with a parallel structure, each colon having two or three accents (up to five)[20], with a caesura between the cola. The assonances, alliteration and rhyme in the Hebrew text have been studied. Unfortunately, the Greek version has not attracted sufficient scholarly attention in this respect and I cannot speak for the Greek tradition from which the earliest Slavonic translation took its starting-point. But it is enough for one to see only part of the text in the St. Petersburg manuscript to understand that the Slavonic copyist, who obviously reflected also the peculiarities of the translation which, as stated above, was probably made by Methodius, tried in every way possible to convey the stichometrical structure. He did not organize the text stichometrically, as this is unusual for the Bulgarian manuscript tradition, but in order to delimit the separate cola, he put dots between them. As a rule he began the cola that were combined into one verse with a capital letter, sometimes written in cinnabar. Here I have no opportunity to dwell on the problem of the number of accents, which he tried to keep of equal number in each colon, nor the problem concerning the delimitation of the verses and the difficulties that this way of presenting the text created for him, nor the incongruities that emerged and their causes. What is more important is that he was aware of the metrics and strophic structure of the text.

When I say that the earliest Slavonic translation of the book of Ben Sira retains the poetic structure of the text, the question immediately arises what the size and character of the translation are and hence what its source is. Comparison with the data known today about the Greek texts shows that the Old Bulgarian translation reflects rather exactly the earliest Greek text, the so-called GI. The Old Bulgarian

[20] See for instance: "The Wisdom of Ben Sira", p. 64.

translation lacks almost all cola and verses that are characteristic of the later Greek redaction called GII, in which the text is largest and the additional passages are usually the third and fourth cola in the verse. These passages in GII, which are not in the St. Petersburg manuscript, are the following: 1:10c, 12cd, 18cd, 21; 2:5c, 9c; 3:7, 19b, 25; 10:8cd, 21; 12:6c; 13:14; 16:9cd, 10cd, 15, 16, 18c; 22c; 17:5, 8c, 11c, 16-17a, 18, 21, 22c, 26b; 18:2b-3, 9b, 29cd, 33c; 19: 5b-6a, 18-19, 20c, 23a, 25c; 20: 8cd, 14b, 17cd, 32; 22:7, 8, 13c, 23de; 23:3e, 28; 24:18, 24; 25:12; 26:19-27; 28:24-25; 30:11b, (21)20c; 41:9a; 42:15d; 47:9c; 50:29cd; 51:1c, as well as the Prologue. Here I must add immediately that according to Ziegler most of these places are found only in the Greek manuscripts representative of Lucian's redaction, but some are present also in Origen's text and the Hebrew ones[21]. Of course, in the Bulgarian manuscript there are also some more missing places, such as 3:4, 5:2b, 15:20, 16:29, 29:23b, 38:32c, but they go back to the original translation, as is demonstrated by the absence of the first two passages also in the Croatian texts, which have been preserved only up to ch. 6. I must point out, however, that in the St. Petersburg manuscript there are also several places which according to Ziegler belong to the expanded Greek redaction GII: 1:5,7, 19a; 4:23b; 11:15, 16; 16:3cd. These again are not individual features of his text, because the first three passages are also found in the Croatian texts. Besides, one should point out that in the first two cases in ch. 1 the text is available not in Lucian's redaction, but already in Origen's text[22], and that all the rest are in the available Hebrew manuscripts[23]. Here it must be stressed that colon 1:19a, which is missing in the redactions of Origen and Lucian, is accepted as a part of the 'proto-text' not only because it exists in the uncial codices used as base manuscripts, but also because it is attested possibly in the Hebrew text from Qumran (second half of the first century B.C.)[24]. These peculiarities of the structure of the oldest Slavonic translation do not infringe its integral poetic form. Bearing in mind the composition of the text of Ben Sira in the Bulgarian

[21] Ziegler, "Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach", pp. 49–75; Gilbert, "Siracide", col. 1409.

[22] Ziegler, "Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach", pp. 128–130, 145.

[23] See already: P.C. Beenjes, *The book of Ben Sira in Hebrew. A Text Edition of All Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and a Synopsis of All Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts* (Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, 68; Leiden– New York–Köln, 1997), pp. 181, 182; "The Wisdom of Ben Sira", pp. 174, 235, 237, 268, 273; see also: www.bensira.org/:Index of passages.

[24] "The Wisdom of Ben Sira", p. 53.

manuscript, one finds that it is extremely close to the body of the oldest Greek text, and not to Lucian's redaction, and that as a rule it deploys verses consisting of two cola, which is characteristic also of the structure of the oldest Greek text as well as of the Hebrew text.

This finding inevitably leads to the question whether this means that Methodius' translation was made on the basis of the earliest Greek text GI or even on the basis of very old manuscripts from the fourth or fifth centuries, which would mean that it was very close also to the original Hebrew text. If that were so, the value of this translation for our knowledge of the early textual history of the Book of Ben Sira would grow considerably and its study inevitably would excite the interest not only of Slavists but of scholars in other disciplines. I am unable to answer this question. This is due to the enormous Greek tradition, which according to Ziegler, is very 'complicated'[25], and which one cannot study *de visu* in order to seek in it a manuscript that is close to the oldest Slavonic translation. I also do not think that this question will find its answer in the foreseeable future. For the time being one can say with certainty that the original of the translation did not belong to Lucian's redaction of the LXX, which is usually accepted categorically to be the one used by Cyril and Methodius[26].

In conclusion I must recall the words of Ziegler with which he begins his article dedicated to the original readings of the book and the critical edition prepared by him: 'Among all the books of the Septuagint Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) puts before textual critics the largest number of puzzles and the most difficult ones'[27]. In my view these words are also fully valid in application to the textual history of Methodius' translation. For a long time yet it will remain a puzzle and we can only hope that in the future more solutions concerning separate parts of it will emerge.

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[25] Ziegler, "Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach", p. 70.

[26] See e.g.: Б. Пиперов, "Презвитер Лукиан, неговата рецензия на библейския текст и преводът на св. св. Кирил и Методий", in *Годишник на Духовната академия „Св. Климент Охридски"* XVIII (XLIV), 1968–1969. София, 1971, pp. 281–298.

[27] Ziegler, "Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach", p. 5; J. Ziegler, "Ürsprüngliche Lesarten im griechischen Sirach", in: *Studi e testi* 231 (Mélange Eugène Tisserant, v.1; Città del Vaticano, 1964), p. 461. Other editions in: *Sylloge. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Septuaginta* (MSU 10; Göttingen, 1971), p. 634; S. Jellicoe (ed.) *Studies in Septuagint: Origins, Recensions, and Interpretations* (New York, 1974), p. 470.

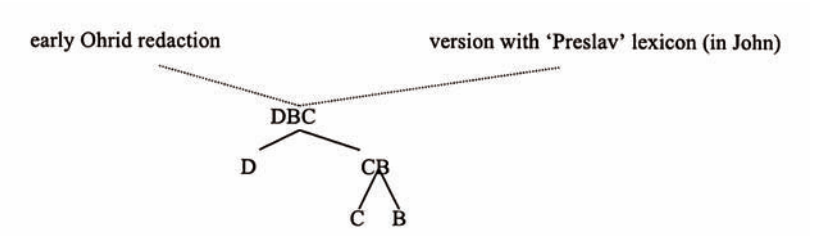
ABBREVIATIONS

BZAW – Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alltestamentliche Wissenschaft
BETL – Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
RCT – Revista Catalana de Teologia
STDJ – Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah

DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF THE DOBREJŠO GOSPEL'S BOOK OF MATTHEW

Cynthia M. Vakareliyska

This paper offers a preliminary list of distinguishing features for the version of Matthew in the Dobrejšo Gospel (D), a liturgical tetraevangelion from western Bulgaria datable most likely to the thirteenth century and reflecting an early Ohrid tradition.[1] Together D and the fourteenth-century Curzon Gospel (C) and Banica Gospel (B),[2] which are also liturgical tetraevangelia from western Bulgaria, comprise the only family of closely related Bulgarian gospel manuscripts identified so far. The following is a crude stemma of the relationships among D, B, and C, their hypothetical shared ancestor (DBC), and the hypothetical later shared antigraph for C and B (CB):



While all three manuscripts reflect the DBC source for Mark, Luke, and John, none of the three manuscripts contains the complete DBC version of Matthew. This circumstance makes identification of D's distinguishing features in Matthew highly problematic. B's entire Matthew version must be disregarded, as B substitutes a textual

[1] Issues involved in the classification of D as western Bulgarian vs. Macedonian are discussed in Vakareliyska 2010. For distinguishing features of D's version of Mark, Luke, and John, see Vakareliyska (2011).

[2] This preliminary corpus, which was used for comparison with C in Vakareliyska 2008, is currently being augmented with manuscripts from the South and East Slavonic long lectionary traditions in preparation of an annotated edition of D.

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version for this Gospel book that differs considerably both from the DBC version of Matthew, as witnessed in D and C, and from the DBC version of the other three Gospels. C preserves the DBC version from the lection beginning at Mt 15:12 to the end of Matthew, but it contains a different version for the first half of Matthew that corresponds to some extent to the Serbian long lectionaries (see Vakareliyska 2008, vol. 2: ch. 5). Since D contains the original DBC version throughout Matthew, D's distinguishing features – as determined through comparison with the canonical OCS gospels and other non-DBC versions of Matthew – are the only known witness to the DBC version of the first half of Matthew. D's extant text, however, begins only at chapter 10, leaving no witness for the DBC version of Matthew chapters one to nine inclusive.

This paper looks first at the second half of D's version of Matthew (the lections from Mt 15:2 to 28:20), which is shared by C, and then at the first half, focusing on unusual features that distinguish D's version of Matthew in a significant way both from C (in the second half of Matthew) and from the following corpus of gospels: Codex Zographensis (Z), Codex Marianus (M), Codex Assemanianus (A), Vatican Palimpsest Gospel (V), Savvina Kniga (S), Ostromir Gospel (O), Vukan Gospel (Vk), Vraca Gospel (Vr), Kohno Gospel (K), Plovdiv Gospel (P), Hilandar Gospel (H).[3]

I. MATTHEW 15:2–28:20

In this portion of Matthew, both C and D consistently display characteristics of the DBC tradition that occur in all three manuscripts throughout Mark, Luke, and John, including specific lexical variants as well as the stylistic convention of avoiding *abьe*, *ubo*, and *i bystъ* and omitting *jako* after most verbs of speaking.[4] Only two distinctive orthographic-level features, however, are shared by C and D in this portion:

[3] This preliminary corpus, which was used for comparison with C in Vakareliyska 2008, is currently being augmented with manuscripts from the South and East Slavonic long lectionary traditions in preparation of an annotated edition of D.

[4] For a complete list of these, see Vakareliyska 2008 vol. 2: ch. 5.

Mt 21:33 zMA$_{1,2}$VOVk$_{1,2}$KB[5] оплотомъ, CP плотомь] *D*Vr[6] оплетомь (note also Mk 12:1 ZMVkBH оплотомь, C плотомь] D wплетомь)

Mt 27:58 CVr сьи, ZMAVOVkH$_2$ сь] *D* тои (orthographically reflecting the lowering of the strong back jer to [o]; cf. B here и, C and B elsewhere тьи)

On the morphological level, in this part of Matthew as elsewhere, D alone tends to replace the Old Church Slavonic prepositions *izъ* and *sъ* (+genitive) with the Bulgarism *otъ*, and it uses the newer past active participle form in *-ivъ* more often than C does:

Mt 15:18 CZMVkBH изъ] D w̃; and Mt 27:51 ZMB сь] *D* w̃

Mt 28:2 CZMB пристѧпль] *D* пристѫпивь

Mt 26:60 C пристѧпльшимь, ZMB -шемъ] *D* -пившимъ, C пристѧпльша, ZMB -пьша] *D* -пивьша

Of course, where D and C differ in a particular textual location, it is not necessarily D's version that departs from the shared DBC tradition, even in instances where C's variant reflects the majority tradition in the text corpus used here. In most cases, however, it is not possible to determine which of the two manuscripts contains the DBC version, in the absence of a known extant third DBC-tradition Matthew version that is related equally closely to D and C.

D has only three lexical peculiarities in this part of Matthew: *proxodъ* for the Graecism *afedronъ*; the Graecism *petrъ*, shared with A, for *kamę*; and *zaklanъ* for *iskolenъ* (the prefix *za-* occurs in C too, and thus probably stems from the DBC antigraph):

Mt 15:17 MVkB афедрономъ, Z афредомь] D проходомь

[5] Subscript numerals refer to lections that are reproduced more than once in a lectionary gospel, in the order in which they appear in the manuscript. The symbol 'z' denotes the second Z scribe.

[6] Italicized *.D* represents text from the Belgrade portion of D that was lost in World War Two and is preserved in Conev's 1906 edition

Mt 16:18 ZMVOVkCB loc. камене] A*D* петрѣ

Mt 22:4 *D* закланa] Vr заклати, C заколена, zMAOKBH исколена (B -ни)

In two verses, D's choice between lexical doublets differs from C's:

Mt 24:36 ZMA$_{1,2}$S$_2$O$_1$Vk$_2$VrK$_{1,2}$P$_{1,2}$CBH годинѣ] *D*S$_1$O$_2$Vk$_1$ ѓ҃ѣ

Mt 28:8 C вельіеѧ, ZMASK велиѣ, B велиѫ] *D*OVkVr великоѫ

D has seven syntactic idiosyncracies in this half of Matthew, consisting of six word order variants and, at Mt 27:22, the substitution of a reflexive construction for a passive:

Mt 21:12 CzMBH продаѫщихь голѧби, Vk коупоующихь…] *D* голѫби продаѫщихь

Mt 23:18 CzMVk$_{1,2}$BH$_{1,2}$ иже ѥсть врьхоу его] *D* его иже ѥсть врьхоу

Mt 26:13 C (ѥ|ѵ҃е.) вь семь мирѣ, ZMASO$_{1,2}$Vk$_{1,2}$VrKB се вѣ вьсемь мирѣ] *D* цр҃ствиа вь мирѣ

Mt 26:18 ZMSOVkVrB вѣ градѣ кѣ ѣтероу (S нѣкомоу, O ѥдиномоу),
CA вь гр̂а кь дьіѣ] *D*P кь д̂инѣ (P ѥтероу) вѣ градѣ

Mt 26:58 CZMASVOVk$_2$VrKB идѣше по немь (K сь нимь) изьдалеѵе (S$_2$ Ø)] H$_{1,2}$ по немь идѣше изьдалеѵе (H$_2$ Ø), Vk$_1$ издалеѵе по немь идѣше; *D*P идѣше далеѵе (P іздалеѵе) по немь

Mt 27:22 CZMASOVkVrBH (да) пропѧть/распѧть бадеть] KH$_3$ пропни и, *D* пропнет сѧ

Mt 27:54 ZMOK$_2$CH$_1$ бж҃и сн҃ь сь (C сьи, S Ø) бѣ] B сеи̇ бѣ сн҃ь бж҃еи̇, P сн҃ь б҃еи бы҃ сьи̇, *D*AVk$_{1,2}$Vr$_{1,2}$ P$_{2,3}$ сн҃ь бж҃ии Ø бѣ

Of these, in Mt 26:18, although its word order differs, D shares with both C and A the form дінѣ, which looks at first glance like a garbling of *edinu*, in place of the majority variant *jeteru*. In fact, this form originally was part of the Greek phrase πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα, which must have been left untranslated in the DBC source for Matthew.

D has 27 unique textual features in this half of Matthew, including numerous omissions and garblings of standard text:

Mt 15:20 CZMVkBH ѣсти] D +хлебь

CZMVkBH скврьнить (Z -нѧтъ)] D wскврънить то

Mt 15:26 CZMVkBH повръцѣи] D дати

Mt 15:27 CZMSVkVrKP$_1$BH w̃ трапезы г̃д̃еи своихь] P$_2$ г̃ѣ с̃вои w̃ трапезы, D г̃на своего с трапезы

Mt 15:29 CZMB при мори галилеистѣмь] VkH вь приморие галилѣиско, D кь морю галилеискомѣ

CZMVkBH тоу] D тамо

Mt 15:31 ZMVkCBH и слѣпы видѧшта (B зрѧщѧ)] D om.

Mt 16:28 MC съмрѣти вѣкоусити, zVkB вѣкоусити съмрѣти] *D* съмрѣти видѣти ни же вѣкоусити еже рекохь

Mt 17:20 CVkVrKPB пⷭ̃иди, M прѣди, S прѣстѫпи] D двигни сѧ и+

Mt 17: 24 COVkH и рекошѧ, zMAVrPB ι (B Ø) рѣшѧ] *D* om.

Mt 18:27 CzMVSOVkVrKPB и дльгь w̃поусти (S w̃дастъ) немоу, P w̃поу́сти́ дльгы е́моу́] D om.

Mt 19:6 CzMAVVkVrOBH разлоучѣить, SP разлѫчитъ] *D* разрѫчѣты

Mt 21:13 CzMVkBH храмь млт̃вѣ] *D* om.

Mt 21:21 zMVk$_{1,2}$BH$_{1,2,3}$ вѣрѫ, C вѣры] D вѣрѫ бж̃ѫ

CzMVk$_{1,2}$BH$_{1,2}$ створите] D оустворите

Mt 21:31 CzMB (вь) цр҃ствие (B цр҃во) бж҃ие, $Vk_{1,2}H_{1,2}$ цр҃ьстви бж҃и] *D* цр҃кви бжии

Mt 22:46 zMASVO$k_{1,2}$VrKCB$H_{1,2}$ ни смѣ къто (B Ø, SC никтоже) отъ дьне того въпросити его (Vr емоу)] *D* ØØ никтоже т҃ того дане въпроси

Mt 23:5 CzMAO$Vk_{1,2}$VrKB$H_{1,2}$ хранилища] *D* оуста

Mt 24:51 CzMASO$Vk_{1,2}$VrKPBH и часть него съ покрыѣи (OVk_2H лицемѣры, Z et al. упокритъı) положить] *D* om.

CzMASO$Vk_{1,2}$VrKPBH (скрежеть) зѧбомь] *D* Ø

Mt 25:10 CZMASVOVk$Vr_{1,2}K_{1,2}P_{1,2}$BH затворени биша] *D* затворишѫ

Mt 26:13 ZMAO$Vk_{1,2}$VrKCB (сътвори) си] *D*SP сътвори Ø

Mt 26:57 CZM$A_{1,2}S_{1,2}O_{1,2}Vk_{1,2}Vr_{1,2}BH_{1,2}$ и старци] *D* om.

Mt 27:15 C (т҃поу | цати) ѥдиного народоу свазнѣ; BO народ҃ ѥ҆диного свѧзнѣ, A ѐдиного сьвазынѣ народоу, ZM Ø народоу • сьвазыѣ, *D* единого Ø свазана

Mt 27:31 CZMS$Vk_{1,2}Vr_{1,2}KPBH_{1,2}$ с него хламида· и wблѣкоша и] *D* om.

Mt 27:34 CZAS$VO_{1,2}Vk_{1,2}Vr_{1,2}KPBH_{2,3}$ пити wц҃еть, MSH_1 оцътъ пити] *D* Ø оцеть

Mt 27:37 CZMAS$O_{1,2}Vk_{1,2}Vr_{1,2}KPBH_{1,2,3}$ врьхоу глави (KH_3 надъ главоѫ) него] *D* +на кръстѣ

Mt 27:41 CZMAS$O_{1,2}Vk_{1,2}Vr_2KPH_{1,2,3}$ и фарисеи гл҃ахѫ] B гл҃ахѫ и фарїсеи҆е, Vr_1 om., *D* ØØ гл҆це

Mt 27:54 CZMAS$O_{1,2}Vk_{1,2}Vr_{1,2}K_{1,2}PH_{1,2,3}$ трась и (PB Ø) бившаѧ (Vk_2Vr_1B бывшии, P бы҃вш҃ааго] S трѫсъ ØØ, *D* ØØ бывшаѧ

Mt 27:65 CZMASO$_{1,2}$Vk$_{1,2}$Vr$_{1,2}$K$_{1,2}$PH оутвръдите] *D* +гробь

Mt 28:4 CZSOB страсоша сѧ, MAKPH сътрасѧ сѧ, Vr сьстрашишѫ си] *D* оумрътвиша сѧ

Another distinguishing feature of D, both throughout Matthew and elsewhere, is the scribe's practice of writing lectionary-type incipit formulae as part of the regular text, in black ink, following the coloured-ink liturgical instructions. This is a different practice from that of C and B, which, like most liturgical tetraevangelia, include their incipit formulae in red ink, in the rubrics:[7]

Mt 15:32 CZMB Іс҃ь же призва | вь] D Въ врѣма ѡ҃но призва ис҃ь

Mt 16:1 CZMB Пристапльше (ZMB +і)] Въ врѣма ѡ҃но пристѫпишѫ

Mt 16:20 CzMB Тогѣ҃а заповѣдѣ оученикомь своимь (C + і҃сь)] *D*VkH Въ врѣма ѡ҃но заповѣдѣ ис҃ь оученикомь своимь

Mt 21:43 CzMVk$_2$BH$_2$ Сего ради] *D*Vk$_1$H$_1$ Реѥ г҃ь пришедшимь к немоу (Vk$_1$ +июдеѣмь)

Mt 25:1 CZMA$_2$SOVk$_2$Vr$_2$K$_2$P$_{2,3,4}$B Тогѣ҃а] *D* Р҃е г҃ь +; A$_1$VVk$_1$Vr$_1$K$_1$P$_{1,5}$H Реѥ г҃ъ притъ҃чое сиѥ

II. MATTHEW 10:27–15:11

Unsurprisingly, D's first half of Matthew contains many more departures from C, which substitutes a different textual version for this portion. Evidence that D's version here reflects the DBC version in this part of Matthew includes, most notably, its characteristic DBC lexicon variants and the practice of omitting *abьe*, *ubo*, *i bystъ*, and *jako* after verbs of speaking are present here:[8]

[7] B's liturgical rubrics for Matthew have been inserted later into the margins, indicating that B's immediate antigraph for Matthew stems from a continuous tetraevangelion and not a liturgical evangelion.

[8] Also, in Mt 12: 12, D alone inserts the complementizer *to* before the main clause, a characteristic DBC feature throughout Mark, Luke and John.

Mt 10:31, 32 D omits оубо; Mt 11:21 ZMVk оубо] DCBH и҆бо

Mt 13:5 ZMVkHB абье] DC om.

Mt 14:27 ZMAVkVгPB абие] S и, DC тогда

Mt 13:11, 14:26 Z et al. ѣко] DC om.

Mt 13:53 ZMAOVгKV И бъıстъ] D И Ø, C om. (also Mt 11:01)

C's anomalous version of this half of Matthew also follows the DBC-associated convention of dropping *abье*, *ubo*, *i bystъ*, and *jako*. This correspondence suggests that the scriptorium where C's scribe worked used the DBC version as its 'house style', and that whoever first conjoined the two halves of Matthew in C's prehistory applied this convention to the first half of Matthew in order to make the portion copied from a substitute non-DBC antigraph conform to the 'house rules'. That the DBC version was the 'house version' at C's scriptorium is supported by the fact that such care was taken in C's Matthew version to use the non-DBC antigraph only up to Mt 15, at which point there is a clear shift to an apograph of the DBC source, instead of continued use of the non-DBC antigraph for the entire Gospel text.

Similarly, on the orthographic level, D's form скрежеть, with е for the etymological weak jer in the stem, and its **tъrt*-formula spelling прось҆фтѫт are also found in the same locations in both the unrelated C and B versions:

Mt 13:42 ZMAOVk$_{1,2}$KH скрьжьтъ] DBC скрежеть

Mt 13:43 ZMAOVk$_{1,2}$H просвьтатъ са] K просвѣтат, DBC прось҆фтѫт

The latter convention also occurs in all three manuscripts at Lu 13:28. The co-occurrence of both these orthographic forms in the three separate versions of the first half of Matthew suggests that these were well-established dialect forms.

D has only two unusual spellings in this half of Matthew that are not found in either C or B: the consonant letter cluster *-zdr-*, and a **tъrt* formula spelling in *vъlnami*. Such unmetathesized, or remetathesized, roots are also found in D's Book of John:

Mt 14:24 ZMAOVkVrCBPH] D вълнами

also Jo 2:19 ZMAVkVrOCB трьми] D тьр҃ъми

Jo 6:53 CBVr пл҃ь, ZMAOVkBH плъти] D пьлти (cf. D 6:56 плькть)

D's only morphological idiosyncracies in this portion of Matthew are the addition of a reflexive clitic to the verb *vъzalkati* (shared by Vk), and the possessive form *irodьja* for the majority variant *irodьjadina* (cf. B's alternate possessive suffix *-ov-*):

Mt 12:3 ZMCBH (възъь҆лка) сѧ] DVk om.

Mt 14:6 ZMVkCH (дьшти) иродиѣдина] B и҃рова, D иродиꙗ

There are seven lexical departures in this portion of D from the majority of texts in the corpus:

Mt 12:1 ZM сквозѣ, CVkB скозѣ, H скрозѣ] D козѣ (also Mk 2:22)

Mt 12:4 ZMVkCH храмъ] DB домь б҃ий

Mt 12:7 ZMC милости] DVkBH м҃ст҃ни

Mt 12:9 C сворьіце, VkH сьворь июдейскъ҃ї] ZMDB съньмище

cf. Mt 13:54 ZMASVk$_{1,2}$VrKPBH$_{1,2}$ съньмиштихъ] DOC сборищихь

Mt 12:20 ZMOVr пръта, SK прьста] C льна; B плета, AD плата

Mt 14:1 ZMVkB тетрааρхъ] C четворовластьць, H четворовластьць, D четворовластьникь

Mt 14:5 ZMBH ѣко] D ꙗкы, Vk Ø (C omitted segment)

On the syntactic level, D contains two misinterpretations of a supine as the non-past third-person singular verb form, each together with another manuscript in the corpus:

Mt 11:10 DB (се а҆зъ послѫ а҆нг҃лъ мои҆)… Ø оу҆готовити (B -ати) пѫть

MZSVkVrH ι (SVkVrH иже) оу҆готовитъ (Z -аеть) пѫть

Mt 11:01	DVk_2	(прѣиде ѿ тѫдъ) оучити. проповѣдати
	$Vk_1BH_{1,2}$	оучити. проповѣдати
	ZMAOVrP	оучитъ. і проповѣдатъ (Vr -даѫть; P -да)
	C	оучѣи. проповѣдаѫ

D also has seven syntactic peculiarities here:

Mt 11:05	D	ꙗ̈же слъ̈шаста и видѣста шедша ӥ възвѣстита ӥ ноу.
	AOVkVrCBH	шедъше възвѣстите иоаноу. ѣже слъишите и видите (слӹшаста и видѣста)
	ZM	шедъше възвѣстите иоаноу
Mt 11:24	D	нежели тебѣ въ день сѫднӹи
	ZMVkCBH	въ день сѫдънъі неже тебѣ
Mt 12:5	D	(ꙗ̀реи) соботъ̈і скврꙗнѫть вь цр̄кви
	ZMVkCBH	вь цър̄кве соботъі скврънать
Mt 12:12	ZMVkCBH	колми лоучеи ѐсть чл̄вкь] D то+
Mt 13:32	D	менше есть въ всѣхь сѣменѣхь
	CZMVkH	мьне ꙗ̂ вьсѣхь сѣмень
Mt 13:33	D	(квасоу) и жена въземши
	ZMVkCBH	иже въземъши (CH приемши) жена
Mt 14:24	D	грѫжаемь (вълнами)
	OVr	погрѫждаа (вльнами)
	C	гроуж̂аа са " "
	ZMASVkBH	вълаѭа са " " (В пѣнами)

On the textual level, distinguishing characteristics of D in this part of Matthew include the usual insertion of incipit formulae into the text in black ink, and, at Mt 12: 14, the construction *sъvětъ prięšę* for *sъvětъ sъtvorišę*, together with the Serbian long lectionaries Vk and H:

DVkH Вѣ врѣма wно съвѣть пр̀иа̀шѫ фарисеи на нь

ZMCB фарисѣи же ишеднъше съвѣтъ сътвориша на нь

There are six garblings and one omission of standard text:

Mt 11:11	D	въ рождены̀ихъ женахъ
	ZMASOVkVrH	" " женами
	C	вь рожѐни женстѣмь
Mt 11:16	D	възг̑лѫ|xxxxxxxxxxxx|тъ[9] ть. дрѵгомь своѝмь Ø Ø
	ZMVkCB	възглашаѭтъ Ø дроугомъ своимъ и гл̑ѫтъ
	H	ѝ прїглашаю̀ще мимоходещеѥ
Mt 11:25	D	ѩ̈виль е младенцемь
	ZMVkCBH	и ѣвилъ ѣ еси младеньцемъ
Mt 13:14	D	(слышѫщеи) ØØØ(не разоумѣѭть)
	CZMVkBH	не слышать (C +и)
Mt 14:5	ZMVkCBH	ı хота и оубити] D om.
Mt 14:6	D	(оугоди) народоу
	ZMVkCBH	ıродоу (M иеродови)

D has ten other distinguishing textual features in this portion of Mathew:

Mt 10:28	D	не оубоите са ѿ оубиваѫщих вӹ тѣломь
	CZMVkKBH	не о̀убойте са ѿ (ZMB Ø) оу̀бива̀ѭщихь Ø тѣло
Mt 10:33	DS	(пр̑дь wц̑емъ) моѝмь нб̑снӹимъ
	MZAOVk$_{1,2}$VrCBH	иже естъ на нб̑сѣхъ
Mt 11:2	DVrC	посла два оу̀ченика своѩ̈
	VkH	пославь ѿ оученикъ своихь
	ZMOB	пославь оученикы своими (B своѫ)
Mt 11:12	D	цр̑ствиѥ бж̑ие
	OVr	цр̑ствие нб̑сьноѭе

[9] The homoeoteleuton results from a decorative rubric line consisting of x's that interrupts the verb. Most likely it was the D scribe who originated this error.

CZASVkBH цр҃во нб҃сьноѥ (ZS нбскоѥ)
VM цр҃ствии нбскоѥ (M's second word is illegible)
Mt 11:18 DVkCBH ни " ад҃ѣ̈и ни п҃ѫ
ZM не пиѭ ни ѣды
Mt 11:23 D (Ζане а̀ще) и҃ѭ сиⷧӹ бы
ZMVkCBH въ содомѣхъ бѫ силъı
Mt 12:12 D не и̇|мет ли ѐ и̇ вьꙁдвигнеть е. то колми лоучеи̇ ѐсть чл҃вкь
ZMVkCBH не изъметъ ли его. ØØØ колми оубо
кольми/паче
Mt 13:33 DVk скры вь мѫчниихь сѣтехъ трехъ (Vk Ø)
H " " трехь ситѣх' моукы
ZMC " " мѫцѣ три сатъ
B рѫцѣ три ситнѣ сыкры
Mt 13:39 CZMAOVk$_{1,2}$KBH а҃нг҃ли] D +бжи
Mt 13:46 DSK (продасть) все имѣние свое
ZMSCP " " Ø
AOVkVrBH " Ø Ø

and: MAOVkVrCBKPH елико/еже имѣаше] DZS om.

Five of D's unusual textual features are shared with C alone among the manuscripts in the corpus:

Mt 12:14 D како да и̇ погꙁбатⷧ̈
C како да погоубѣть и
ZMVkH како Ø и погоубѫтъ
B како Ø и̇ погꙁбити
Mt 13:15 D wбаче егда (когда оуꙁрѫть)
C wба ѥда
MZVkH Ø ѥда (Z егда) (B's folio is missing)

and DC исцѣлѣѭть Ø
ZMVkH ι̇ исцѣ̀лѭ ѧ

Mt 13:29	DC	(вьстрьгнете) Ø с нимь и (C Ø) пшеницѫ
	ZMVk$_1$H	коупъно съ нїимь (H нїми)...
	AOK	с ними и...
	B	и̇ с нимь пшеницѫ кѵпно
	Vk$_2$	коупъно и пшеницѫ сь нимь
Mt 15:5	DC	(колиѭ пользъваль сѧ иеси) вы же не чтете
	VkH	и не почьте
	ZM	іже не почьтетъ
	B	и̇же не почетосте

Of particular interest are the two correspondences in D and C's unrelated versions of Mt 13:15, above. Here, immediately before *egda kogda uzrǫtъ*, D inserts *obače* and C inserts *oba*, and both manuscripts substitute the non-past third-person plural form *iscelějǫtъ* for first-person plural *iscelǫ ję*.

III. Conclusion

Albeit modest in number, D's idiosyncracies in Matthew serve as criteria not only for identifying the features that distinguish D from its close relatives C and B, but also potentially for determining whether any DBC-tradition gospel manuscripts that may be identified in the future belong to D's branch of that tradition, the CB branch, or possibly even a third branch as yet undiscovered. Because so many medieval Slavic manuscripts were compiled by conjoining two or more antigraphs, comparison of related manuscripts on the microlevel, as illustrated in this paper, is critical for eventually reconstructing, to the extent possible, the genealogical tree of later medieval Slavic gospel manuscripts and their traditions.

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THE BANICA, DOBREJŠO AND CURZON GOSPELS IN LIGHT OF THE GREEK TEXT

Alberto Alberti

1. THE MÜNSTER *CORPUS*: INTRODUCTION

In a study co-written with M. Garzaniti (Алберти, Гардзанити, forthcoming[1]) and dedicated to the textual analysis of the Gospel of Ivan Aleksandăr (London – Brit.Lib.Add.39627), we have made use of a corpus of 467 textual passages that was created for the analysis of the Greek text of the Gospels by the Münster *Institut für Neutestamentliche Forschung*[2] in order to choose the witnesses for the *Editio Critica Maior* of the New Testament (see Aland et al. 1998, I: 27*).

All the variants for each of passages present in the Greek tetraevangelion manuscripts are collected in a series of weighty tomes (Aland et al. 1998, 1999a, 1999b, 2005). The total number of manuscripts is 1,984 for the Synoptic Gospels (see Aland et al. 1998: 17*) and 1,987 for the Gospel of John (see Aland et al. 2005, I: 13*)[3].

In Alberti, Garzaniti (Алберти, Гардзанити, forthcoming), which is referred to here for methodological questions (with reference to which see also Гардзанити, Алберти 2007), and for a detailed description of the individual textual variants, the 467 test passages have been compared with a corpus of 12 Slavonic manuscripts, which we deem sufficient to define the main features of the Gospel of Ivan Aleksandăr. For the present study, whose purpose includes testing the method we used earlier, the Slavonic corpus has been increased to 27 witnesses (see the list of abbreviations below)[4] and now provides us

[1] For a short version of this study see Alberti, Garzaniti 2009.

[2] See www.uni-muenster.de/NTTextforschung/

[3] Unfortunately, it should be noted that the methodology developed in Münster, in spite of its inestimable value, is still unknown to most of the scientific community: "although it has been so far largely ignored, the series [Aland et al. 1998, ecc.] provides a unique tool for ascertaining information about the text of every manuscript" (Parker 2008: 51).

[4] The collation is based on the following editions: Желязкова, Миронова 1997 (**Arch**); Vajs, Kurz 1955 (**As**); Дограмаджиева, Райков 1981 (**Ban**); Lehfeldt 1989

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with a representative picture of the tradition in all its various forms, except the Glagolitic Missal, which I shall analyse in a separate study. It is not without a certain satisfaction, having collected 10,792 textual variants, more than half of which are based on a reproduction of manuscripts themselves, that I can already state that with the exception of some details, the picture that emerges from the analysis totally confirms the results of the previous research. With reference to the quantity of the Byzantine or Majority text contained in the corpus, the 27 Slavonic texts can be organized as follows:

	Test Passages	Byzantine and Majority Text		Standard Text		Special Variants		Uncertain Variants	
Čud	466	387	**83%**	15	**3%**	22	**5%**	42	**9%**
Trg	467	371	**79%**	18	**4%**	32	**7%**	46	**10%**
TS66	465	361	**78%**	20	**4%**	40	**9%**	44	**9%**
GB	460	359	**78%**	19	**4%**	40	**9%**	42	**9%**
Iak	466	365	**78%**	20	**4%**	37	**8%**	44	**9%**
NR	467	366	**78%**	18	**4%**	39	**8%**	44	**9%**
Tert	463	338	**73%**	30	**6%**	50	**11%**	45	**10%**
Mar	451	303	**67%**	41	**9%**	61	**14%**	46	**10%**
IoAl	467	308	**66%**	34	**7%**	76	**16%**	49	**10%**
Arch	203	131	**65%**	16	**8%**	34	**17%**	22	**11%**
Karp	449	286	**64%**	38	**8%**	71	**16%**	54	**12%**
OE	283	182	**64%**	21	**7%**	47	**17%**	33	**12%**
Zogr	428	275	**64%**	42	**10%**	58	**14%**	53	**12%**
Nik	458	287	**63%**	49	**11%**	76	**17%**	46	**10%**
Dobr	361	223	**62%**	30	**8%**	64	**18%**	44	**12%**
Hval	467	283	**61%**	41	**9%**	90	**19%**	53	**11%**
Ven	467	285	**61%**	40	**9%**	94	**20%**	48	**10%**

(**Čud**); Vakareliyska 2008 (**Curz**); Велчева 1975 (**Dobr**); Цонев 1906 (**Dobš**); Библия 1992 (**GB**); Kuna et al. 1986 (**Hval**); Десподова et al. 1995 (**Karp**); Jagić 1883 (**Mar**); Остромирово евангелие 1988 (**OE**); Kałużniacki 1888 (**Put**); Щепкин 1903 (**Sav**); Pelusi 1991 (**Ven**); Цонев 1914 (**Vrač**); Врана 1967 (**Vuk**); Jagić 1879 (**Zogr**). For **Mir** (ed. Родић, Јовановић 1986) and **Nik** (ed. Даничић 1864) see the reproduction of the manuscripts of the website of the National Library of Belgrade (http://digital.nbs.bg.ac.yu/scr/rukopisi.php); for **TS5**, **TS66** and **NR** see the reproducetion on the website of The Holy Trinity-St. Sergius Lavra (http://www.stsl.ru/manuscripts/index.php); **Iak** and **Tert** have been examined on microfilm: for Tert thanks are due to M.A. Johnson of the Hilandar Research Library (Ohio), for Iak E. Musakova of the Library 'Kiril i Metodij' in Sofia. The corpus of 27 witnesses also includes the first printed tetraevangelion, i.e. the Târgovişte Gospel (**Trg**), whose reproduction can be examined in every detail on the website of the *Otkrytaja Russkaja Èlektronnaja Biblioteka* (http://orel.rsl.ru/projects/1_1.html; see also the recent anastatic edition, with an introduction by Miklas 1999).

	Test Passages	Byzantine and Majority Text		Standard Text		Special Variants		Uncertain Variants	
As	284	171	**60%**	29	**10%**	49	**17%**	35	**12%**
Sav	129	78	**60%**	14	**11%**	23	**18%**	14	**11%**
Mir	396	237	**60%**	34	**9%**	71	**18%**	54	**14%**
Vuk	426	254	**60%**	40	**9%**	76	**18%**	56	**13%**
Vrač	257	148	**58%**	22	**9%**	49	**19%**	38	**15%**
Curz	448	259	**58%**	45	**10%**	88	**20%**	56	**13%**
Ban	462	267	**58%**	46	**10%**	98	**21%**	51	**11%**
Put	289	165	**57%**	31	**11%**	60	**21%**	33	**11%**
Dobš	373	200	**54%**	34	**9%**	83	**22%**	56	**15%**
TS5	440	234	**53%**	37	**8%**	88	**20%**	81	**18%**
Average percentage			**65%**		**8%**		**15%**		**11%**

As can be noted, the three groups that emerge from the collation correspond almost wholly to the three great textual types known to New Testament philology. It comes as no surprise to find Čud and the later versions (i.e. the third and the fourth redaction of Voskresenskij) at the top of the table, with the average percentage of the Byzantine (or Majority) text, Standard and special variants being respectively 78%–4%–8%. Almost identical percentages to the average 63%–9%–17%, can be recorded in the ancient text (or the first redaction of Voskresenskij). Instead the so-called "Preslav text" (which I prefer to continue to call "the second redaction") can be defined as the textual type with the least incidence of the Byzantine text 56%–9%–20%. To sum up, the three versions can be defined on the basis of the recorded percentage of the Byzantine or Majority text: over 70% (recent versions), under 60% (second redaction), between 60% and 70% (ancient text). It is, however, noteworthy that while the gap between the ancient text and the more recent versions is absolutely clear (from 67% of Mar to 73% of Tert), the boundary between the first and the second redaction is much more blurred. There exists a "grey area" represented by the Old Slavonic lectionary (As Sav) and by the Serbian one (Mir Vuk) that can be interpreted as an extreme form of one or other text typology. In this study, in which I predominantly refer to the tradi-

tional classification, I have chosen to draw the line under 60%, but it is clear that this is an arbitrary decision.

However, the presence of this "grey area" in no way detracts from the validity of the model: it is quite an important result, in that on one hand it provides a practical tool for a classification of the manuscripts that considers the whole text of the Gospels (except the second half of John) and not a more or less extensive fragment. On the other hand, it makes it finally possible to base the classification on criteria that are exclusively textual. This is especially true for the "Preslav text", concerning which there have been repeated complaints as to the definition which was exclusively based on the lexis. In the recent edition of the Curzon Gospel, which I shall consider later on, C. Vakareliyska (2008) complains that "there are no published studies in the literature that identify textual as opposed to lexical features of the original late ninth-early tenth-century Preslav redaction of the Gospels" (Vakareliyska 2008, II: 6, see n. 4), adding further on: "if it indeed existed" (II: 77). Now, the textual features are precisely as follows: a drastic reduction of the Byzantine variants to the advantage not only of the special variants (20% as opposed to 17% of the ancient text) but also of the doubtful cases (14% as opposed to 12%), which include for the most part variants for which there is no exact Greek counterpart and which can reflect a) the influx of lost Greek readings, b) a lesser faithfulness to the Greek text, c) the progressive corruption of the Slavonic text, or d) the influence of Greek lectionaries, whose variants are not mentioned in the Münster corpus.

I would like to add that the scepticism with which Vakareliyska looks at the "Preslav text" is fully justified: apart from the nature of the lexical variants which are linked to this textual typology (and which often appear beside the respective archaisms in the Old Slavonic manuscripts), the gradual infiltration of special variants of the Greek text creates a picture that is far from coherent. Also the study provided in the St. Petersburg edition of the Gospel of Matthew, which, however, classifies the manuscripts on the basis of a short fragment of the text (Mt 14:14–14:34), shows that the "coefficient of closeness" (*koèfficient blizosti*, Миронова 2005: 166) among the witnesses of the "Preslav group" is lower than that of the other redactions (within the central witnesses, the so-called "core", the "Preslav group" records 88% as opposed to 97% of the liturgical tetra and of the ancient text, 95% of later versions and 94% of the Čud group). Concerning our corpus, it should be remembered that if two manu-

scripts share the same percentage, this does not mean that variants can be found in the same locations. Besides, unlike the Standard text and, to a lesser degree, the Byzantine text, the special variants, which, as has already been noted, represent the main features of the second-redaction manuscripts, are by definition numerous and different one from another. In such cases, even if the variants occur in the same passages, they are not always the same variants. An example of the latter can be seen in the passage of Jn 7:12: here most of the Slavic tradition, as well as the various second redaction manuscripts, follows a special variant of the Greek text which is very common and present in 105 manuscripts (мъногъ бѣ ѡ нємь, πολυς ην περι αυτου, 4, Aland et al. 2005: 89)[5]. Only Čud agrees with the Byzantine text (мъногъ ѡ нємь бѣ, πολυς περι αυτου ην, 1), whereas the Bosnian tradition, which uses the aorist (the бы form in Nik and Ven is ambiguous, but see Hval, мъногъ бысть ѡ нємь), follows another special variant (πολυς εγενετο περι αυτου, 7), the lectionaries As Mir Vrač another (бѣ мъногъ ѡ нємь, ην πολυς περι αυτου, 7), Karp skips мъногъ, as in the Beza manuscript (ην περι αυτου, 10), while Tert skips ѡ нємь, as in 5 minuscule manuscripts (πολυς ην, 12). Finally, the late lectionary TS5 reverses the word order of the sentence in accordance with the text of three minuscule manuscripts (πολυς ην {εν τοις οχλοις} περι αυτου, 6). The Slavic texts do not reflect the Standard text in any way (περι αυτου ην πολυς, 2). As can be noted, in such cases, the classification of the manuscripts under the heading "special variants" points to the textual typology but does not refer directly to any genealogical link among the manuscripts themselves, which should be considered case by case.

2. THE MÜNSTER CORPUS: APPLICATIONS

Coming back to the above-mentioned groups, I would like to note that from the textual point of view, Voskresenskij's decision to insert Arch amongst the witnesses of the 'first version', is more than justified (A3). Alekseev's decision, which considers Arch as one of the central witnesses of the 'Preslav text', seems to be influenced by the lexicon. It is noteworthy that Mironova's research, on the strength of which the classification of the manuscripts has been produced for the Gospel of

[5] Greek variant readings are quoted without diacritics, following the usage in New Testament textual criticism.

Matthew, does not draw any distinction between lexical and textual variants, nor does it examine the Greek text (see Миронова 2005). The same can be said for Tert, which in the version of the Gospel of John edited by Alekseev appears as a witness of the IoAl group (this group, however, disappears in the edition of the Gospel of Matthew).

I have pointed out elsewhere the significant lexical affinity between Tert and IoAl (Алберти, forthcoming). From the textual point of view, however, the table above shows that in spite of the undoubted similarities (for which see Алберти, Гардзанити, forthcoming), the two manuscripts prove to be quite different. In fact, while IoAl in general has a very early typology of text which often corresponds to OE, Tert, which is probably the most interesting manuscript I have ever studied, is definitely closer to the Byzantine text: it comes before the Athonite versions and is noticeably independent from them. It could be stated without much exaggeration that Tert represents for the Balkan area what the Čudovskij New Testament represents for the East Slavic tradition. Even if Tert does not introduce such extreme alterations to the traditional version as Čud does, both types of texts are doomed to failure in the later tradition. With regard to Tert, this is due mainly to its extreme literalism (already noted by Slavova [1990: 81]), which not infrequently imposes a forced similarity with the Greek text onto the Slavic syntax (but, judging by the Münster corpus, this does not happen in the Gospel of John, where there is greater similarity to IoAl (see Алберти, Гардзанити, forthcoming). See the following examples:

Mt 1:25 πρωτοτοκον (1, Aland et al. 1999a: 4): пръворо҂дьнаго (Tert) ~ пръвънъць / пръвънъца (the rest of the tradition); Mt 8:10 ουδε εν τω ισραηλ τοσαυτην πιστιν ευρον (1, Aland et al. 1999a: 24): нн въ нѯдрънлн тълнкѫ вѣрѫ обрѣтохъ (Tert, accusative case, despite the negation) ~ тълнкы вѣры / тълнко вѣры (the rest of the tradition)[6]; Mt 10:3 λεββαιος (1, Aland et al. 1999a: 29): левеос (Tert) ~ келевен / келеввен / клевен / клевр҂ън (< και λεββαιος!, the rest of the tradition)[7]; Mt 14:9 δια τους ορκους (1 e 2, Aland et al. 1999a: 44): ра҂дн клѧтвы (Tert) ~ клѧтвы же ра҂дн / клѧтвы ра҂дн / клѧтвы ѩже ра҂дн (the rest

[6] The form тълнкѫ вѣрѫ occurs even in RNB Q.p.I.43 (Or), a short Middle Bulgarian lectionary of the XIII–XIV centuries (Алексеев et al. 2005).

[7] Note, with an adaptation to Slavic morphology, леввен (RNB F.p.I.14, Fl, XIV sec.) левен (GIM Sin.1003, *Jur'evskoe ev.*, 1119–1128) левнн (GIM Sin.404, *Galickoe ev.*, 1144) (Алексеев et al. 2005).

of the tradition); Mt 18:10 σωσαι το απολωλος (1 e 3, Aland et al. 1999a: 54): спастъ погыбъшее (Tert, with neuter gender) ~ спастъ / спастн погыбъшааго / ꙁабл҃ж҃дьшааго / погыбъша҃а҃ / погыбъшнн҃ꙗ҃ъ (the rest of the tradition); Mt 19:17 τι με λεγεις αγαθον (Aland et al. 1999a: 55): ѹьто мн глаголешн благо (Tert, with the accusative case) ~ ѹьто ма҃ глаголешн блага (the rest of the tradition, see ѹьто ма҃ глаголешн бытн блага҃а҃ Vrač); Mt 20:16 πολλοι γαρ εισιν κλητοι ολιγοι δε εκλεκτοι (Aland et al. 1999a: 56): мнозн бо с҃тъ ꙁъваннн мало же нзбранннн (Tert) ~ ... нзбранныхъ (the rest of the tradition).

Mk 1:40 και γονυπετων αυτον (1, Aland et al. 1998: 23): н на колѣноу падаꙗ его (Tert) ~ н на колѣноу падаꙗ прѣдъ нимь (Iak NR Trg TS66 Ven); Mk 2:1 εις οικον (1, Aland et al. 1998: 27): въ домъ (Tert, although with an adverbial phrase of place: въ домъ естъ!) ~ въ домоу (the rest of the tradition, see also 2, εν οικω); Mk 3:21 εξεστη (1/2, Aland et al. 1998: 51): оужасе сѧ (Tert) ~ неистовъ естъ (the rest of the tradition, see неисто естъ Čud); Mk 6:27 απελθων (1, Aland et al. 1998: 83): ошьдъ (Tert) ~ шьдъ (the rest of the tradition); Mk 11:32 οτι οντως προφητης ην (1, Aland et al. 1998: 153): ꙗко с҃ѭн пророкъ бѣ (Tert) ~ ꙗко въ истинѫ҃ пророкъ бѣ (Čud GB Iak IoAl Karp NR Trg TS66), ꙗко по истинѣ пророкъ бѣаше (TS5, f. 105v); Mk 13:2 αφεθη (1, Aland et al. 1998: 165): останетъ (Tert) ~ нматъ остатн (the rest of the tradition).

Lk 7:11 αυτου ικανοι (1, Aland et al. 1999b: 12): его достоинн (Tert) ~ его мъножн (Čud GB Iak NR Trg TS5 TS66, but see also 4, αυτου πολλοι); Lk 24:19 ναζω(ο)ραιου (1, Aland et al. 1999b: 51) назорѣа (Tert) ~ назарен (As).

See also the literal translation of ακολουθεω, which is typical of Tert and Čud: Mk 2:15 ηκολουθουν αυτω (Aland et al. 1998: 30): послѣдьствовашѧ емоу (Tert), послѣдова емоу (Čud) ~ по немь ндошѧ / нд҃ (the rest of the tradition); Mk 3:7 ηκο(υ)λουθησεν αυτω (Aland et al. 1998: 44): послѣдьствова емоу (Tert), послѣдоваш[ѧ] емоу (Čud) ~ по немь ндошѧ / нд҃ / нде (the rest of the tradition).

The Münster corpus can also be used to single out any deviations from the norm by a specific portion of a manuscript. In fact, all the manuscripts have the greatest percentage of Byzantine text in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, and, likewise, the greatest percentage of Standard text in the Gospel of Luke. The special variants occur mostly in Luke and John, with the exception of Put, which records the highest percentage of special variants in Mark (but this fact should not

be considered of great importance, as it is just a festal lectionary, including only a part of the passages).

In contrast, almost all the manuscripts (23) have the highest percentage of Majority text in John: only IoAl Tert and Sav correspond to the Majority text most frequently in Mark, and only Vrač and Put in Matthew (Put has the same percentage as in John). If we leave out the lectionaries for the reason mentioned above, we must not ignore the datum which links IoAl and Tert in the Gospel of Mark and which can prove that the text of this Gospel was revised with the greatest care in the first half of the 14th century.

3. The Curzon Gospel edition

The main reason for this study is the wonderful edition of the Curzon Gospel (around 1354), recently edited by Cynthia Vakareliyska, which I have already reviewed extremely positively (see Alberti 2009)[8]. I would like to underline that when the comments hereafter do not agree with the thesis of the above-mentioned work, it should be intended as a respectful dialogue within the discussion about the textual tradition of the Slavonic Gospels. In no way should it be considered as a criticism of such a valuable edition whose only fault is simply its price. The wide linguistic and textual research provided in this edition not only includes the very interesting Curzon Gospel in the discussion, but also reopens the debate concerning two of the most important witnesses of the South Slavic tradition of the Gospels, i.e. the Dobrejšo Gospel (first half of the 13th century) and the Banica Gospel. The latter is usually dated to the end of the 13th century, whereas according to Vakareliyska it should be dated to the middle of the 14th century. For reasons which I have already explained (Alberti 2009), I am inclined to prefer the traditional dating. The reason why Vakareliyska has decided to propose a later dating for Ban is basically the occurrence of several mistakes shared by the latter and Curz. The thirteenth-century dating of Ban "implies that the heavily defective CB version [...], survived with most of its numerous errors intact, unnoticed and uncorrected in a century's worth of intervening apographs preceding C [= Curz]". I shall confine myself to observing that a) a "century's worth of intervening apographs" could even mean just 'one apograph' and b) the scribe of Curz, whom Vakareliyska herself (2008, II: 10) recognizes as being not entirely at ease in rendering the

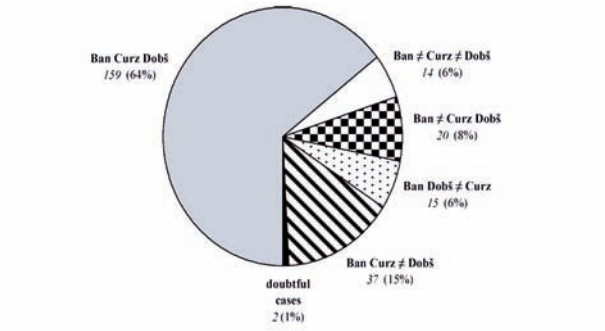
[8] See also http://www.cesecom.it/scaffale%20schede/vakareliyska.html.

text of Bulgarian apograph, is therefore the best vehicle for conserving errors. Once it is agreed that Curz and Ban share the same mistakes, I think that it would be enough to say that the Curz text is based on an antigraph which is contemporary with Ban. The fact has no implications on the dating of the latter.

As has been noted, Vakareliyska postulates not only a common antigraph for Curz and Ban (CB), but also an earlier one (DCB), from which Dobš and the restored CB would have originated. According to that scholar's explicit statement, the research provided in the edition of the Curzon Gospel aims to restore the features of these two antigraphs and not to determine the typologies of the Greek text which affect them (Vakareliyska 2008, I: xxxiii). The present study tries to fill this gap at least to some extent.

4. Shared Ban Curz Dobš variants

In the Münster corpus there are 247 relevant passages (i.e. those in which the Slavic tradition can be divided into several variants of the Greek text) which may be found in all the three manuscripts (out of a total of 313 relevant passages). In most of these (159 passages, 64%), Ban Curz and Dobš share the same variant:



The variants that are common to all three manuscripts contain predominantly the Byzantine or Majority text (71 passages, 45%). Then there are special variants (51 passages, 32%) and, to a lesser degree, the Standard text (26 passages, 16%). The uncertain variants, or those which do not correspond to the Greek text, come to 7% (11

passages). As can be noted, the picture that emerges is almost the same that appears after an analysis of all the passages (of course with a lesser incidence of the Byzantine and Majority text, because the passages in which the Slavic text does not show any variants and which are excluded from this research contain predominantly this textual typology). Other manuscripts can also be classified in this way, with a minimum of Byzantine or Majority text in TS5 (41%) and a maximum in Čud (83%).

Incidentally, even though the fact that Ban Curz and Dobš can be described as belonging to the same family of manuscripts is self-evident, and it is not difficult to recognize a closer similarity between Ban and Curz (see the 37 cases of agreement in opposition to Dobš), it should nevertheless be pointed out that the number of agreements between Curz and Dobš as opposed to Ban is considerable (20 passages). Moreover, sometimes the three manuscripts have three different variants (14), or Dobš and Ban are in opposition to Curz (15). Therefore, I cannot say to what extent it is possible to postulate, as Vakareliyska does, an "antigraph CB", intermediate between the real witnesses and the restored "DCB" (which is a most reasonable hypothesis, but unnecessary for the comprehension of the textual tradition of the Gospels, unless the term "archetype" is intended in a very broad sense).

4a. Characteristics of Ban Curz Dobš in comparison with the Slavic tradition

Amongst the 159 cases in which Ban, Curz and Dobš agree, 11 passages deserve special attention, because in these the three manuscripts run counter to the rest of the Slavic tradition. These passages are, so to speak, the textual "hallmark" of the family of manuscripts under examination[9].

In **Mk 7:35**, for example, the entire tradition has н абне ѹазвѣѧзоста сѧ (var. отъвѣѧзоста сѧ), in accordance with a Greek special variant that occurs only in 5 manuscripts (και ευθυς ελυθη, 3, Aland et al. 1998: 100). It is definitely noteworthy that only Ban, Curz and Dobš agree with the Majority text, without the adverb (και ελυθη,

[9] These passages complete what Vakareliyska notes about the lexicon. In fact, she identifies as the "hallmark" of these three manuscripts a sort of "textual seam" in the middle of the Gospel of John (to be precise Jn 11:54), where a considerable number of "Preslav" lexemes are added to the early text (Vakareliyska 2008, I: xviii).

1/2). The Majority text occurs in the manuscripts 427 579 713 732 733 863 1326 2106 2738 (see also 03 05 038 0211). C. Vakareliyska (who does not question this variant in particular) notes that one of the main features of Curz, Ban and Dobš is the "resistance" which these manuscripts show to the lexemes *ubo*, *jako* and *abĭe* (Vakareliyska 2008, II: 29). Confining the discussion to the use of ѧбнє, the comparison between the indices verborum of Curz (Vakareliyska 2008, I: 817) and Mar (Jagić 1883: 477) actually shows a remarkable difference: the lexeme occurs 13 times in Curz (except for the synaxarion), as opposed to 90 times in Mar. However, disregarding the fact that it is always an *omission or a substitution* (as тоу for ѧбнє in Mt 21:2), and therefore a textual phenomenon rather than lexical, as Vakareliyska would maintain, even a small body of work as in Nestle–Aland (*Novum Testamentum Graece*, Stuttgart 1993, 27th ed.) shows that in at least 12 cases the Curz variant corresponds exactly to the Greek: in addition to the above-mentioned case of Mk 7:35, in 6 other cases Curz omits the adverb as in the Standard text (Mk 1:31, Mk 2:2, Mk 5:13, Mk 5:36, Lk 5:39, Jn 21:3), while the remaining cases are special variants (Mk 1:28, Mk 5:2, Mk 6:50, Lk 6:49). Moreover, in Mk 14:68 and Jn 11:44 Curz inserts the adverb (in Jn 11:44 as in the 'Western text'), while the traditional Slavic version omits it, in accordance with the Majority text. Leaving aside the gaps, in all these cases Ban and Dobš agree with Curz, with the exception Mk 14:68 (in which Ban follows Mar).

In **Mk 9:49**, Ban and Dobš use the verb ѡсѫдитъ сѧ[10], which seems to correspond to δοκιμασθησεται in the Greek manuscripts 427 732 863 2106 2738 (8, Aland et al. 1998: 129); in contrast, most of the Slavic tradition, which has ѡсолитъ сѧ, is closer to the Byzantine version, which uses αλισθησεται (1). It certainly cannot be excluded that the text of our three codices is the result of a simple Slavic corruption of the *lectio difficilior* ѡсолитъ сѧ; however, it should be noted that the Greek variant δοκιμασθησεται occurs even in those manuscripts which, as is noted elsewhere (see Lk 13:27), agree with Ban, Curz and Dobš (i.e. 46 52 443 444 1195 1326 1395), although in this case the variant is slightly different from the one followed by Ban, Curz and

[10] The Curz variant ѡсѧдитъ сѧ should be explained in the light of the orthographic system of the manuscript itself, which often uses ѧ instead of ѧ when the latter reflects an ethymological back nasal vowel (see Vakareliyska 2008, II: 141).

Dobš: πας γαρ <u>εν πυρι</u> δοκιμασθησεται και πασα θυσια αλι αλισθησεται (9, while the variant 8 omits the preposition, as in the Byzantine and Standard texts: πας γαρ <u>πυρι</u> δοκιμασθησεται...; cf. the traditional Slavic version, which has вьсѣкъ бо огнемь throughout; see Vakareliyska 2008, II: 40).

In **Mk 15:41**, on the contrary, the earliest witnesses (and also second-redaction manuscripts such as Vuk and TS5) follow the Standard text, with the incipit ижже егда (αι οτε, 2, Aland et al. 1998: 187), while the later Slavic versions (Čud GB NR Trg TS66) have the conjunction (ижже и егда) in accordance with the Byzantine text (αι και οτε, 1). The Bosnian tradition follows the early text, turning, however, the anaphoric pronoun into the singular (иже егда, Nik Ven). This variant finds no echo in the Greek tradition. The Ban Curz Dobš variant, which omits the anaphor (егда), has no Greek counterpart (this variant is not discussed in Vakareliyska 2008, II).

In **Lk 2:15**, the entire Slavic tradition (with morphological and lexical variants) follows the course of the Byzantine text (и чловѣци пастырие, see και οι ανθρωποι οι ποιμενες, 1, Aland et al. 1999b: 2). The Standard text, in which οι ανθρωποι is omitted, does not occur in Slavic. The text of Hval, in which the conjuction is postponed (чловѣци и пастырие), is close to a special variant of the Greek text, even if it does not correspond exactly to it (και οι ανθρωποι και οι ποιμενες, 5). Even in this case, however, Ban, Curz and Dobš are in opposition to the rest of the Slavic tradition, omitting the conjunction (чловѣци пастырие) as in a minority variant of the Byzantine text (οι ανθρωποι οι ποιμενες, 1B) contained in 2 manuscripts, 59 and 1012, and in a marginal variant in 1210 (this variant is not discussed in Vakareliyska 2008, II).

In **Lk 2:33**, the Slavic version follows predominantly the Byzantine text (иосифъ и матн его, see ιωσηφ και η μητηρ αυτου, 1, Aland et al. 1999b: 3). In contrast, the Bosnian tradition on the whole (Hval Nik Ven) agrees with a variant already contained in As, Sav and Zogr, which reflects the Standard text (ο πατηρ αυτου και η μητηρ, 2; see отьць его и матн). Only IoAl seems to be in agreement with a special variant of the Greek text that occurs in 2 manuscripts alone (ο πατηρ και η μητηρ αυτου, 4). Not only does the Ban Curz Dobš variant exist in total isolation (иосифь и марнѣа), but it also seems to bear

no relationship to the Greek text (as also noted in Vakareliyska 2008, II: 42).

Passage **Lk 13:27** is very interesting. The Slavic text agrees predominantly with the Byzantine reading, putting the verb in the present tense (λεγω υμιν, 1, Aland et al. 1999b, 29): глаго҃лѭ вамъ. The participle found in the Standard text occurs only in Sav (глаго҃лѩ вамъ, λεγων υμιν, 2). It should be noted, however, that the Middle Bulgarian tradition (see IoAl, Karp and Trg) often uses the ambiguous spelling гл҃ѧ, which could represent either form. Omitting the verb, Nik follows a special variant that occurs in 13 Greek manuscripts (beginning from 01, see υμιν, 3). Ban Curz and Dobš instead follow another special variant which omits the entire syntagma (OM. λεγων υμιν, 5). This variant occurs in 9 Greek minuscule manuscripts: 95 381* 444 903 1169 1195 1326 2482C and 2809[11] (see Vakareliyska 2008, II: 50).

In **Jn 2:15** Ban, Curz and Dobš again differ from the remaining Slavic tradition, without following a specific Greek variant: the Slavic tradition is divided between the Majority text (бнүь, see φραγελ(λ)ιον, 1/2, Aland et al. 2005, 16), contained in the youngest manuscripts (but already occurring in Mar and Dobr) and a rather common special variant (50 manuscripts) that goes back as far as the papyrus manuscripts (ως φραγελλιον, 3, translated into Slavic as ѩко҃ бнүь). Even if they agree with the latter variant, only Ban, Curz and Dobš add the conjunction: ѩко҃ н бнүь (this variant is not discussed in Vakareliyska 2008, II).

In **Jn 5:39**, the Slavic tradition is extremely fragmented. It predominantly follows a special variant of the Greek text (οτι υμεις δοκειτε εν αυταις εχειν ζωην αιωνιον, 6, Aland et al. 2005: 54) which occurs only in one manuscript (2775): see ѩко҃ вы мьнѧтє въ нѧхъ имѣтн жнво҃тъ вѣчьныи (and the like). The word order of the Majority text (οτι υμεις δοκειτε εν αυταις ζωην αιωνιον εχειν, 1/2) is adhered to completely by Vuk and Čud. Once again the Ban Curz Dobš text seems to be lacking any precise Greek counterpart: the word order corresponds to that of Zogr, which, in turn, reflects the special variant οτι εν αυταις υμεις δοκειτε εχειν ζωην αιωνιον (10, cod. 1344), omit-

[11] In the conventions adopted in Aland et al. 1998, 1999a, 1999b and 2005, which we have respected in the current work, the asterisk after the number of the codex (see, in this case, 381) indicates that the variant is present in the original text, while the letter C (see, in this case, 2482) indicates a correction.

ting the conjunction ѩкѡ and turning the clause into a relative clause: въ нижъже вы мьнитє нмати жнвотъ вѣчьнын (this variant is not discussed in Vakareliyska 2008, II).

In **Jn 6:42**, with како оубо глаголетъ (Put бо), the Slavic tradition unanimously follows the Byzantine text (πως ουν λεγει, 1, Aland et al. 2005: 71). Evidence of the Standard text has not been found (πως νυν λεγει, 2). Only Ban, Curz and Dobš, omitting оубо, are in accordance with the text of five Greek manuscripts, 162 393* 440 579 2783* (OM. νυν, 4) (the pericope Jn 6:39–44 is described as "unremarkable" by Vakareliyska 2008, II: 59).

In **Jn 7:50**, Ban, Curz and Dobš, in which прншьдын [Ban прншьдъ] къ нсоусоу ноущиѭ occurs, agree with a special variant of the Greek text in manuscripts 274 713 1626 and 2705 (ο ελθων προς τον ιησουν νυκτος, 6, Aland et al. 2005: 97), while the Slavic tradition predominantly follows the 'Western' word order of a group of 133 manuscripts, beginning from 05 (ο ελθων προς αυτον νυκτος, 4). Only Čud Trg and TS5 are in accordance with the Byzantine text (ο ελθων νυκτος προς αυτον, 1) (the pericope Jn 7:37–52 is characterised as "unexceptional" by Vakareliyska 2008, II: 60).

In **Jn 10:7**, the early tradition (see рєчє жє имъ пакы нсоусъ OE, etc.) follows the same word order present in 154 Greek manuscripts (ειπεν ουν αυτοις παλιν ο ιησους, 4, Aland et al. 2005: 131). Čud and the Athonite versions are close to the Byzantine text (ειπεν ουν παλιν αυτοις ο ιησους, 1). The lectionaries agree with the less common variants (ειπεν ουν αυτοις παλιν ο ιησους, 5, see Mir and Vuk; ειπεν αυτοις ο ιησους παλιν, 5B, see Arch). Ban, Curz and Dobš basically share the reading of the early text, using, however, the conjunction instead of the enclitic (и рєчє имъ пакы нсоусъ). See also Tert, which omits both: рєчє имъ пакы нсоусъ (this variant is not discussed by Vakareliyska 2008, II).

As already pointed out, some of the Greek manuscripts agree with Ban, Curz and Dobš in instances where the latter unanimously run counter to the remaining Slavic tradition. In these cases special attention should be paid to those Greek manuscripts whose text also agrees with at least one of the three codices in other *significant* test passages, i.e. those passages (49 out of 247, 20%) in which the variant in at least one text does not occur in the *earlier* Slavic tradition. These passages are the main subject of the present research. Therefore, primarily these Greek manuscripts are to be considered: 2106 (10 variants out of 49),

732 (9 variants), 427 and 579 (8 variants), 863 and 2738 (7 variants), 733 (6 variants) and 713 (5 variants); and following those, the manuscripts 393 1326 and 275 (4 variants), 59 1195 1210 and 1626 (3 variants), 162 274 440 444 903 and 1012 (2 variants). Hereafter these manuscripts will always be in boldface.

On the whole, manuscript 2106 (a thirteenth-century gospel with commentary, today in the Oxford Bodleian Library under the listing Auct. T.2.1.) records most of the correspondences, but this datum has an even greater value if we consider that the manuscript contains only the Gospels of Mark and John. Moreover, it is especially interesting that all the manuscripts that agree most often with our three codices (427 579 713 732 733 863 2106 2738, but also 59 162 275 440, see Aland 1994) date from the 12th–13th centuries. Ban, Curz and Dobs (XIII–XIV centuries) clearly reflect a textual typology that was particularly common in the contemporary or previous Greek tradition.

In addition, the agreement with some Greek majuscule manuscripts should be noted: with respect to these variants, the Beza manuscript corresponds most frequently with Ban, Curz or Dobš (11 variants out of 49), but 03 and 032 (9 variants), 01 (8 variants), 04 and 038 (7 variants) also often agree. However, these early Greek manuscripts never agree with all three manuscripts in instances where the latter agree completely with each other and yet diverge from the rest of the Slavic tradition. The same can be said for certain minuscule manuscripts, such as 828 (9 variants), 13 (8 var.), 1 33 191 346 544 788 826 1582 1654 e 2680 (7 var.); most of these (see 1 13 191 346 544 826 828 2680) also date from the XII–XIII centuries.

Similarly in this case, the list of manuscripts should certainly be considered not from a genealogical point of view, but from a purely textual one: it aims only to show the nature of the Greek variants contained in Ban, Curz or Dobš. In order to avoid any misunderstanding, none of the above-mentioned Greek manuscripts clearly shows agreement with any one of the three Slavic manuscripts in particular: for example, 2106 agrees with Dobš in opposition to Ban and Curz in 3 test passages, and with Ban in opposition to Dobš and Curz in 2 passages.

4b. Slavic witnesses that are closer to Ban Curz and Dobš

When Ban Curz and Dobš not only agree with each other but also share their variant with a limited number of Slavic witnesses, the vari-

ant is almost always contained in the early text (usually Mar). These are mostly special variants, but evidence from the Standard text also occurs (see Mt 25:13 and Mk 1:2). Sometimes, as in Mk 6:44 and in Lk 11:48, the variant is taken from the weekday lectionary (Mir and Vuk). In some cases, however, the variant is shared only by contemporary or later manuscripts. See the following examples:

In **Mk 2:16**, the Ban Dobš Curz text (see Ban вндѣвъше ѭдѫщь) reflects a minor variant of the Byzantine text (ιδοντες εσθιοντα, 1C, Aland et al. 1998: 31) that occurs in 5 Greek manuscripts and in Put and Ven, in opposition to the rest of the Slavic tradition, which inserts a pronoun as in the Byzantine text (вндѣвъше єго [var. н] ѭдѫща, see ιδοντες αυτον εσθιοντα, 1) (the pericope Mk 2:14–17 is characterised by Vakareliyska as "unremarkable", 2008, II: 35).

In **Mk 6:14**, the reading of Ban Curz Dobš, крьстнтєль, also appears in the Bosnian tradition (Hval Nik Ven), in addition to Put and Čud, and it seems to be more closely related to the "Western" variant βαπτιστης, which occurs in 134 Greek manuscripts (3, Aland et al. 1998: 76), including **427 579 732 733 863 1626 2106 2705** and **2738** (see 05 032 038, 828 13 33 346 788 826 1654). The traditional Slavic variant, with the participle крьстѧ (or the like), literally repeats the Majority text, which has βαπτιζων (1/2) (the pericope Mk 6:14–30 is considered by Vakareliyska to be without "remarkable variations" as compared to Zogr and Mar (2008, II: 37).

In **Jn 1:37** Ban Curz Dobš agree with Hval, Put and Vrač in omitting the third person pronoun (оба оученика), as in a group of 6 Greek codices (οι δυο μαθηται, 13, Aland et al. 2005: 9) which includes the codex **59**. The traditional Slavic variant adheres to the Byzantine text, in which the pronoun is placed earlier in the sentence (и оба оученика, єго оба оученика, see αυτου οι δυο μαθηται, 1). The Karp variant (оученика) bears no relationship to the Greek (this variant is not discussed by Vakareliyska 2008, II).

In **Jn 1:38**, Ban Curz Dobš agree only with Karp and Vrač in following a special variant of the Greek text (єже глаголетъ сѧ оучитєлю, see ο λεγεται διδασκαλε, 7, Aland et al. 2005: 10) that is contained in 22 manuscripts, including **732** and **2106**. See Vakareliyska 2008, II: 57 (however, with no information about the Greek reading). The traditional Slavic variant (єже глаголетъ сѧ къказаємо

ογγητελω, with variations) follows the Byzantine text (ο λεγεται ερμηνευομενον διδασκαλε, 1) or the Standard text (ο λεγεται μεθερμηνευομενον διδασκαλε, 2).

5. Peculiarities of Ban and Curz as opposed to Dobš

As already noted, having considered the cases in which the three codices agree with each other, the highest incidence of cases are those in which Ban and Curz share a variant that is different from Dobš (37 passages out of 247, 15%). This proves what C. Vakareliyska states when she describes Ban and Curz as "the closest pair of medieval Bulgarian tetraevangelia identified so far" (2008, II: 124).

First of all, it should be noted that there are no such cases in Matthew. Of course the Gospel of Matthew is not particularly representative, because of the small number of test passages that it contains (64 vs. 196 in Mark and 153 in John). However, it should be pointed out that Luke, which has a yet smaller number of test passages (54), contains at least 4 cases of agreement between Ban and Curz which differ from Dobš. Moreover, the peculiarity of the Gospel of Matthew corresponds to C. Vakareliyska's observations that in Matthew, not only do Ban and Dobš adhere to a different tradition, as has already been noted, but Curz itself does not follow either of the two (at least until Mt 15:2, after which the shared text seems to be that of Dobš; 2008, II: 192–225, see also I: xix).

The relationship with the Slavic tradition, as can be seen in the following table, is fairly balanced in the Gospel of Mark, whereas the peculiarity of Dobš is more evident in the Gospels of Luke and of John:

	Ban Curz follow the Slavic trad. Dobš diverges from it	Dobš follows the Slavic trad. Ban Curz diverge from it	Ban Curz Dobš diverge from the Slavic tradition
Mk	9 passages out of 19 (47%)	7 passages (37%)	2 passages (11%)
Lk	3 passages out of 4 (75%)	1 passage (25%)	0 passage (0%)
Jn	9 passages out of 14 (64%)	4 passages (29%)	1 passage (7%)
TOT	21 passages out of 37 (57%)	12 passages (32%)	3 passages (8%)

In addition, it should be pointed out that in almost half of the passages (41%) where either Ban-Curz or Dobš diverges from the Slavic tradition (and both do so to an equal degree), the divergent manuscript contains an isolated variant not shared by any other manuscripts. Where this does not happen (and again this is true as much for Ban-Curz as for Dobš), usually (in 38% of the passages) the divergent variant agrees with the Bosnian tradition, (especially Hval; see the examples below).

As regards the relationship with the Greek text, the test passages that are common to all three codices record percentages that are close to those of the grand total of passages (Byzantine/Majority text – Standard text – special variants: 45%–16%–32%, see for example the total for Ban 58%–10%–21%). Further examination of the instances in which Ban and Curz differ from Dobš reveals percentages that lean towards the special variants 41%–8%–41% (Ban Curz), 35%–8%–38% (Dobš). In part, the difference is apparent only because it is due to the greater number of variants in the given manuscript that are uncertain or do not correspond to any Greek variant (7 cases in Dobš as opposed to 4 in Ban and Curz). Nevertheless, Dobš seems to be less "Byzantine" than the other two manuscripts. Note the following examples, which are all taken from the Gospels of Mark and John:

In **Mk 1:21**, Ban and Curz (въ съборищѥ оучѧшѥ) follow the Majority text, as do the most recent Slavic versions (въ сънѣмищѥ оучѧашѥ, but see Zogr and also Vuk and Nik): εις την συναγωγην εδιδασκεν (1/2, Aland et al. 1998: 15). Part of the tradition, beginning with Mar, follows the "Western" text, inserting the pronoun after the verb: на сънѣмищин оучѧашѥ ѩ (Mar, IoAl Hval Karp Ven), as in 6 Greek manuscripts (εις την συναγωγην εδιδασκε αυτους, 5). Only Dobš, which has въ съборищѥ н оучѧашѥ, adheres to the text of the two minuscule manuscripts 349 and 1282 (εις την συναγωγην και εδιδασκεν, 6) (the pericope Mk 1:16–22 is described by Vakareliyska as without "remarkable variations" as compared to Zogr and Mar, 2008, II: 35).

In **Mk 3:6** Dobš uses the aorist створшѧ, as in the lectionaries Karp TS5 and Vuk (not Mir), and follows a variant that is present in at least 85 Greek manuscripts (εποιησαν, 3, Aland et al. 1998: 43), whereas the Slavic tradition in its entirety, including Ban and Curz, uses the imperfect (творѣахѫ, see сътваряхѫ Tert Zogr) as in the Byzantine text (εποιουν, 1). The variant that is followed by Dobš is

already contained in some of the majuscule manuscripts (see 01 04 037 038 and 0211), but among the minuscule manuscripts, those that use the aorist are codices **393 427 732 903 1326** and **2106** (this reading is not discussed in Vakareliyska 2008, II).

In **Jn 7:46** almost the entire Slavic tradition adheres to the Byzantine text (ADD. ως ουτος ο ανθρωπος, 1, Aland et al. 2005: 94), adding ꙗко сь чловѣкъ. Here Dobš agrees with part of the Bosnian tradition (Hval and Ven, see ꙗко сьн чловѣкъ глаголетъ) in reflecting a special variant of the Greek text (ADD. ως ουτος ο ανθρωπος λαλει, 6) contained in 6 minuscule manuscripts (the pericope Jn 7:37–52 is described as "unexceptional" by Vakareliyska 2008, II: 60).

In **Jn 8:38**, Dobš, in which сн глаголиѫ occurs, is the only codex in our corpus to follow the "Western" variant (which is present in 05 032 and in 21 minuscule manuscripts, including 33 and **2106**) ταυτα λαλω (3, Aland et al. 2005: 112). The rest of the Slavic tradition simply has глаголиѫ (TS5 н глаголиѫ) without the demonstrative pronoun, as in the Majority text (λαλω, 1/2) (the pericope Jn 8:31–42 is characterised as "unexceptional" by Vakareliyska 2008, II: 60).

In **Jn 10:16**, almost the entire Slavic tradition uses the prefixed form ѹслышатъ, which corresponds to the future tense in the Majority text (ακουσουσιν, 1/2, Aland et al. 2005: 134). Dobš, together with IoAl Tert Mir and the first redaction of Sav (which was later corrected according to the Majority text), uses the present tense form слышатъ, in accordance with the text of 9 Greek codices (ακουουσιν, 4; this variant is not discussed by Vakareliyska 2008, II).

Concerning the instances where Dobš differs from Ban and Curz, we examined those in which Dobš adheres to the Byzantine or Majority text (which usually agrees with the Slavic tradition) and chose the most representative of them:

In **Mk 1:15**, Dobš follows the Majority text, as do Iak IoAl Karp Tert Trg Ven (н глаголиѫ, see και λεγων, 1/2, Aland et al. 1998: 12), while the rest of the Slavic tradition, including Ban and Curz, omits the conjunction, as occurs in 321 Greek manuscripts (λεγων, 3). The Majority text is also contained in codices **427 579 713 732 733 863 1326 2106** and **2738** (see 03 032 038, 1 13 33 191 346 544 788 826 1582 1654 2680; this variant is not discussed by Vakareliyska 2008, II).

In **Mk 2:16**, Dobš, as in the Slavic tradition in its entirety, has ѣстъ н пиєтъ, in accordance with the Byzantine text (εσθιει και πινει, 1, Aland et al. 1998: 34). Ban, Curz and lectionary TS5 instead follow a special variant (оучитєль вашь ѣстъ н пиєтъ, see ο διδασκαλος υμων εσθιει και πινει, 6) which is also reflected, in slightly altered form, in Put (оучитєль вашь пиєтъ н ѣстъ), and which occurs in two Greek manuscripts. The Greek variant is not mentioned by Vakareliyska (2008, II: 96), who, however, describes the Byzantine text as "the minority Greek version" (! *ibidem*, n. 19); elsewhere, she characterises the pericope Mk 2:14–17 as "unremarkable" (2008, II: 35).

In **Mk 2:19**, Dobš follows the text of Mar (єлнко врѣмѧ съ собоіѫ нмѫтъ женнхѧ не нмѫтъ постити ся), which corresponds, as does most of the Slavic tradition, to the Byzantine text (οσον χρονον μεθ εαυτων εχουσιν τον νυμφιον ου δυνανται νηστευειν, 1, Aland et al. 1998: 36). Ban and Curz, on the other hand, partially invert the word order (єлнко врѣмѧ нмѫтъ съ собоіѫ женнхѧ не нмѫтъ [Ban нмаіѫтъ] постити ся) and agree with a group of 19 Greek manuscripts (οσον χρονον εχουσιν μεθ εαυτων τον νυμφιον ου δυνανται νηστευειν, 4), as well as other manuscripts of the Balkan tradition (Hval Ven Mir and, with a few changes, IoAl) and even NR and TS5. Among the Greek codices that agree with Ban and Curz are **393 1626** and **2705** (this variant is not discussed by Vakareliyska 2008, II).

In **Mk 8:15**, with the form виднте блюдѣте ся, Dobš adheres to the entire traditional Slavic text, which reflects the Majority text (ορατε βλεπετε, 1/2, Aland et al. 1998: 107), while Curz and Ban insert the conjunction н between the two predicates, as in the Bosnian tradition (Hval Nik Ven) and in the lectionaries Karp and TS5. The conjunction appears in a group of 67 Greek manuscripts (ορατε και βλεπετε, 3), including **427 732 863 2106** and **2738** (see 04 13 346 788 826 and 828) (this variant is not discussed by Vakareliyska 2008, II).

In **Lk 10:21**, the Slavic tradition is divided into two groups: most of the codices, including Dobš, have доухомь нсоусъ in accordance with the Byzantine text (εν τω πνευματι ο ιησους, 1, Aland et al. 1999b: 20), while Ban and Curz, together with the Bosnian codices Hval and Ven, and with Tert and TS5, have the same word order нсоусъ доухомь as a special variant of the Greek text (ο ιησους εν τω πνευματι, 6), which appears in 35 manuscripts (including **733**; see also

13 346 788 826 828 and 1654). Lectionaries Karp, Put and Vrač have both the variants, in different pericopes (the pericope Lk 10:16–21 is described as "unexceptional" by Vakareliyska 2008, II: 47).

In **Lk 22:68**, Dobš agrees with Hval alone in rendering мн нн поустнтє мѧ, a minor variant of the Byzantine text (ADD. μοι η απολυσητε με, 1F, Aland et al. 1999b: 46) which is contained in the Greek codices 44 and 1604. The rest of the Slavic tradition predominantly has мн нн поустнтє, which could be a reflection of the Byzantine text (ADD. μοι η απολυσητε, 1) or of a special variant (ADD. μοι ουδε απολυσητε, 6) (the pericope Lk 22:66–23:55 is characterised by Vakareliyska as "unremarkable", 2008, II: 57).

In **Jn 6:58**, Dobš agrees with almost the entire Slavic version, which, in turn, agrees with the Byzantine text (мана҃нѫ н, see το μαννα και, 1, Aland et al. 2005: 80). Lectionaries Mir and TS5 (мана҃нѫ въ поустыни н) reflect the insertion, which is present in a very common special reading (102 codices) of the Greek text (το μαννα εν τη ερημω και, 3). Only Ban and Curz, which merely have the conjunction н, agree ("deliberately or inadvertently", Vakareliyska 2008, II: 103[12]) with the Standard text (και, 2), which is contained in 17 Greek manuscripts, including 01 03 04 05 032 and 33.

In **Jn 10:26**, Dobš follows the Slavic version (мнхъ ꙗкожє ѓѣхъ вамъ), which is, in turn, the faithful translation of the Byzantine text (των εμων καθως ειπον υμιν, 1, Aland et al. 2005: 137). Only Ban and Curz put in the enclitic particle (мнхъ ꙗкожє бо ѓѣхъ вамъ), as in the Greek codex 317 (των εμων καθως δε ειπον υμιν, 9) (the pericope Jn 10:17–30 is described by Vakareliyska 2008, II: 61 as "unexceptional").

From now on, it should be pointed out that the Greek manuscripts which correspond with Ban, Curz and Dobš when the latter share the same reading agree sometimes with Dobš and sometimes with Ban and Curz when the latter three manuscripts differ one from another. The fact that these variants, in any case, appear in the same Greek manuscripts is of the greatest importance, for either they belong to a probable "DCB antigraph", or they can be considered as a later inde-

[12] Elsewhere, Vakareliyska (2008, II: 59) defines the pericope Jn 6:56–59 as "unremarkable".

pendent correction made in Dobš and on the other two manuscripts with reference to a similar type of text. Textual criticism often has too summary a treatment of these variants, which feature the mere insertion of a conjunction or the transposition of two nouns, and it forgets that the text of the Gospels and, in general, of the Holy Scriptures was copied with above-average attention. It was obviously subject to alterations, but this seldom happened at random. Of course, misunderstandings of the antigraph or errors in transcription were very frequent instances, similar to the unintentional influence on the copied text of the variant that was more often heard during the liturgy. Nevertheless, the presence of corresponding variants in the same Greek manuscripts is a detail that no scholar should leave out.

According to C. Vakareliyska (2008, II: 79, see 93), it is more likely that Dobš preserves the text of the antigraph which is common to the three manuscripts, and that Curz and Ban deviated from the antigraph itself. The scholar, who consider sthe Greek text peripherally, comes to this conclusion because she notes that Dobš is closer to the Old Church Slavonic variant (this can be partially noted in the test passages, examined in the current work, see above). However, it should be noted that even in those cases where Dobš differs from the Old Slavonic text as in Mk 1:15 (agreement with Iak IoAl Karp Tert Trg and Ven), Mk 3:6 (agreement with Karp TS5 and Vuk) and Jn 8:38 (*lectio singularis* of Dobš), the related Greek version appears in codex 2106, among others. This obviously does not mean that this codex has a direct influence on the probable antigraph that is common to Ban, Curz and Dobš, but it could indicate that the type of Greek text that could be the basis for the three manuscripts could have been close to the text contained in that codex itself. The most probable current hypothesis is that these variants were passed to Ban Curz and Dobš via a Slavic antigraph, which has been lost.

6. Peculiarities of Ban as opposed to Curz and Dobš

In a relatively high number of cases (20, 8%), Ban follows a variant that runs counter to that shared by Curz and Dobš. These are predominantly special variants which differ from other special readings or from the Byzantine text Curz and Dobš. It is noteworthy that, among these variants, there are often doubtful cases or cases that are not clear with respect to their relationship to the Greek text. Contrary to what has already been noted concerning the correspondences between Ban and Curz which run counter to Dobš, the correspondence of Curz and

Dobš in opposition to Ban is more frequent in the Gospel of Matthew (7 passages out of a total 64 in Matthew: 11%). In this case, Ban adheres to the Byzantine text more often than the other two codices (4 cases). Besides, with the sole exception of Mt 11:17, all the correspondences between Curz and Dobš in opposition to Ban appear in the part of the text that follows the verse Mt 15:2. Once again, C. Vakareliyska's theories (see above) are confirmed to a large degree. And yet, it should be noted that, besides the second half of Matthew, there is a large number of variants in which Curz and Dobš correspond in opposition to Ban (14 cases). This seems to be partially at variance with the reconstruction of an antigraph BC, which would fall between the archetype DBC and the separate three witnesses.

With reference to the relationship to the Slavic tradition, we observe the following:

	Curz Dobš follow the Slavic tradition, Ban diverges from it	Ban follows the Slavic tradition, Curz Dobš diverge from it	Ban Curz Dobš diverge from the Slavic tradition
Mt	4 passages out of 7 (57%)	3 passages (43%)	0 passages (0%)
Mk	3 passages out of 7 (43%)	0 passages (0%)	4 passages (57%)
Lk	1 passage out of 2 (50%)	0 passages (0%)	1 passage (50%)
Jn	2 passages out of 4 (50%)	1 passage (25%)	1 passage (25%)
TOT	10 passages out of 20 (50%)	4 passages (20%)	6 passages (30%)

As can be noted, the agreements of Curz and Ban in opposition to Dobš described a relatively uniform picture, in which a precise trend was difficult to find. On the contrary, when Ban diverges from Curz and Dobš, the situation is quite clear. Curz and Dobš adhere more emphatically to the Slavic tradition than Ban, which differs from it in 80% of cases. On the other hand, there are more frequent instances in which all three manuscripts diverge from the tradition, expecially in the Gospel of Mark.

Concerning these variants too, the manuscript that runs counter to the tradition is often isolated: Ban in 9 passages out of 16 (56%, 1st and 3rd column), Curz Dobš in 5 passages out of 10 (50%, 2nd and 3rd column). Moreover, the three codices seldom agree with the Bos-

nian tradition: Ban records only 1 agreement with Hval (and they both agree with the later Slavic tradition, in Mk 2:10), while Curz and Dobš agree in 2 passages with Nik and in 1 with Hval.

Let us now examine in detail the most interesting passages (i.e. those that are more clearly related to the Greek text):

6a. Agreement of Ban with the Byzantine text

In **Mt 11:17**, Ban follows the Slavic tradition (плакаχѳмъ ADD. вамъ), which in turn was modelled on the Byzantine text (ADD. υμιν, 1, Aland et al. 1999a: 33). Only Curz and Dobš, with lectionary TS5 (in the pericope at the f. 77) omit the pronoun as in the Standard text (SINE ADD., 2), which characterizes 22 Greek manuscripts (including 01 03 and 05, see also 1 and 1582) (the pericope Mt 11:16–19 is defined as "unexceptional" in Vakareliyska 2008, II: 204).

The textual variant in **Mt 24:36** is very interesting: the Slavic tradition in its entirety (together with Ban) has нн ангєлн нєвєсьннн, as in the Byzantine text (ουδε οι αγγελοι των ουρανων OM. ουδε ο υιος, 1, Aland et al. 1999a: 60). Only Curz and Dobš insert нн сынъ after нєвєсьннн, as in the Standard text (ουδε ο υιος, 2), which occurs in 101 Greek codices, such as **444 1195** and **2705** (see 01 03 05 and 038, 13 191 346 788 826 828 and 2680). The variant in Curz and Dobš, according to Vakareliyska (2008, II: 219), is a recollection of Mk 13:32 (in which the Slavic version in general has нн сынъ, see Voskresenskij 1894), while it is obvious that such variants find their origin in the Greek tradition.

The variant in **Jn 8:23** is also noteworthy; however, in this case it is the text of Ban that surprises us: in fact, the Byzantine text (мнѳа сєго, see του κοσμου τουτου, 1, Aland et al. 2005: 105) is reflected only in Ban (and in the Gospel of Theophylact with commentary, see Алексеев et al. 1998), in addition to the later versions (Čud GB Iak NR Trg TS66). Among the Greek manuscripts which contain the Byzantine text, there are the codices **579 713 732 863** and **2106** (see 01 05 038, 1 13 33 191 544 788 826 828 1582 1654 and 2680). The rest of the tradition, including Curz and Dobš, follows the word order of the Standard text (сєго мнѳа, see τουτου του κοσμου, 2), which is contained in 12 Greek manuscripts (this reading is not discussed in Vakareliyska 2008, II).

It should be pointed out that in these cases, Curz and Dobš always follow the Standard text, though with no connection to the Slavic tradition in the Gospel of Matthew. If we agree with Vakareliyska's theory, according to which Curz follows the version of Matthew that is contained in Dobš (but in the first half of Matthew the two manuscripts, according to Vakareliyska, should contain a different type of text), the preference for these archaic readings could be attributed to the Dobš scribe.

6b. Agreement of Ban with the Standard text and special readings of the Greek text

In **Mt 28:9**, the Slavic tradition mostly follows the Byzantine text (for example ꙗкоже ндѣаста възвѣстнтъ оученикомъ его и се Iak OE, see ως δε επορευοντο απαγγειλαι τοις μαθηταις αυτου και ιδου, 1, Aland et al. 1999a: 64). The Standard text (και ιδου, 2), occurring in 195 Greek manuscripts, is attested in the Slavic tradition (first in As) by и се; this variant occurs in Ban too. The text of the Greek codex 1633 (ως δε επορευοντο απαγγειλαι τοις μαθηταις αυτου, 5) finds an echo in Slavic only in Curz and Dobš (егда же ндѣста възвѣстнти оученикомъ его; the pericope Mt 28:1–20 is defined as "unexceptional" in Vakareliyska 2008, II: 220).

In **Jn 6:55**, as in most of the Slavic version, Curz and Dobš (истиньно ... истиньно) adhere to the Byzantine text, which has the adverb instead of the adjective in agreement with the subject (αληθως ... αληθως, 1, Aland et al. 2005: 76). The Standard text (αληθης ... αληθης, 2), which is contained in 381 Greek manuscripts (among which **579 713 863 1195** and **1210**, see 01 03 04 032, 1 191 544 1582 1654 and 2680), returns, on the contrary, only in Ban (истиньное ... истинное; Jn 6:55 is defined as "unremarkable" in Vakareliyska 2008, II: 59).

In **Mt 18:11**, the later Slavic versions follow the Byzantine text (пришде бо сынъ чловѣчь спастъ погыбъшааго Čud; see Trg Iak Tert, but already Karp; see ηλθεν γαρ ο υιος του ανθρωπου σωσαι το απολωλος, 1, Aland et al. 1999a: 54), while most of the tradition, including Curz and Dobš, agrees with a group of 251 Greek manuscripts (пришде бо сынъ чловѣчьскын възискатъ и спастъ погыбъшааго, see ηλθεν γαρ ο υιος του ανθρωπου ζητησαι και σωσαι το απολωλος, 3). Ban alone, omitting the conjunction (възискатн спастн), agrees with a

Greek sub-variant (ηλθεν γαρ ο υιος του ανθρωπου ζητησαι σωσαι το απολωλος, 3C) which occurs in the revised text of majuscule manuscript 019 (this variant is not discussed in Vakareliyska 2008, II).

In **Mt 27:5**, almost the entire Slavic tradition, including Curz and Dobš, inserts въ цр҃ькъвє (цр҃ькъвн) after сър҃евр҃о, as in the Byzantine (εν τω ναω, 1, Aland et al. 1999a: 62) and in the Standard texts (εις τον ναον, 2). Only Vrač (f. 151v) and Ban do not have this addition, together with 4 Greek manuscripts, among which 544 (OM. εις τον ναον, 3; the pericope Mt 27:1–38 is defined as "unexceptional" in Vakareliyska 2008, II: 220).

The reading in **Mk 1:35** reveals a very fragmented tradition in Slavic texts: all things considered, Curz and Dobš follow the Byzantine text (εξηλθεν και απηλθεν, 1, Aland et al. 1998: 21), even if they omit the conjunction (нꙁнде нде), as Nik does, whereas, beginning with Zogr, the most common Slavic variant preserves it (нꙁыде н нде). Only Ban adheres to a special variant of the Greek text (нꙁыде н нде нсоγсъ, see εξηλθεν και απηλθεν ο ιησους, 3). The insertion of the name of Jesus characterises most of the Slavic tradition, beginning with Mar, but with a different word order that is related to other Greek readings. The text that Ban follows occurs in as many as 438 Greek manuscripts, including **59 162 274 393 427 440 732 733 1012C 2106** and **2738** (see 04 191 and 544; this reading is not discussed in Vakareliyska 2008, II).

In **Mk 3:35**, the Slavic tradition, with иже бо, unanimously follows the Majority text (ος γαρ, 1/2, Aland et al. 1998: 56). Only Ban replaces the enclitic with the conjunction (и иже) as in a special variant in Greek (και ος, 7), occurring in the majuscule manuscript 032. Curz Dobš Hval and TS5 instead omit both (иже), as in another Greek variant (ος, 3), which appears in 5 manuscripts (including 03; this reading is not discussed in Vakareliyska 2008, II).

In **Mk 4:6**, the Slavic tradition in its entirety follows the Majority text, which has the verb in the singular (пр҃нсвѧде, see εκαυματισθη, 1/2, Aland et al. 1998: 57). Only Ban turns it into the plural (пр҃нсвѧнѫшѧ), which is typical only for Greek codices 03 and 05 (εκαυματισθησαν, 3; this reading is not discussed in Vakareliyska 2008, II).

In **Mk 6:47**, the Slavic tradition unanimously follows the Majority text, putting the verb into the imperfect (бѣ, бѣшє, ην, 1/2, Aland et al. 1998: 87). Only Ban omits the verb, as in manuscript 037 (OM. ην, 4; this reading is not discussed in Vakareliyska 2008, II).

The most significant passages are Mt 11:17, Mk 1:35 and Mk 3:35, for Dobš and Curz differ not only from Ban, but also, more generally, from the Slavic version, and agree only with Nik in Mk 1:35 and with Hval and TS5 in Mk 3:35. However few there are (although it must be kept in mind that this study is based on a selection of test passages and not the entire text of the Gospels), these fragments demonstrate that the tradition to which Ban Curz and Dobš belong is far more contaminated than C. Vakareliyska's work would indicate. The Bosnian tradition and IoAl have been too summarily omitted from the commentary of Curz, with the statement that "neither of these versions is close to any portions of the Curzon Gospel text" (Vakareliyska 2008, I: xxxiv). As can be noted, actually, there are many agreements and similarities, which show that the "Balkan Text" should be conceived in a broader sense rather than reduced to a rigid *stemma codicum*.

7. Peculiarities of Curz as opposed to Ban and Dobš

We next analysed those passages (15, 6%) in which Ban and Dobš run counter to the variant in Curz. These variants provide a more uniform picture, because in most cases Curz diverges from the early Slavic tradition, which Ban and Dobš follow, and comes closer to the Byzantine or Majority text (expecially in Matthew and Mark), as is to be expected from a mid-thirteenth-century codex. Only in the first half of the Gospel of Mark can the reverse be observed, namely a more pronounced closeness between Curz and the Slavic version (but always following the Byzantine or Majority text), from which Ban and Dobš, however, distance themselves:

	Ban Dobš follow the Slavic trad., Curz diverges from it	Curz follows the Slavic trad., Ban Dobš diverge from it	Ban Curz Dobš diverge from the Slavic tradition
Mt	2 passages out of 2 (100%)	0 passages (0%)	0 passages (0%)
Mk	5 passages out of 9 (56%)	4 passages (44%)	0 passages (0%)
Lk	1 passage out of 1 (100%)	0 passages (0%)	0 passages (0%)

Jn	3 passages out of 3 (50%)	0 passages (0%)	0 passages (0%)
TOT	11 passages out of 15 (73%)	4 passages (27%)	0 passages (0%)

In **Mk 3:7**, the variant in Curz and in the Slavic tradition in its entirety (по нємь нде н отъ нюдеиѧ) follows the Byzantine text (ηκο(υ)λουθησεν αυτω και απο της ιουδαιας, 1, Aland et al. 1998: 44). On the other hand, Ban, Dobš and TS5, in omitting the conjunction, are in accordance with a minor variant of the same textual typology (по нємь нде отъ нюдеиѧ, see ηκολουθησεν αυτω απο της ιουδαιας, 1E), which is contained in 3 minuscule manuscripts (this reading is not discussed in Vakareliyska 2008, II).

In **Mk 5:22**, the spelling of the name аиръ in Ban, Dobš and in most of the Balkan (Dobr Mir Vuk) and Bosnian tradition (Hval Nik Ven) occurs also in 9 manuscripts from the Greek tradition (ονοματι αειρος, 1/2E, Aland et al. 1998: 67), where it is often subject to corrections. Most of the Slavic tradition, beginning from Mar and Zogr and including Curz, echoes the spelling of the Majority text (иаиръ, see ονοματι ια(ε)ιρος, 1/2) (this reading is not discussed in Vakareliyska 2008, II).

The aorist in **Mk 8:25** (възложи) is a feature of Curz and of the Slavic version in its entirety, in agreement with the Majority text (επεθηκε(ν), 1/2, Aland et al. 1998: 115). Only Ban, Dobš and, quite unexpectedly, NR, with the participle (възложь), reflect the text of the Beza codex (05), of 037 and of 11 other Greek manuscripts (επιθεις, 4; this reading is not discussed in Vakareliyska 2008, II).

The fragments in which the text of Curz is more particular are the following:

In **Mt 15:6**, as in Čud, and in the Athonite versions (GB Iak NR TS66), IoAl Trg and TS5 (заповѣдь божиѭ), Curz (which has заповѣдн) agrees with the Byzantine text (την εντολην, 1, Aland et al. 1999a: 47). This variant already occurs in the Dobrilo Gospel and in Jur (Alekseev et al. 2005). The Standard text (τον λογον, 2) has no counterpart in Slavic, while the most common variant (законъ), which also in Ban and Dobš, reflects the text of 19 Greek manuscripts (τον νομον, 3; this reading is not discussed in Vakareliyska 2008, II).

Lk 5:17: ꙗѧ. The pronoun is in the plural, as in Ban and Dobš, throughout almost all the tradition (in the later versions predominantly in the gen./acc. case ꙗχъ), as in the Byzantine text (αυτους, 1, Aland et al. 1999b, 6); the latter is defined once again as "a minority Greek version" (!) by Vakareliyska (2008, II: 44, n. 46). The Standard text, which has the singular αυτον (2), occurs only in Curz (н). Among the 15 Greek manuscripts which contain the Standard text, there is **579** (see 01 03 032). C. Vakareliyska (*ibidem*) dates the variant from the antigraph DBC, focusing her attention exclusively on the verbal form (which is not included in the test passage that is discussed in Aland et al. 1999b), where the imperfect (Ban Dobš нсцѣлѣше, Curz цѣлѣшє) runs counter to the passage with the infinitive of the rest of the tradition (бъ цѣлнтн).

In **Jn 4:43** Curz (before the correction) agrees with the Bosnian tradition (Hval Ven) in omitting the conjunction (ѡтътѫдѹ ндє), which, instead, is a feature of the entire Slavic tradition (ѡтътѫдѹ н ндє), agreeing with a special variant of the Greek text (εκειθεν και ηλθεν, 3, Aland et al. 2005: 43). The Byzantine text (εκειθεν και απηλθεν, 1) finds an echo only in Čud (ѡтътѫдѹ н ѡтндє). The Curz variant could be the result of the conflation of the Slavic version with a minor variant of the Byzantine text (εκειθεν απηλθεν, 1E) that is contained in two minuscule manuscripts (this reading is not discussed in Vakareliyska 2008, II).

Also in **Jn 6:71**(2), Curz agrees only with Hval and Ven, this time in omitting the third person pronoun, which occurs both in the whole Slavic tradition (χотѣаше пѵѣдатн н [var. єго]) and in the Standard text (εμελλεν παραδιδοναι αυτον, 2, Aland et al. 2005: 86; the Byzantine word order χотѣаше н пѵѣдатн occurs only in Čud, see εμελλεν αυτον παραδιδοναι, 1). Curz, Hval and Ven have χотѣаше пѵѣдатн, a variant which is not found in the Greek tradition (this variant is not discussed in Vakareliyska 2008, II).

In **Jn 8:38**(1), the whole tradition, with азъ ꙗже, follows a special variant of the Greek text (εγω α, 3, Aland et al. 2005: 110). Only Čud has the anaphoric pronoun in the singular, as in the Byzantine text (εγω ο, 1). Curz and the first version of Vuk (азъ же) agree, instead, with a minor variant of the Greek text (εγω δε, 9) in the manuscripts

826 828 and 1373 (the pericope Jn 8:31–42 is defined as "unexceptional" in Vakareliyska 2008, II: 60).

8. Test passages in which Curz, Ban and Dobš follow different variants

The same percentage (14 passages, 6%) of agreement between Ban and Dobš vs. Curz can be obtained by counting those passages in which all three manuscripts are in opposition one to another. In this case too, it is Ban which more often follows the early Slavic tradition, but not in Mark, where Curz noticeably agrees with that tradition. It should be remembered that the Gospel of Mark is the only Book in which Curz frequently agrees with the Slavic tradition also in those passages where Ban and Dobš follow the same variant (see the previous paragraph):

	Ban follows the Slavic tradition	Curz follows the Slavic tradition	Dobš follows the Slavic tradition
Mt	2 passages out of 5 (40%)	0 passages (0%)	1 passage (20%)
Mk	1 passage out of 4 (25%)	4 passages (100%)	0 passages (0%)
Lk	1 passages out of 1 (100%)	0 passages (0%)	0 passages (0%)
Jn	2 passages out of 4 (50%)	0 passages (0%)	1 passage (25%)
TOT	6 passages out of 14 (43%)	3 passages (21%)	2 passages (14%)

These are often doubtful or, at least, uncertain readings which probably prove that the scribe of the single manuscript that differs edited the Slavic text where the text had became obscure as a result of an overlay of errors and corrections during the process of textual transmission. The latter would also seem to be confirmed by the frequent cases of conflation that can be found in these textual variants, which render them of particular interest for the study of tradition.

8a. Agreement of Ban with the Slavic tradition

In **Mt 13:44**, the text of Ban (вьсѣ єлнко имать продаєтъ) coincides with that of Mar and Zogr, but the referenced Byzantine variant (παντα οσα εχει πωλει, 1, Aland et al. 1999a: 41) is followed from the

Slavic tradition in its entirety (the later versions have the most literal variant вьсѩ, while part of tradition has ꙗродастъ). Curz, which is an exception, uses the imperfect имѣтн (вьсе єлнко имѣаше ꙗродастъ), as in a minor variant of the Byzantine text (παντα οσα ειχε πωλει, 1C) in manuscript 1331 (which is the result of a correction). The variant in Dobš is yet more interesting (вьсе єлнко имѣ ꙗродастъ вьсе имѣннє), as it has no Greek counterpart and could emerge from the influence of the following v. 46 (without there being a homœoteleuton, however), but also from the conflation of the Slavic version with the Standard text (πωλει παντα οσα εχει, 2), which occurs in 65 Greek manuscripts (including 01 and 05, see also the minuscule manuscripts 1 1582 and 1654; this reading is not discussed in Vakareliyska 2008, II).

In **Mt 14:18**, Ban has ѩ сѣмѡ in accordance with the Byzantine text (αυτους ωδε, 1, Aland et al. 1999a: 45) as does the entire Slavic tradition (variants нχъ, снѩ, самѡ). Dobš omits the pronoun (самѡ): this reading is not found in Greek, although it had already occurred in Slavic lectionaries (сѣмѡ, Sav Karp). Curz omits the passage in a homœoteleuton similar to the one characterizing the Greek manuscripts 99 and 295 (see U2, HOM. και δυο ιχθυας (VS. 17) [...δυο ιχθυας (VS. 18)]). See Vakareliyska 2008, II: 207 (who notes the homœoteleuton, but not the related Greek version).

In **Mk 12:23**, as part of the Slavic tradition (including Mar and Nik), Ban follows a quite common minor variant of the Majority text (εν τη ουν αναστασει οταν αναστωσιν, 1/2E, but see also 1/2O e 1/2P, Aland et al. 1998: 159), inserting the enclitic particle: въ въскрѣшєннє жє єгда въскрьснѫтъ. In this case, however, the Slavic tradition always has оубѡ or бѡ instead of жє as in Ban. Like Zogr and the later Slavic tradition, Curz omits the particle, as in the Greek Majority text (εν τη αναστασει οταν αναστωσιν, 1/2), but replaces the preposition with a conjunction (н въскрѣшєннє). Dobš omits the time clause and leaves only въ въскрѣшєннє жє (with жє as in Ban!), as in the "Western text" (εν τη αναστασει ουν, 4, codices 05 032 and 892) and in another special variant (εν τη ουν αναστασει, 5) that is contained in 22 Greek manuscripts, including codices **579** and **2738** (see also 04 33 191 and 544). To sum up, as already observed in Mt 13,44 (see above), the text of Dobš seems to be the result of a rewriting of the text based on Ban,

in order to make it in accordance with an archaic form of the Greek text (this reading is not discussed in Vakareliyska 2008, II).

In **Lk 9:56**, as the Slavic tradition in its entirety, Ban adheres to the Byzantine text (ADD. ο γαρ υιος του ανθρωπου ουκ ηλθεν ψυχας ανθρωπων απολεσαι αλλα σωσαι, 1, Aland et al. 1999b: 19). The Ban variant (сынъ бо ѹловѣчь нѣстъ пѓншьлъ дочшь ѹловѣчьскыихъ погоубнтн нъ спастн) corresponds, in particular, to that of Dobr IoAl and Vuk. The Dobš variant (сынъ бо ѹловѣчьскын нѣстъ пѓншьлъ погоубнтн дочшь нѫ спастн) does not bear any precise relationship to the Greek, whereas the Curz variant (сынъ бо ѹловѣчьскын нѣстъ пѓншьлъ дочшѫ ѹловѣчьскын погоубнтн нѫ спастн), apart from the garbled morphosyntax, corresponds entirely to a minor variant of the Byzantine text (ADD. ο γαρ υιος του ανθρωπου ουκ ηλθεν ψυχην ανθρωπων απολεσαι αλλα σωσαι, 10) contained in 4 Greek manuscripts (but see also 1P, 1 ms.; this reading is not discussed in Vakareliyska 2008, II).

In **Jn 5:16**, Ban (which, however, adds the conjunction at the end of the passage: нсоусѧ нюдєн н нскаахѫ єго оубнтн н) follows the Byzantine text (τον ιησουν οι ιουδαιοι και εζητουν αυτον αποκτειναι, 1, Aland et al. 2005: 51), just as the Slavic tradition had done beginning with Zogr. Dobš, following Dobr as well as the Bosnian Nik and Ven, omits the conjunction after нюдєн, in accordance with a minor variant of the Byzantine text (τον ιησουν οι ιουδαιοι εζητουν αυτον αποκτειναι, 1K), contained in two minuscule manuscripts. Curz, instead, uses the aorist tense (нскашѧ), another variant of the Byzantine text (τον ιησουν οι ιουδαιοι και εζητησαν αυτον αποκτειναι, 1O), which is also contained only in two manuscripts. (this reading is not discussed in Vakareliyska 2008, II).

In **Jn 9:18**, Ban, together with the Slavic tradition, has того прозьрѣвъшаѧго, in agreement with αυτου του αναβλεψαντος in the Byzantine text (1, Aland et al. 2005: 124). On the other hand, Dobš, has only єго here and thus, is in accordance with a quite common special variant of the Greek tradition (αυτου, 5) which contained in 30 manuscripts, including **1210** (see also 1 and 1582). This time it is the Curz variant (єго того прозьрѣвъшаѧго) that reveals evident signs of a conflation of the two Slavic versions (this reading is not discussed in Vakareliyska 2008, II).

8b. Agreement between Curz and the Slavic tradition

In **Mk 6:16**, Curz (ноана сьн естъ тън) follows the Byzantine text mostly together with the Slavic version (ιωαν(ν)ην ουτος εστιν αυτος, 1, Aland et al. 1998: 78), while Ban, which omits the second demonstrative (ноана тън естъ) as Karp does (although Karp has сьн), is in accordance with a minor variant of the Standard text (ιωαννην ουτος εστιν, 2C) contained in 5 Greek manuscripts (including 13, 346 and 828). The Dobš variant (то естъ), which also omits the name of John, does not find any echo in the Greek texts and, also in this case, could be a result of reworking of the text of Ban (the pericope Mk 6:14–30 is defined as without "remarkable variations" as to Zogr and Mar in Vakareliyska 2008, II: 37).

In **Mk 12:21**, both Curz (н тън не оставнтъ сѣмене) and Dobš (н тън не н не оставн сѣмене according to Tsonev (Цонев 1906: 143), н тън не н оставн сѣмене, according to Vakareliyska (2008, I: 263) basically reproduce the Byzantine text (και ουδε αυτος αφηκε(ν) σπερμα, 1, Aland et al. 1998: 158), even if not literally. Ban and Karp (f. 97v), instead, omit the passage in a homœoteleuton which is similar to the one found in 25 manuscripts of the Greek tradition (HOM. σπερμα (VS 20) ... σπερμα (VS 21), U2), including codex 2680; this reading is not discussed in Vakareliyska 2008, II).

For **Mk 12:23** see § 8a above.

In **Mk 15:44**, Curz follows the Slavic tradition with ѧще оуже, which could correspond to the Majority text (ει παλαι, 1/2, Aland et al. 1998: 188), or to a special variant (ει ηδη, 3). Dobš omits ѧще оуже оумрѣтъ: this variant does not find any echo in the Greek texts, while Ban, once again, has a homœoteleuton that corresponds to part of the Greek tradition (HOM. τεθνηκεν [... απεθανεν (τεθνηκεν)] (VS 45) και, U1, 5 codd.; this reading is not discussed in Vakareliyska 2008, II). It is obvious that sometimes the convergence of the Slavic and Greek readings could be totally accidental. However, from a methodological point of view, the only suitable criterion seems to be the one that Alekseev indicated: "если к данному славянскому текстовому варианту имеется параллель в греческих источниках, его волей-неволей приходится считать отражением греческого оригинала даже в том случае, если между ними не удается установить текстологическую связь" (Алексеев 1999: 84). In any case, an

isolated variant is of no value for determining a revision of the Slavic text based on the Greek tradition. This could be true to a great extent for the homœoteleuta (as New Testament philologists often characterise, with a slight lack of accuracy, the *saut du même au même*), which could have originated in the Slavic text independently of the Greek text. It should, however, be noted that Ban shares two homœoteleuta (Mk 12:21 and 15:44) with manuscript 841 (which, however, is not part of the group of codices closest to our group).

8c. Agreement of Dobš with the Slavic tradition

In **Mt 27:49**, Dobš follows, with the early Slavic tradition, a special variant of the Greek text (дроугын же прнемъ копне прободе емоу ребра н нзнде вода н кръвь, see ADD. αλλος δε λαβων λογχην ενυξεν αυτου την πλευραν και εξηλθεν υδωρ και αιμα, 3, Aland et al. 1999a: 63), while the early Slavic tradition does not have this addition, in accordance with the Majority text. Ban inverts the last two nouns, as in lectionaries Put (f. 108v) and Vrač (ff. 131 and 156–156v): дроугын же прнемъ копне н прободе емоу ребра нзнде кръвь н вода, and in a minor Greek variant (ADD. αλλος δε λαβων λογχην ενυξεν αυτου την πλευραν και εξηλθεν αιμα και υδωρ, 3C), but, as in the above-mentioned lectionaries, the correspondence is not perfect (concerning Ban, see the insertion of the conjunction after копне). Variant 3C, however, occurs in 20 Greek manuscripts, including 2680. The Curz variant, which omits the second sentence (дроугын же прнемъ копне прободе емоу ребра), has no counterpart in Greek texts (the pericope Mt 27:39–61 is defined as "unexceptional" in Vakareliyska 2008, II: 220).

In **Jn 1:27**(2), Dobš follows the Byzantine word order (εγω ουκ ειμι αξιος, 1, Aland et al. 2005: 4), as in the early Slavic version and Čud (азъ нѣсмь достоннъ), while the Athonite versions, with нѣсмь азъ достоннъ, are in accordance with the Standard text (ουκ ειμι εγω αξιος, 2). Ban, which, together with the late lectionary TS5 has нѣсмь достоннъ азъ, follows a special (ουκ ειμι αξιος εγω, 3) contained in 3 manuscripts, including 828. Curz, on the contrary, is in accordance with lectionaries OE, Put and Vrač, omitting the personal pronoun (нѣсмь достоннъ) as in 115 Greek manuscripts (ουκ ειμι αξιος, 4), including manuscripts **59 393 732** and **2106** (the pericope Jn 1:18–28 is defined as "unremarkable" in Vakareliyska 2008, II: 57).

9. Conclusions

The analysis of the 247 test passages from the Münster corpus that appear in Ban, Curz and Dobš shows, on one hand, the accuracy of C. Vakareliyska's examination, detecting as she does a strong affinity between the three manuscripts (159 readings in common, 64%) and in particular between Ban and Curz (37 readings vs. Dobš, 15%). On the other hand, the percentage of the readings where Ban is in opposition to Curz and Dobš (20 readings, 8%), where Curz runs counter to Ban and Dobš (15 readings, 6%) or where all 3 manuscripts differ (14 readings, 6%) is such as to render uncertain the reconstruction of a *stemma codicum*, as has been used by Vakareliyska, with an archetype that is common to all three codices (DCB) and a subarchetype from which Ban and Curz (CB) should derive. In fact, the tradition is much more contaminated than would appear from the study that accompanies the Curz edition (see Vakareliyska 2008, II), in which only *ad hoc* readings are discussed, to support the thesis of the subarchetype: Vakareliyska only considers 3 of the 29 test passages that I have identified here as being contrary to this thesis (see §§ 6, 7 and 8 above), one from the Gospel of Luke (Lk 5:17) and two from that of Matthew (Mt 14:18 and 24:36).

The reading of Mt 24:36 is, in fact, in keeping with what Vakareliyska has stated concerning the Gospel of Matthew: namely that the archetype common to all three codices DCB, as in the case of the subarchetype CB, has been reconstructed only for Mark, Luke and John, while, according to that scholar, the three manuscripts follow a different textual tradition in the first half of Matthew. She states that starting from Mt 15:2 in particular, Curz and Dobš agree and run counter to Ban (see § 5 above). Indeed, when considering our corpus, the agreement between Curz and Dobš is perceptibly more frequent in the second half of the Gospel of Matthew, but can, nevertheless, be found in the other three Gospels.

Be that as it may, the most important aspect of this study does not lie in the criticism of positions of C. Vakareliyska, who, in my opinion, commits the sole sin of Lachmannian *hybris* in one context, that of the textual tradition of the gospels, in which the direct derivation of antigraph to apograph represents the exception and not the norm. My concerns, in short, are to do exclusively with the interpretation of data and certainly not with the meticulous care with which C. Vakareliyska has collated them. What really counts in the previous few lines is

exactly the opposite, namely the numerous confirmations that are to be found in the Münster corpus for the mass of data accumulated by that scholar. Her findings underline a) the extraordinary closeness of Curz, Ban and Dobš (§ 4) within the Slavic tradition; b) the greater proximity of Ban and Curz as opposed to Dobš (§ 5), regardless of the explanation that might be given for this phenomenon; and c) the singularity of the Gospel of Matthew, in which readings common to both Ban and Curz (see § 5) do not appear, which fact distinguishes it from the other three Gospels.

It is obvious that the systematic study of a manuscript highlights a greater number of details as compared to an analysis of a sample of test passages, as has been the case on this occasion. Moreover, the epithet "systematic" is most certainly applicable to the work of C. Vakareliyska, who has been studying the Curzon Gospel for at least 15 years (see Vakareliyska 1993). However, on the other hand, it is undeniable that the scrutiny of every variant, precisely because it does highlight the details, often leaves the scholar at the mercy of themselves, rendering him incapable of revising a theory that has been proved true only partially. On the other hand – and this seems to me to be the crucial point – 15 years of work on three codices (Ban Curz and Dobš) have produced the same result as two months of analysis of the same manuscripts using the Münster corpus of test passages. Clearly, in C. Vakareliyska's 15 years of work there is much more besides the two or three points listed above: the diplomatic edition of Curz, the assembly of a critical structure, the palaeographic and codicological investigation of the manuscript, etc. Yet, and I repeat, the definition of the internal relationship within the group Ban-Curz-Dobš is virtually identical with that which can be obtained through the analysis of test passages; what is more, where there exist some differences (see my observations with regard to the subarchetype CB) I would be more inclined to trust the conclusions of the corpus as compared to Vakareliyska's analysis, since, being unable to discuss *every* reading for obvious reasons of space, she is inevitably forced to decide which reading is worthy of attention or not, and thus ends up by imposing a subjective structure on her work. On the contrary, the corpus of test passages produced at the *Institut für neutestamentliche Forschung* at Münster seems to have all its papers in order to function as a guide in the classification of the manuscripts and main textual groupings of the Slavic gospels.

ABBREVIATIONS (in chronological order)

Mar	Codex Marianus (Moscow – RGB Grig. 6 [fragm. in Wien – ÖNB Cod.slav.146], e, early 11th c., Воскресенский 1894: A; Алексеев et al. 1998: Vt1).
As	Codex Assemanianus (Rome – Bibl. Vat. 3, ℓ esk, 11th c., Воскресенский 1894: A; Алексеев et al. 1998: Vt1).
Zogr	Codex Zographensis (St. Petersburg – RNB Glag.1, e, 11th c., Воскресенский 1894: A; Алексеев et al. 1998: Vt1).
OE	Ostromir Gospel (St. Petersburg – RNB F.p.I.5, ℓ esk, 1056/57, Воскресенский 1894: A; Алексеев et al. 1998: Vt1).
Arch	Archangel'sk Gospel (Moscow – RGB 1666, ℓ esk, 1092, Воскресенский 1894: A; Алексеев et al. 1998: Pr1).
Sav	Sava's Book (Moscow – RGADA Sin.tip.14, ℓ esk, late 11th–early 12th c., Воскресенский 1894: A; Алексеев et al. 1998: Vt2).
Dobr	Dobromir Gospel (St. Petersburg – RNB Q.p.I.55, e, 12th c., Алексеев et al. 1998: Vt2).
Mir	Miroslav Gospel (Belgrade – NM 1538 [fragm. in RNB F.p.I.83], ℓ e, 1180–1190, Алексеев et al. 1998: Vt1).
Vuk	Vukan Gospel (St. Petersburg – RNB F.p.I.82, ℓ e, c.1200, Воскресенский 1894: B; Алексеев et al. 1998: Pr2).
Vrač	Vraca Gospel (Sofia – NBKM 19 [199], ℓ esk, first half of 13th c.).
Dobš	Dobrejšo Gospel (Sofia – NBKM 17, e, first half of 13th c., Алексеев et al. 1998: Pr).
Karp	Karpina Gospel (Moscow – GIM Chlud.28, ℓ e + ℓ a, 13th c., Воскресенский 1894: A; Алексеев et al. 1998: Vt2).
Ban	Banica Gospel (Sofia – NBKM 847, e, late 13th c., Алексеев et al. 1998: Pr2).
Put	Putna Gospel (Putna Monast. 566/II, ℓ esk, late 13th c., Алексеев et al. 1998: Pr).
Tert	Terter Gospel (Athos – Hil.18, e, 1322, Алексеев et al. 1998: IA).
Curz	Curzon Gospel (London – Brit. Lib. Add. 39628, e, c.1354).
Čud	Čudovskij New Testament (lost, phototype ed. 1892, NT, c.1355, Воскресенский 1894: V; Алексеев et al. 1998: Cd).
Iak	Metropolite Iakov Gospel (London – Brit. Lib. Add. 39626, e, 1355, Алексеев et al. 1998: A).
IoAl	Ivan Aleksandăr Gospel (London – Brit. Lib. Add. 39627, e, 1356, Алексеев et al. 1998: IA).
TS5	(Moscow – RGB 304.I.5 [Holy Trinity-St Sergius Lavra Collection], ℓ e, second half of 14th c., Воскресенский 1894: B).

Ven Venice Gospel (Venice – Bibl. Marc. Or.227, NT, late 14th c.).

NR Nikon of Radonež Gospel (Moscow – RGB 173.I.138, e, late 14th–early 15th c., Воскресенский 1894: G; Алексеев et al. 1998: A).

Nik Nikolja Gospel (Dublin – Chester Beatty W 147, e, 14th–15th c., Воскресенский 1894: G; Алексеев et al. 1998: Vt1).

Hval Hval New Testament (Bologna – Bibl. Univ. 3575B, NT + Sal, 1404, Воскресенский 1894: A).

TS66 (Moscow – RGB 304.I.66 [Holy Trinity-St Sergius Lavra Collection], e, 1472, Воскресенский 1894: G; Алексеев et al. 1998: B).

GB Gennadij Bible (Moscow – GIM Sin.915, VT + NT, 1499, Воскресенский 1894: G; Алексеев et al. 1998: B).

Trg Târgovişte Gospel (st. Târgovişte 1512, e).

(English translation by Eugenia Bitonti)

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THE NAMES OF THE BOOKS FROM THE BIBLICAL CORPUS IN OLD BULGARIAN LITERATURE

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The topic of this paper is evidence for the names of the sacred books in the biblical corpus, as found in Old Bulgarian written texts. As this is a preliminary study of limited size, the facts presented here are far from exhaustive. Work on the study is only at an initial stage, and the observations here are based mainly on the general lexicographic reference sources on Old Bulgarian, and on specific texts with which I am most familiar. A fuller collection of data, if this is possible, is a goal for a potential larger future project.

I have used the following textual sources for this study:

1. The Nomocanon, i.e. the so-called Kormchaya Kniga, a collection of apostolic and conciliar canons (κανόνες) governing the internal order in the Church, and of imperial decrees (νόμοι) on the relationship between Church and State. The collection also includes the lists of books, allowed or forbidden by the Church.

2. John Exarch's translation of 'On the Orthodox Faith' (8th c., 'JoETheol'). The fourth book of this impressive collection on the major theological and philosophical issues of that epoch discusses, in addition to matters related to the Resurrection and the Ascension, the sacraments of the Church, the veneration of saints and icons, the end of the world and the divine inspiration of sacred Scripture (ff. 310r–313r).

3. Chapters II. 191 and 192 of the Miscellany of Tsar Simeon (the copy from 1073, hereafter 'SimMisc1073'). The first chapter is a translation of the same excerpt from 'On the Orthodox Faith' by John Damascene that is found on ff. 310r–313r; the second is an excerpt from the works of Gregory the Theologian of Nazianzus. SimMisc 1073 is an anthology intended as a manual of exegetics and is divided into two large sections, on specific and general exegetics, respectively. The two chapters of interest here form a section on the general exegetic discipline of heuristics which covers, among other issues, the divine inspiration of the Bible; the rules governing the interpretation of the

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Scriptures in accordance with Church doctrine; which books are canonical and which are not, which are heretical, which are apocryphal, and which are prohibited; and the sequence of the texts in the biblical corpus (Илиева 2007: 56–59). The books of the Old Testament canon ('OT') that are not named here are Nehemiah and Baruch; from the New Testament canon ('NT'), the Book of Revelations is missing. In addition to the list of canonical books, the chapter entitled Богословца отъ словесъ contains the first index of rejected books in the Slavonic tradition, containing only apocryphal texts on OT and NT themes, listing 25 titles altogether. In SimMisc 1073, however, the last of the 25 titles has been crossed out (Иванова 1991: 29).

4. Information on the content, sequence, and names of the extant sacred books in the biblical corpus for liturgical and non-liturgical use, as well as quotations from Scripture in other ecclesiastical literature[1].

General Concepts

The Old Bulgarian words къннгы ('books') and пнсанніе ('scripture') are exact renderings of the Greek τὰ Βιβλία and ἡ γραφή / αἱ γραφαί and mean 'a collection with a strictly fixed volume' and content that consists of books sacred to Judaism and Christianity. These terms for the biblical collection indicate that the sacred books, i.e. the Scriptures, stand so high above all other books that the common nouns τὰ Βιβλία – къннгы and αἱ γραφαί – пнсанніа have become proper nouns naming books and scriptures that have special priority because God Himself inspired them, as witnessed by the Apostles (2Pet 1:21; 2Tim 3:16). It is by virtue of their having been inspired by God that these books are the genuine and infallible Word of God (Old Bulgarian слово б҃жіе, Gk ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ) and not simply works of their authors. In connection with this, when books of the Bible quote from other parts of the Scriptures, no mention is made of the specific book or author, but instead the text states only 'it is written', 'it was said',

[1] The present paper uses data from the classical Old Bulgarian writings listed in Старославянский словарь (SS), as well as information from works preserved in more recent, mainly Russian, copies that are considered with certainty by Palaeoslavonic scholars to have been written in the Old Bulgarian literary centre of Preslav in the 9th and 10th centuries. Less frequently, material from more recent texts has also been used for comparative purposes.

'according to the Scriptures', or 'the Holy Spirit testifies' (in Old Bulgarian писано есть, рєчено есть /sc. бг҃омь/, по писании, с҃тын дх҃ъ свидетельствоуеть). These terms themselves are of biblical origin: in the Old Testament the terms 'books' meant sacred books (Ps 39:8; Is 34:16; Dn 9:2). When Jesus and the Apostles referred to the Law of Moses and the Prophets, they used the term 'scriptures' (Mt 21:42; 22:29; Lk 24:32; Jn 5:38), whereas when they meant specific locations in the biblical text they used 'scripture' in the singular (Lk 4:21; Jn 20:9; Jas 2:8) (ПБЭС 1, 1992: 323–329).

Examples:

како же оубо събѫдѫть сѧ кънигы Mt 26:54 Zogr Mar Assem Sav Boyan (as given in SS, p. 301)

пакы дроугоіе писаніе г҃леть Jn 19:37 Assem (дроугыѩ кънигы Zogr Mar) (as given in SS, p. 559)

пытанте писанїѧ Jn 5:39 Supr 324, 13 (as given in SS, p. 559)

г҃леть бо писаніе: не отъмъстишн дъва кратъı о ѥдномь EphrKorm Ap 25 (кънигы UstKorm) (as given in Srezn. II, 2, col. 935)

вѣсть слово JoETheol f. 137r; note also ff. 22v, 43v, 91v, 124v, 150v.

The Preslav literary tradition shows an obvious preference for the lexical variant писаніе. A number of biblical quotations in non-biblical works testify to this: for example, JoETheol 306r Jn 5:39 пытанте писанїѧ vs. Zogr and Mar испытанте кънигы; SimMisc 1073 Jn 10:31 тн не можетъ сѧ разорнтн писаніе vs. Zogr and Mar не могѫтъ сѧ кънигы разорнтн; Gal 3:10 проклѧтъ вьсь, нже не пребоудеть въ вьсѣхъ писанїихъ vs. въ кънигахъ законьныхъ PresbCosma. In JoETheol писаніе is used twice as frequently as кънигы, with 46 vs. 23 occurrences. The Preslav redaction of the Nomocanon (the Ephremova Kormchaya Kniga) gives only писаніе (55 times), vs. кънигы in Methodius's translation of the Nomocanon (the Ustyug Kormchaya Kniga). The Preslav portion of Supr uses писаніе 14 times and кънигы only 3 times. In SimMisc1073 писаніе appears 10 times, while кънигы has not been used at all. A similar scenario is found in Zlatostruy 11th c., GrNaz 11th c., four discourses against the Arians by Athanasius of Alexandria translated by Constantine of Preslav, and the Chronicle of George Hamartolus. The opposite ratio is found in the canonical Old Bulgarian written texts, where кънигы appears over 100 times and писаніе only 33 times. Otherwise, both words can be found

in almost all texts of the tenth and eleventh centuries (Славова 1985: 68–70).

The terms кънигы, писанье and слово are often accompanied by the modifiers с҃тъıн, б҃жнн, б҃жьствьнъıн:

ꙗко же гл҃ютъ б҃жнꙗ кънигы GrNaz 11th c., f. 51 (as given in Srezn. I, 2, col. 1393)

отъ въıшьнихъ кънигъ наоучь сѧ MenPut 11th c., f. 36 (as given in Srezn. I, 2, col. 1393)

Покланꙗѧ сѧ...с҃тъınмъ кънигамъ, ıзволнвъшааго насъ ради въ ржкотворенъınхъ положнтн н своꙗ SimMisc 1073, f. 22d16

Порazоумѣнмъ снлоу н пооученне с҃тъıхъ книгъ Coll 1076, f. 3 (as given in Srezn. III, 1, col. 309)

с҃тое писанне JoETheol, f. 21v (see also ff. 23r, 46v, 129r, 327v)

б҃жьствьное писанне JoETheol, f. 65v (see also ff. 112v, 130v, 148r, 151v, 281r, 301r, 313v, 315v, 322r, 331r, 346r)

божьскаꙗ словеса въ плътьнаꙗ напнсатн. SimMisc 1073, f. 22d18-19

Дражьша бо внсьра сѵть с҃таꙗ словеса. Coll 1076, f. 29 (as given in Srezn. III, 1, col. 309)

нстнное слово JoETheol, f. 127r

правое слово JoETheol, f. 205r.

The adjectives ‘God-inspired’ and ‘canonical’ often follow these terms for the Bible.

‘God-inspired’ occurs in the following variants in the extant medieval texts:

богодъхновенъ: б҃гоdъхновенъıхъ кънигъ ненzдреченъıꙗ оученнꙗ MenPut 11th c. богодъхновенъıꙗ кънигы PandAnt 11th c., f. 161 (as given in Srezn. I, 1, col. 129); see also En 5a:8.

богодъхньнъ: Пнсмена богодъхньнаго оученнꙗ PandAnt 11th c., f. 138 (as given in Srezn. I, 1, col. 130)

богодъшьнъ: Вьсе писанне бо҃дъшьно н польzьно SimMisc 1073, f. 6a14

богодоушьнъ: Пнсанне бго҃доушьно JoETheol, f. 322v

богодоуховьнъ: б҃гоd҃ховьное писанне JoETheol, f. 322v.

The term ‘canonical books’ (кънигъı въ рощѣ, въ канонѣ) has the following variants in Old Bulgarian:

оуставьнъııѧ кънигъı: Прѣложи всѣ оуставьнъııѧ кънигъı ѯ отъ елиньска ıѧзъıка JoEtheol, f. 2r

нароуитъııѧ кънигъı: ıѧкоже бъıти нароуитъınмъ кънигамъ сще JoEtheol, f. 311r

роуьнъııѧ кънигъı: ıѧкоже бъıти роуьнъınмъ кънигамъ сще SimMisc1073, f. 252c3

вънароуитъııѧ кънигъı: Ноанна о вънароуитъıнхъ кънигахъ SimMisc 1073, f. 252a22.

The corpus of Old Testament books as a whole is referred to in Old Bulgarian texts by the terms ветъхъın ꙁавѣтъ, ветъхъın ꙁаконъ, ветъхъııѧ кънигъı:

Въ ветъсѣмъ ꙁаконѣ Cloz, f. 13r37 (as given in SS, p. 228)

Мъногашьдъı обрѧщешн въ ветъхъıхъ кънигахъ Supr, f. 487, 24

Прндавъın намъ…въ съкаꙁанни ветъхаго н новаго ꙁавѣта вьсѧ оудеса твоѧ Men 1096 (Okt.) 35 (as given in Srezn. II, 1, col. 460).

The following terms for the Pentateuch (Greek πεντάτευχος), i.e. a collection of five books, are used in the Old Bulgarian texts:

пѧтеръı кънигъı, пентатеоухъ, пѧтерь, пѧтерьница, пѧтерница, пѧторница, пѧтн коупъ, пѧтокънижніе (referring mainly to the Pentateuch of Moses).

Examples:

се сѫ пѧтеръı кънигъı, ıеже н ꙁаконоположенне SimMisc 1073, f. 252a8-9

се пентатеоухъ н ꙁаконъ-положенніе JoEtheol, f. 311v

новъ же н псалтъıрıѧ н прнтъча н съборьнкъ н пѣсни пѣсньмь се третнѧѧ пѧтеръ SimMisc 1073, f. 252c25-26

кънигъı сще оубо сѫть съложенъı въ пѧтерьницахъ кънижьнъınхъ ветворѣхъ SimMisc 1073, f. 252b25-26

снѧ вътораѧ пѧтерницѧ JoEtheol, f. 312r

ветвьртаѧ пѧторница пр҃р҃ускаѧ JoEtheol, f. 312r

снце сѧ оубо сълежѣть кънигы въ пѧтн коупъ въ четвертѣ JoETheol, f. 311r.

The following terms for the Pentateuch include the Law of Moses:

законъ, мосѣовъ законъ, законоположенне, законъ-положенне, законьныѩ кънигы, завѣтнъѩ кънигы, пѧтокънижне.

Examples:

родьство, нсходъ, левнтнкъ, числа, вторын законъ· се сѫ пѧтерѣ кънигы, иже н законоположенне. SimMisc 1073, f. 252c8

се пентатеоухъ н законъ-положенне. JoETheol, f. 311v

пѧтн законьныннмъ (sc. кънигамъ): бытье, нсходъ, слоужнтельскы, числа, вторын законъ. JoETheol, f. 311v

завѣтьнъѩ кънигы F.I.461 Ez16:8 (thus called because these books were given to Moses on Mount Sinai as a sign of the covenant between God and Israel).

въ законѣ всѣкъ мьртвѣмъ сѧ прнкосъ неуистъ бѣаше JoETheol, f. 295r

законъ же н пр̏рцн JoETheol, f. 306v

мосѣовъ законъ JoETheol, f. 328r

пѧтокънижне Pentateuch Coll. 15th c. (as given in Srezn. II, 2, col. 1795).

The following titles are found in the Old Bulgarian texts for the individual books of the Pentateuch of Moses:

бытне, бытнискъѩ кънигы, родьство – the Book of Genesis

нсходъ, нсходъ с̏новъ нз̏левъ нзъ егнпта – the Book of Exodus

левнтнкъ/ левнтнкъ, левгнтнкъ, левнтнконъ, слоужнтельскы – the Book of Leviticus

числа, числа, числа сыновъ нз̏левъ – the Book of Numbers

вторын законъ, второзаконне, девтерономнѧ – the Book of Deuteronomy.

Examples:

ѩкоже бытн роуныннмъ кънигамъ снце: родьство, нсходъ, левнтнкъ, числа, вторын законъ. се сѫть пѧтерѣ кънигы, еже н законоположенне SimMisc 1073, f. 252c4-8

писано бо ѥсть въ бытнн PandAnt 11th c. (as given in Srezn. I, 1, col. 210) Also Kiev, Euch, Cloz, Supr, Paroem, SimMisc 1073.

бытье, нсходъ, слоужнтельскы, ѵнсмена, второѵн ѕаконъ. се пентатеоухъ, н ѕаконъположенне. JoETheol, f. 311r

По бытнискамъ кънигамъ GrNaz 14th c. (Gk κατὰ τὸ ἐν Βίβλῳ γενέσεως)

нсходъ с҃новъ нз҃левъ нзъ егнпта Pentateuch 14th c. (as given in Srezn. I, 2, col. 1163)

ѵнсла сыновъ нз҃левъ Pentateuch 14th c. (as given in Srezn. III, 2, col. 1523)

Отъ въторозаконнѧ SimMisc 1073, f. 64c3

Кънигы девтерономнѧ EphrKorm Laod.51 (as given in Srezn. I, 1, col. 650).

The terms found in Old Bulgarian texts for the group of historical books are the following:

повѣстьнъѩ кънигъ SimMisc 1073, f. 253a12

пнсанна: Таже дроугъѩ патеры книгы, ѕовомаѧ пнсанна, а етеры с҃топнсанна. JoETheol, f. 311v, Gk. Γραφεῖα

пнсателънца: таѵе дроугъѩ патеры кънигы, нарнцаемѧ пнсателънца. SimMisc 1073, f. 252c11

с҃топнсанне/ с҃топнсанна: дроугъѩ патеры кънигы нарнцаемъѩ пнсателънца, отъ дроугънхъ же с҃топнсанне ibid. Gk. ‘Αγιόγραφα.

The names used in the Old Bulgarian texts for the individual historical books are:

Нисоус Наѵгнновъ/ Навгнновъ, Нисоус ‘the Book of Joshua’

Цѣсарьствнѧ, Цѣсарьства, Цѣсарьскыѧ кънигы, Кънигы цѣсарь, Дѣѩнна Цѣсарьска ‘the Books of Kings’

Роѵѳъ, Роѵѳскъѩ кънигы ‘the Book of Ruth’

Сѫдна, Крнтн, Сѫдннскъѩ кънигы ‘the Book of Judges’

Паралнпомена, Паралнпоменъ, Останъкъ, Останъѵнъѩ кънигы, Остатъѵнъѩ кънигы ‘the Books of Paralipomena (Chronicles)’.

Examples:

Нисоус Наугннъ н Сѫдніа съ Роуѳомь н Цѣсарьства н прьвъіа н въторъіа іеднъі къннгъі SimMisc 1073, f. 252c14-15

таже дроугъіа пѫтеръі къннгъі зовомаіа пнсанніа а етеръі с҃топнсанніа іаже соуть сице: н҃іс навгннъ, соудніа съ роуфскынмн, ц҃рьскыіа прьвъіа съ въторъінмн къннгъі іеднъі, третніа съ четвертъімн къннгъі іеднъі н двое отъ паралнпоменъ къннгъі іеднъі JoETheol, ff. 311v–312r

Аще бо повѣстьнъіа хощешн поунтатн, нмашн ц҃рьскыіа къннгы SimMisc 1073, f. 204a12

Въ къннгахъ ц҃рьскыіхъ MenReadFebr, f. 241 (as given in Srezn. III, 2, col. 1463)

къннгы пьрвыіа н въторыіа ц҃ре JoETheol, f. 311r

Прнмѣшаеть сѫ Роуѳъ съ Крнтъмь н ѹтоутьсѧ въ евренхъ еднъі къннгъі JoETheol, f. 310v

Обрѣтаемъ бо въ Сѫдннскънхъ къннгахъ, ꙗко Нлън жерцю во днн онъі соудѧщю въ Нзр҃лн, н возндоша ннопламеньнцн на Рм҃ъ Ір. (as given in Srezn. III, 1, col. 597)

Прьвъіа паралнпомена н въторъіа іеднъі къннгъі (with margin note останъкъ) SimMisc 1073, f. 252b22, Gk Παραλειπόμενα

елнкоже къннгъ унстн ветъхаго завѣта: четъірь ц҃рствнн, останъкъ EphrKorm, Laod. 59 Отъ останъкъ книгъі е҃ EphrKorm, Krth., f. 24

Останьцъі царствъ Discourse (as given in Srezn. II, 1, col. 738)

Останъчьнъі іедно н въторое (Παραλειπομένων πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον) EphrKorm, f. 216 (as given in Srezn. II, 1, col. 738)

Остатъчьнъіхъ къннгъ дъвоіа EphrKorm, f. 246 (as given in Srezn. II, 1, col. 741)

прьвое родьство, таче нсходъ н леунтнконъ таче унсла потомьже въторын законъ, таче ннсоусъ н сѫдніа, роуѳ деватъіа н десатъіа къннгъі дѣіанніа ц҃рьска н паралнпоменъі послѣждежде нмашн іездроу SimMisc 1073, f. 253a16–25.

The Books of Wisdom in the Old Bulgarian texts are referred to as a whole as

Стнхрьскъıѧ [кънгъı] JoETheol, f. 312r

стншьнъıѧ [кънгъı] SimMisc 1073, f. 253a27

The individual Wisdom Books in the Old Bulgarian texts are titled

Новъ, Новлѧ кънига, Нововъıѧ кънигы ‘the Book of Job’

Псалтырь, -ѧ m/ -н f, Псалтырѧ, Псалтырьскъıѧ кънигы, Псалъмьскъıѧ кънигы, кънигъı псалмъ, Пѣснивьнıѧ кънигы, Пѣснивьць, Пѣсньньць, Давъıдъ, Псалтырь давъıдовъ ‘the Book of Psalms’

Прнтъча Соломонѧ, Парнмнѧ Соломонѧ, Словеса прнтъчьнаѧ ‘the Book of Proverbs’

Єклнснастъ, Съборьникъ ‘the Book of Ecclesiastes’

Пѣснь пѣснемъ, Пѣснь пѣсниı, Ѧзма ѧзматьскаѧ ‘the Song of Songs’, Gk. ᾆσμα· ᾀσμάτων[2].

Examples:

Стнхрьскъıѧ (кънигъı): Нововъı, Псалтырь, Парнмнѧ Соломонѧ, Єклнснастъ сего же, Ѧзма ѧзматьскаѧ тогожде JoETheol, f. 312r

Новъ же н псалтырѧ н прнтъча н съборьникъ н пѣсни пѣсньмь: се третнѧ патеръ кънигъı SimMisc 1073, ff. 252c22

Да боудоуть же вамъ всѣмъ прнчьтьникомъ кънигъı чьстьнъı н с҃тъı... Новлѧ единa, Псалтъıрьскаѧ единa. EphrKorm, f. 85

Боудн же намъ всѣмъ... книгъı ч҃тнъı н с҃тъı оубо вѣтхаго ѕавѣта: естнровъı однъı, Псалтырь однa, Соломона г҃ UstKorm Io.Schol. 50 (quoted from Srezn. II, 2 (П), col. 1722)

Въ кънигъı псалмъ р҃н EphrKorm Laod. 60 (as given in Srezn. II, 2, col. 1721)

Давъıдъ г҃лѣть въ книгахъ псалъмьскъıхъ YurGosp (as given in Srezn. II, 2, col. 1721)

Въ кънгахъ пѣснивьнъıхъ Gosp 13th c., Lk 20:42 (as given in Srezn. II, 2, col. 1786)

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[2] This name is a syntactic calque of the Hebrew superlative degree, and the literal meaning is ‘the most beautiful song’ (note also небо небесьноıе, вѣкъ вѣковъ богъ богъмъ, господь господьмь, ц҃рь ц҃ремь, etc.).

Пр҃нтъча Соломона EphrKorm Laod. 59 (quoted from Srezn. II, 2, col. 1483)

Словеса пр҃нтъчьная Coll 1076, f. 179 (as given in Srezn. II, 2, col. 1484)

Пѣсни пѣсннн, одрьжать бо паче н нстовьнѣнша сѫть GrNaz 11th c., f. 97 (as given in Srezn. II, 2, col. 1788)

на стншьнъшѧ же пѧтеры нхъже ѥ прьвъын ѡвъ, потомьже давыдъ, таче троѧ соломона: съборьннкъ, пѣсни же пр҃нтъча, н по семь доу-ха пророчьскаго ѥ҃в пророкъ ѡсніе SimMisc 1073, f. 252c21.

The Prophetic Books are referred to as пѧторнца пр҃р҃ческаѧ JoETheol, пророцн SimMisc 1073, f. 7b7, or къннгы пр҃р҃чьскъшѧ Mt 26:56.

The individual Prophetic Books are given in the Old Bulgarian texts as:

a) metonymic use of the name of the prophet as the name of the book: нсаніѧ, неремнѧ, нєзекннлъ, даннилъ;

b) пророчьство + possessive adjective: пророчьство нонлево F.I.461, f. 185r1, амоше 191r1, авдннно 202r1, мнхеево 208r1, авакоумьне 216r1, etc.;

c) къннгы + genitive phrase, or + attributive possessive adjective: двою на десѧте пр҃р҃коу къннгы JoETheol 312r; see also къннгы ѥ҃н пророкъ SimMisc 1073, f. 252c26;

d) пророчьство, прорєченніе + genitive noun phrase: пророчьство нонъы пр҃р҃ка F.I.461, f. 204r1

Ꙗєздра, Ꙗєздрннъ къннгы, Къннгы Ꙗєздры – the Book of Ezra

Єсфнр, Єсфнрьскъшѧ къннгы – the Book of Esther.

Examples:

чєтвьртаѧ пѧторнца пр҃р҃ческаѧ. двою на десѧте пр҃р҃коу къннгы еднъы: нсана, неремна, нєзекна [sic] н даннила къннгы еднъы, таже ꙗєздры пьрвъшѧ н вторъшѧ еднъы къннгы сълагаємъы съ есфнрьскъынмн.

прнде бо нникако же разорнть закона нн въстлапнть же пророкъ, съвьршаѭ же паче н пр҃рькы н законъ SimMisc 1073, f. 7b5

събѫдѫть са кънигы пр҃рчьскыѩ Mt 26:56 Zogr Mar Assem Sav

По нсаннову пр҃рчьствоу GrNaz 11th c., f. 351 (as given in Srezn. II, 2, col. 1563).

In addition to the 38 canonical books of the Old Testament mentioned here, the Eastern Orthodox Church allows its faithful also to read 12 non-canonical Old Testament books (къннгы ѩже кромѣ канона, не въ роцѣ), which, although not accepted as having been written by divine inspiration, are nevertheless considered to be in full agreement with Christian doctrine and therefore to be suitable for spiritual reading: the Book of Tobit, the Book of Judith, the Book of Wisdom, the Book of Sirach, the Epistle of Jeremiah, the Book of Lamentations, the Book of Baruch, the First, Second, and Third Books of Maccabees, the Second Book of Esdras, and the Third Book of Esdras. Of these, SimMisc 1073 (ff. 252a–253a) and JoETheol (ff. 310r–313r) mention only two, the Book of Wisdom and the Book of Sirach, known under the general name Панаретъ ('all- virtuous').

а панартъ се же есть премоудрость соломонѣ н премоудрость н҃исва, ѩже отьць снраховъ сътворн жндовьскы, елнньскы же съказа сего въноукъ н҃исъ, снраховъ с҃нъ – благовольнѣ же н добрѣ, нъ не въунтаете са нн лежѩсте въ квотѣ. JoETheol, f. 312v

а панаретосъ рекъше моудрость соломонѫ н моудрость снрахова добрыı оубо соуть н лѣпотьнъı нъ не въунтаѩть са нн с҃ лежалъı въ квотѣ· SimMisc 1073, f. 252d12.

The Old Bulgarian texts refer to these individual books as follows: Панаретос, Апанаретос, Панарт, Апанарт

Прѣмдрость Соломонѫ JoETheol, f. 312v, Мдрость Соломонѫ SimMisc 1073, f. 252d17, Прѣмдрнн Соломонъ SimMisc 1073, f. 172c2

Прѣмдрость Нисоусова JoETheol, f. 312v, Прѣмдрость Нисоуса, Мдрость Снрахова SimMisc 1073, f. 252d14

Плачн Неремнннн (Gk. θρῆνοι Ἰερεμίου) F.I.461 Thr Comm f. 175a28 (a calque consisting of the plural, as in the Greek)

Макавѣн, Къннгъı Макавѣнскъıѩ.

Twenty-seven books considered to be divinely inspired belong to the New Testament canon:

а новаго завѣта евангелиѧ д҃, матфенно, маръково, лоуунно, иоаново; дѣıанниѧ ст҃ыхъ ап҃лъ лоукою же евангл҃истъмь и кафолнкниѧ епистолиѧ: нıаковлıѧ ıедина, петровѣ двѣ, иоановъı трн, иоудова wдина, павьлова ап҃ла епистолиѧ д҃ı. ıавленне иоаново евнг҃листа. JoETheol, f. 313r

новааго же завѣта: еоуаггелистн д҃, дѣıанне, посъıланне, обавленне SimMisc 1073, f. 252d20.

In addition to the designation новъın завѣтъ (‘New Testament’) in the Old Bulgarian tests, one finds the synonymous term новъın законъ (‘New Law’):

како ветъхъın законъ обетъша. како новъın завѣштаетъ сѧ Cloz, f. 7a34–35 (as given in SS, p. 228)

Новаго закона книгъı: ... Discourse (as given in Srezn. I, 2, col. 922).

The following are the names of the separate books and of the larger portions of the New Testament found in the Old Bulgarian texts.

The Gospel is the first large section of the New Testament, called in Old Bulgarian literature by the following terms:

Тетроевангелне, Тетраевангело, Евангелне тетръ, Єуаггелиıско пıсанниѥ, Хрıстовъ Законъ

Єуангелиѥ, Евангелиѧ, Благовѣстниѥ, Благовѣстованниѥ, Благовѣщенниѥ

~ w̃ матфѣа/матфѣнно; w̃ марка/маркова; w̃ лоукъı/лоуунно; w̃ иоанна/иоанново.

Examples:

отъ марка с҃тоıе благовѣстниѥ Tetraev 14th c. (as given in Srezn. I, 1, col. 93)

от матфѣа с҃тоıе благовѣстованне; отъ лоукъı с҃тое благовѣстованне Tetraev 14th c. (as given in Srezn. I, 1, col. 93)

по благовѣстнıкоу иоаннoу PandAnt 11th c., chp. 42 (as given in Srezn. I, 1, col. 93)

По вьсен ѕемлн бл҃говѣщенне бл҃говѣдѣнню повѣда сѧ JoETheol, f. 235r

нсповѣдовати грѣхъı по благовѣщенню (in a margin note єѵаггелнѫ). SimMisc 1073, f. 46c13

четверообразнни бо животн, четверообразьно бо н єѵаггелнє SimMisc 1073, f. 177c13–16

с҃нъ ѕеведѣовъ, напнсавъ намъ х҃во єѵангелне... Men 1096 (Sept.), 154 (as given in Srezn. I, 2, col. 1)

ѩкоже отъ єѵангелнѩ слъıшахомъ GrNaz 11th c., f. 61 (as given in Srezn. I, 2, col. 1)

Євангелнѩ Supr, ff. 318, 28, 430–7, 547–5 (as given in SS, p. 206)

єѵаггелннско бо пнсанье Supr, ff. 545–27 (as given in SS, p. 206)

ѱано бо есть н въ лоѵчннѣ евангелнн PandAnt 11th c., f. 126 (as given in Srezn. II, 1, col. 51).

The second large portion of the New Testament is the Apostolos, which encompasses the Acts and the Epistles of the holy Apostles. In the Old Bulgarian literature the term for this portion is Апостолъ, or Апостолъ тетръ if it is the continuous version rather than the lectionary version.

The following are the names of the individual books that were the only components of the Apostolos in the past:

Дѣѩннѩ апостолъ, Дѣѩннѩ ап҃ска, Дѣѩннѩ: the Book of Acts of the Apostles

Посланнѩ апостольскаѩ, Єпнстолнн апостольскъıѩ, Посъланнѩ, Апл-ѣ҃скаѩ пнсмена – the Epistles of the Holy Apostles[3].

The terms Посъланнє съборноє, Къннгъı съборьнъıѩ, Къннгъı отъ събора, and Каѳолнкнѩ епнстолнѩ (‘catholic epistle’) are used in reference to individual Epistles[4].

[3] For a detailed discussion of the use of the term єпнстолнѩ and its synonyms in the text of the Acts and Epistles, see Христова-Шомова 2004: 454, 711, 765.

[4] The noun каѳолнкнн is a typical element of the Cyrillo-Methodian vocabulary, occuring in Euch. 236:18 (SS, p. 282); CyrJer 12th c., ChronHam (Srezn. I, 2, col. 1201). Its translated equivalent съборьнъ is characteristic of Supr and the other works from the Preslav school.

The name for an individual Epistle is an expanded collocation that includes, in addition to the word посълание/ ѥпистолиꙗ, the name of the author and of the addressee, if the latter is a specific person or church community, or the modifier "catholic", if the Epistle is addressed to the entire Church. Moreover, ordinal numerals identify individual Epistles written by the same author or to the same addressee.

The name of the author of the Epistle usually appears as a possessive adjective: Посълание наковле/ наковово, петрово, иоаново, нюдно; ѥпистолиꙗ иꙗковлиꙗ, петрова, иоанова, иудова, павьлова.

The name of the addressee appears in the dative case, with or without the preposition къ: посълание/ ѥпистолиꙗ (къ): римлꙗномъ/ римлꙗнемъ/ рѵмомъ; коринѳномъ, коринѳанемъ; галатомъ; ефесномъ, ефесѣномъ; филиписномъ; колассаемъ; солоуниꙗнемъ/ къ солоунѣномъ; тимоѳеовн; къ евреомъ.

Also attested, albeit rarely, is the variant посълание/ ѥпистолиꙗ + possessive adjective: колассанско посълание.

Examples:

Дѣꙗниꙗ а҃пл҃ска лоукою съпнсанаꙗ еѵаггелистъмь SimMisc 1073, f. 252d24–26

посланнн соборъıхъ апостольскъıхъ ѕ҃: наковле еднно, петровъıхъ дъва, иоанновъıхъ трн, нюдно еднно Discourse

тлъкованнıе наковово҃ съборномо҃ посъланню CommentAp 15th c.

къннгъı съборьнъıиꙗ EphrKorm Krth 93 (as given in Srezn. I, 2, col. 1394)

къннгъı отъ събора EphrKorm Krth 67 (as given in Srezn. I, 2, col. 1394)

каѳолнкниꙗ епистолиꙗ JoETheol, f. 313r, variant reading I сборьнъ 'catholic epistle' (Gk. καθολικὴ ἐπιστολή)

ꙗвѣ бо есть апл҃ское пнсмѧ гл҃ютее EphrKorm Nik. 2 (as given in Srezn. II, 2, col. 939); see also JoETheol, f. 313a

тълкованиꙗ о ...словесьхъ въ еѵаггелнн, н въ а҃пл҃ꙗ н въ нныхъ къннга-хъ SimMisc 1073. f. 4a3

отъ къ колассанскааго посълаииꙗ Hil, f. 2aα4 (as given in SS, p. 287) (An interesting feature here is the preposition къ with a phrase consisting of the antecedent посълание + attributive possessive ad-

jective, where it is not required. This is probably due to an unconscious mistake made by analogy to the much more common variant посъланиѥ + къ + dative case of the substantive, a mistake possibly provoked by the reduplication of the next syllable ко-. The genitive case form колассанскааго посъланиꙗ also proves that the къ is an error.)

Павъла апостола къ солоунѣномъ посланиꙗ мц҃ка.

The last part of the New Testament canon is the prophetic Book of Revelation of St. John the Divine. In the Old Bulgarian texts, the following titles are encountered for this book:

Апокалипсисъ, Апокалипсн, Ѩвлениѥ, Обавлениѥ, Отъкрꙑвениѥ – ′the Book of Revelation'.

Examples:

ноановѡ отъкрꙑвениѥ EphrKorm, f. 216 (as given in Srezn. II, 1, col. 791)

ѩвлениѥ Ноановѡ JoETheol, f. 313r

Ноанъ въ обавленнн рече: видѣхъ небо ново н землю новоу SimMisc 1073, f. 214a28–b2

Conclusions

The books of the Bible are assigned their original titles on the basis of either their general subject (Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, the Gospel 'good news') or their authors (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel), or according to their genre (Proverbs, the Song of Songs, Epistles). The Old Bulgarian variant titles are frequently borrowed directly from the Greek (Крнтн, Паралипоумена, Аѕма Аѕматскаꙗ, Парнмнꙗ, Панарετос, Евангелиѥ), with some of the foreign words translated and explained by the Slavonic translator:

Девтерономнꙗ еже есть вътороѕаконниѥ Discourse (as given in Srezn. I, 1, col. 650).

Панарт, се же есть Прѣмѫдрость Соломонꙗ н Прѣмѫдрость Нисоусова, юже отьць снраховъ сътворн JoETheol, f. 312v

Панаретос, рекъше Мѫдрость Соломонѣ SimMisc 1073, f. 252d12ff, Gk πανάρετος

Апокалипсн рекшн ѣавленне. (as given in Srezn I,1, col. 25).

In other cases the Old Bulgarian names are calques from the Greek names, e.g., Ἔξοδος : Исходъ, Δευτερονόμιον : Вътороzаконнıе, Ἀποκάλυψις: Отъкрывенне, Εὐαγγέλιον : Благовѣстнıе, Γένεσις : Бытнıе/Родьство (probably the confusion here is due to the paronymous similarity with Γέννησις), or are translated word for word (Ἀριθμοὶ : числа/ численa, Κριταὶ : сѫдиѣ, Σοφία : премѫдрость/ мѫдрость).

Generally accepted names of the books or groups of books of the Bible also are formed by metonymic transfer, through which the name of the author comes to signify his works (Илиева 2005: 41):

апостолъ 1. An apostle, a messenger sent by Christ: все оубо еже есть предано намъ zаконъмь н пророкы н апостолы н еваньгелисты прнемлемъ 16a; 2. *by metonymic transfer* apostolos, one of the liturgical books that in the past included only the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles from the New Testament: апостола прѣлагаѣ нzборъ JoETheol 1v.

Such metonymic transfers are widely used in place of the generally accepted title of a given book, as, for example, in quotations:

По божьствьномоу рещн пророкоу н пѣснопнсцоу богоотцоу давыдоу пѣснопон же реуе: аzъ есмь чрьвь PandAnt 11th c., f. 146 (as given in Srezn. II, 2, col. 1786)

псалмопѣвьць реуе сего радн оудрѣжа ѣ грѣдъінн PandAnt 11th c. (as given in Srezn. II, 2, col. 1786)

... реуе прнтъчьннкъ (in reference to King Solomon) PandAnt 11th c., f. 120 (as given in Srezn. II, 2, col. 1483)

Тако бо с҃тын павелъ оучнть нъı Euch, f. 69a13 (as given in SS, p. 440).

The titles of a number of individual books or collections of such books are two-word or expanded phrases. The most frequent types are as follows:

1) Antecedent (mainly кънигъı) + attributive modifier (relative adjective or ordinal numeral): оуставьнъіѣ кънигъı, бытнискъіѣ кънигъ-

ы, повѣстьныѩ кънигы, Цр҃ьскыѩ кънигы, Дѣѧнїѧ ц҃рьска (probably by analogy with Дѣѧнїѧ апостольска), Роу҃скыѩ кънигы, Сѫднискыѩ кънигы, Останъуныѩ кънигы, Словеса прнтъунаѧ, паторица пр҃роуство нонлево, Єуаггелиньско пнсанїе, Посъланїе съборноѥ; ветхнн завѣтъ, новын завѣтъ, свѧтое пнсанне, вторын законъ;

2) Antecedent (again usually кънигы) + genitive noun phrase: Кънигы ц҃рь, Кънигы псалмъ, Кънигы Ꙗздры, Прнтъуа Соломонѧ, Прѣмѫдрость Соломонѧ;

3) Expanded collocations that usually contain an antecedent with several modifiers (adjectives or genitive noun phrases), adverbials, appositions, ord other secondary elements: нсходъ с҃новъ нз҃левъ нзъ егнпта; унсла сыновъ нз҃левъ; Прѣмѫдрость Нисоуса, сына Снраховa; Дѣѧнїѧ с҃тыхъ ап҃лъ; отъ марка с҃тое благовѣстнѥ; наковово съборноѥ посланнѥ; к тнмофеовн въторѣмь посланнн; павьлова ап҃ла епнстолнѧ д҃ı; ѩвленне ноанново евнг҃листа. In the last two cases, note the use of a noun functioning as an apposition after a possessive adjective, instead of the usual genitive noun phrases павьла ап҃ла епнстолнѧ д҃ı and ѩвленне ноана евнг҃листа, respectively.

This cursory review of the titles of the books of the Bible in the Old Bulgarian literature raises the issue of the linguistic phenomena of synonymy and polysemy in this category of special names. The following types of synonymous names occur in the series of synonyms set forth above:

a) orthographic doublets

Some of the more frequently mentioned names display a rather rich variety of orthographic variants in the extant manuscripts. For instance, the name ноанъ, Gk Ἰωάννης, which occurs more than 400 times in the canonical Old Bulgarian manuscripts alone, is written in the following ways: most frequently ноанн (with geminate consonant letters retained), ноан’н (with retained geminate consonant letters and a *pajerčik* marking omitted strong jer), нан’н Zogr Supr (probably a vulgar form with retained geminiate consonant letters and *pajerčik*), нан (the same form but without geminate consonant letters), нон As-

sem Sav Cloz (probably omission of a letter or, again, a vulgar form). The final weak jer is always dropped in these examples.

The Greek personal name Παῦλος can also be found in various orthographic variants in the Old Bulgarian manuscript tradition, illustrating the different ways by which the Greek diphthong αυ is rendered: паѹлъ Supr (transliteration), павлъ Assem En (transcription in accordance with the actual pronunciation, with normal dropping of the Greek ending -ος), павьлъ Supr (transcription in accordance with the actual pronunciation, with open syllable, a feature characteristic of Old Bulgarian phonetics); павєлъ Euch Cloz (transcription in accordance with the actual pronunciation, with lowering of the strong jer); павъ҆лъ Euch (transcription in accordance with the actual pronunciation, with a *pajerčik* in place of the omitted strong jer).

The direct borrowing of Greek Εὐαγγέλιον also has a rather rich variety of orthographic forms in the extant Slavonic manuscripts, illustrating different variants of the Greek diphthong ευ and the consonant letter group γγ in Old Bulgarian: єѹаггєлиѥ (transliteration) євангєлиѥ (transcription in agreement with the actual pronunciation), ієваньгєлиѥ (transcription in agreement with the actual pronunciation, with open syllable and jotation of initial є, phenomena characteristic of Slavonic phonetics). Regarding different ways of transcribing the Greek diphthong ευ in Old Bulgarian (єѹ in accordance with Greek historical orthography and єв in accordance with its contemporary phonetic value), note also левѹитикъ/ левитикъ/ левгитикъ/ : Λευιτικὸν, Иисоѹс Навгиинъ/ Иисоус Навгиинъ : Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ etc.

Псалмъ has a rather varied orthography. In addition to this form, which is an exact transcription of the Greek ψαλμός, with the normal dropping of the Greek ending -ός in Old Bulgarian, the word appears also as псалъмъ, with a strong jer representing an open syllable, and as псаломъ in East Slavonic copies. Other forms have retained the Greek ending, e.g., псалъмосъ SimMisc 1073. This word is also found written with ѱ (ѱалмосъ Supr), пс (псалмъ) и п'с with a *pajerčik* marking the omitted jer (п'сал'мосъ) Euch (see пъсалъм-, пъсалом- in the Sin (quoted from SS) and in the SimMisc1073, f. 220b7 – пьсалмосьнъ).

The consonant letter group τθ in the name Ματθαῖος is transcribed as матъѳ-, мат'ѳ-, матѳ-, матт-, матът-, indicating the phonetic equality in Old Bulgarian of the consonants represented by т and ѳ.

b) morphological doublets that differ in some grammatical features (gender, number, declensional type), e.g., Ст҃опнсанніе sg.: Ст҃опнсаннꙗ pl., Gk Ἁγιόγραφα

Also of note is the frequent use of morphological doublets, chiefly in the case of lexical borrowings. For instance, Greek masculine nouns in -ας, -ου as a rule belong to the Old Bulgarian *-ā-/-jā-*stem declension, with the endings -а/ -ꙗ, as in мнχеꙗ : Μιχαίας, малаχиꙗ : Μαλαχίας, ζаχаρиꙗ : Ζαχαρίας, исаиꙗ : Ἡσαΐας, иеремиꙗ : Ἱερεμίας, иѡна : Ἰωνᾶς, лѡка : Λουκᾶς.[5] First-declension masculine Greek nouns in -(τ)ης, -ου, and second declension masculine nouns in -ος, -ου, lose their endings in Old Bulgarian, as is the norm, and regularly are assigned to the Old Bulgarian *-o-/-jo-*stem declension: апостолъ, петръ, титъ, иоанъ, еклисиастъ, евангелистъ, профитъ, крити (pl.). Greek masculine nouns in αῖος/-εος such as Ἀγγαῖος, Ματθαῖος, Μακαβαῖοι, Τιμόθεος are adapted as a rule into the soft *-o-* declension, e.g., кран, -ꙗ: аггеи, макавѣи, матъѳѣи, тимоѳѣи.[6] In addition to these regular adaptations, sometimes these borrowings retain their Greek morphological structure, e.g. иѡнасъ, мнχеасъ, малаχиасъ, агеосъ, панаретосъ, псалмосъ. These are most likely the result of a mechanical transfer of the visually received Greek word form into the Slavonic text, indicating that they derive from the Slavonic protograph.

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[5] In the material that I have studied I have found only one exception, авдиє : Ἀββίας, witnessed in F.I.461. This form probably has been influenced by name forms like wсиє : Ὡσῆε. One must, however, also take into account the possibility of analogy to Slavonic anthroponyms of the same declensional form; note the contemporary names Блаже, Коле.

[6] This last form appears in JoETheol with an old *-ŭ-*stem ending: тимоѳеови, by analogy to the dative forms of Slavonic сынъ, господь, etc.: съждє апл҃ъ к тимоѳеови въторѣмь посланиі JoETheol, f. 314r.

Of the Greek second-declension borrowings in -ιον, τό, the most frequent is the noun Εὐαγγέλιον. With respect to its adaptation to the grammatical structure of Old Bulgarian, this word too sometimes occurs with its Greek morphological structure preserved, i.e. ѥѵаггелиѡнъ, assigned Slavonic masculine gender because the final vowel is ъ. In other instances it receives the ending -ніе by analogy to Slavonic *jo*-stem neuter nouns (евангелніе). Also attested is the *jā*-stem form евангелнїа (note also дєвтерономнїа : Δευτερονόμιον).

Ψαλτήριον is another frequently used word of the same Greek declensional type: in Old Bulgarian it loses the neuter ending -ον, and the Greek ι at the end of the word is reduced to Slavonic -ь[7]. The resulting form псалтъıрь vacillates with regard to its declensional type, being identified sometimes with the masculine *jo*-stem declension, and sometimes with the feminine *i*-stem declension. One also encounters the form псалтъıрїа, treated as a feminine *jā*-stem noun.

The anthroponym маркъ has a doublet form марко, probably by analogy to native Slavonic masculine personal names (cf. the contemporary names Бойко, Райко, Стойко etc.).

The Hebrew personal name Μωυσῆς, -έως adapted in Greek to the third vocal declension, has doublets in the Old Bulgarian texts as a masculine *jo*-stem, e.g., моисей, and as a *jā*-stem with the ending -їа, e.g., мѡнсеїа, мѡнснїа, мѡѵснїа, probably by analogy to the correspondence of the Greek Nom. sg. variant Μωυσῆς, -έως to the -ης, -ου declension type.

Ἀποκάλυψις, from the Greek vocal declension, is attested in Old Bulgarian in two variants:

a) One variant, апокалнпснсъ, has the fully preserved Greek morphological form. This variant came to decline in Old Bulgarian as an *-o*-stem, consequently changing its grammatical gender from feminine to masculine.

b) In the other variant, апокалнпсн, the word-final ς was dropped, leaving the noun indeclinable. This variant probably derives from a later Greek form.

[7] One cannot rule out the possibility that Slavonic псалтъıрь is a transcription of the newer Greek form ψαλτήρι, in which the ending -ὸν had already been dropped.

In the names of the Epistles, one can find a number of ethnonyms that are morphological doublets, formed either with or without the suffix *-jān-* added to the foreign stem: рнмлѣне рнмьѣне, рѣмлѣне, ромлѣне Mikl, коρунѳѣне Mikl, галатѣне, ієфесѣне, but галатн, роумн, корентнн, ієфесен, фнлнпнснн, коласан.

солоумѣнемъ Supr, f. 488, 9

Г҃леть апостолъ въ ієпнстолнн, ѣже къ рѵмомъ JoETheol, f. 313v

къ корентномъ En, ff. 346:13, 386:12 (7); MihHom (as given in Mikl. I, 303)

галатомъ En, ff. 30a, 4; 38a, 12; 356, 7

къ ефесеомъ Euch, f. 1056, 9

къ евреомъ En, f. 5a, 11.

In the material under study, only one directly borrowed participle is found, Параλнпомена/ Параλнпоменъı. This doublet shows gender inconsistency, probably the result of agreement with one or another of its two implied antecedents, пнсанніа and кънигъı.

c) Morphological doublets:

– suffixal doublets: ѵнсмена : ѵнсла; Цѣсарьствніа : Цѣсарьства; Пѣснньць : Пѣсньньць; Благовѣстніе : Благовѣстованніе : Благовѣщенніе;

– prefixal doublets: Ꙗвленніе : Обавленніе.

d) Lexical synonyms:

– synonymous native noun pairs: Бытніе : Родьство; Ꙗвленніе : Отъкрѣвенніе;

– synonymous native/foreign word pairs: Сѫднıа : Крнтн; Єклнснастъ : Съборьнккъ; Євангелнıа : Благовѣстніе, Благовѣстованніе, Благовѣщенніе; Апокалнпсн : Ꙗвленніе, Отъкрѣвенніе; вътороѕаконніе : девтерономнıа; Параλнпоменъı : Останъкъ.

e) Words and phrases that have become synonymous: пророцн : паторнца пр҃рѵскаѧ, кънигъı пр҃рѵьскъııа; Єсфнр : Єсфнрьскъııа кънигъı;

Ѥздра : Къннгъı Ѥздръı; Макавѣн : Къннгъı Макавѣнскъıѩ; Єуангелиѥ : Єуаггелиннско пнсанниѥ.

f) Phrases that have become synonymous with each other:

– synonymous collocations formed by means of synonymous antecedents:

native/foreign word pairs: Єпнстолиѣ ноановα : посъıланниѥ ноановο; Посланниѣ апостольскаѣ : Єпнстолин апостольскъıѩ; Прнтъча Соломонѣ : Парнмиѣ Соломонѣ;

native morphological doublets: Прѣмр҃дрость Соломонѣ : Мр҃дрость Соломонѣ (prefixal doublets);

native lexical doublets: Посъланниѥ съборноѥ : Къннгъı съборьнъı; Посланниѣ апостольскаѣ : Апл҃ьскаѣ пнсмена; ветъхъин завѣтъ : ветъхъин ѕаконъ; Ц҃рьскъıѩ къннгъı : Дѣıанниѣ ц҃рьска;

– synonymous collocations formed by means of synonymous modifiers:

attributive adjective phrase doublets with either a native adjective or a foreign one: Псалтъıрьскъıѩ къннгъı : Пѣснивьниѩ къннгъı;

attributive adjectives that are morphological synonyms: suffixal doublets, e.g., Посъланниѥ наковлѥ : Посъланниѥ наковово; Останъчнъıѩ къннгъı : Остатъчнъıѩ къннгъı; Новлѣ къннга : Нововъıѩ къннгъı (this last pair also is a morphological doublet with regard to the category of numerals); prefixal doublets, e.g., наручнтъıѩ къннгъı : вънаручнтъıѩ къннгъı;

attributive adjectives and genitive noun phrases: Къннгъı съборьнъıѩ : Къннгъı отъ събора; Дѣıанниѣ апостолъ : Дѣıанниѣ ап҃лска; Прѣмр҃дрость Нисусова : Прѣмр҃дрость Нисуса; Ѥздрннъı къннгъı : Къннгъı Ѥздръı; псалъмьскъıѩ къннгъı : къннгъı псалмъ; Цръскъıѩ къннгъı; Къннгъı ц҃рь;

– synonymous collocations formed by means of different antecedents and modifiers: Єпнстолиѣ ноудова : Посъланниѥ нюдно; Прнтъча Соломонѣ : Словеса прнтъчьнаѣ; псалъмьскъıѩ къннгъı : Псалтъıрь давъıдовъ;

– synonymous collocations formed by differing syntactic constructions (grammatical doublets): Пѣснь пѣснемъ : Пѣснь пѣсннн.

Frequently, different names for the same book of the Bible emerge because of different internal motivations, or through association with other books. Thus, for instance, while the titles Ѥуангелиѥ and Благовѣщенниѥ are related to one another, the first being a borrowing and the second a calque, both with the meaning ‘Good News’, i.e. the news about the redemptive act of Jesus Christ and the salvation of mankind from sin and death, the variant Хрнстовъ Ζаконъ arose by analogy to Ζаконъ моусеовъ. The title Дѣѧннѧ цр҃ьска emerged together with Цр҃ьскыѧ къннгы, Къннгы Цр҃ь, etc., probably by analogy to Дѣѧннѧ ап҃льска.

In many of the lists of synonyms listed above other kinds of relationships also are represented. I shall give only one example, the group of synonyms for *pentateuch*, Gk πεντάτευχος:

пѧтерꙑ къннгы, пентатеоухъ, пѧтерь, пѧтерьннца, пѧтерница, пѧторница, пѧтн коупъ, пѧтокъннжниѥ (referring mainly to the Pentateuch of Moses).

As one can see, this list includes the following:

a direct borrowing from the Greek, пентатеоухъ;

пѧтокъннжниѥ, a calque of the morphological structure of the Greek compound πεντάτευχος;

two collocations that translate Greek πεντάτευχος with a change in quantitative relation between the Greek original and the Slavonic translation, пѧтн коупъ и пѧтерꙑ къннгы;

пѧтерь, – a terminologized substantivum-numerale, which is a translation of the meaning of the Greek πεντάτευχος;

three morphological doublets that are suffixal derivations of пѧтерь: пѧтерьннца, пѧтерница, пѧторница.

This series of synonyms demonstrates another phenomenon, i.e., the polysemy of the noun пѧтокъннжниѥ, which, in addition to the general meaning ‘a collection of five books’, also has as a restricted meaning, indicating the title of a particular collection of five books, the Pentateuch of Moses.

Other instances of polysemy in the names of books of the Bible include the following (Илиева 2006):

писанїе – 1. the books of the Old and New Testament, written by men inspired by God, i.e., prophets and apostles: с҃тоіе (21v, 23r, 46v, 129r, 327r); писанїе, Gk. εὐαγγέλιον (JoETheol, f. 281r); 2. in the plural, a collective term for the historical books of the Old Testament: таже дрꙋгыѩ патеры кънигы зовомаѩ писанїѧ … аже соуть сице: їс навгинъ, соудїѧ съ роуфскынмн, ц҃рьскыѩ прьвыѩ съ въторынмн кънигы едины, и двоѧ отъ параліпоменъ кънигы едины JoETheol, f. 311v

евангелиє, Gk. Εὐαγγέλιον ‘good news’ (JoETheol, ff. 37r, 117r, 166r, 281r-v; in RNM 108, Synodal collection (13th c.), a gloss of евангелиє писанїе, ff. 291v, 313r, 338r, 340r, 350r, 353r): (a) Good News, the news of the redemptive act of Jesus Christ: подоба же оубо повѣдатн сѧ еваньгелью въ вьсѣхъ ѩзыцѣхъ JoETheol, f. 338r; (b) each of the four books of the Evangelists Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John: новаго завѣта евагг҃лиѧ д҃, матфенно, маркъково, лоукынно, иоаново JoETheol, f. 313r; (c) the tetraevangelion: послоукъ же достонно чистое евагг҃лие JoETheol, f. 353r; (d) an excerpt or chapter from a gospel read at a worship service: оуставленаѧ недѣльнаѧ евангелиѧ ѳ҃ Srezn I, 2, col. 606.

My studies of the onomatopoesis of the Bible books in Old Bulgarian have given me an opportunity to observe yet another interesting lexico-semantic phenomenon, namely semantic compression. According to A. F. Zhuravlyov, semantic compression occurs where the meaning of one word in a collocation includes the meaning of another word that is linked syntagmatically with it, so that one of the words in the collocation contains the meaning of the collocation as a whole (Журавлев 1982: 62–65). In the material analysed here, we have found semantic compressions in which the noun becomes the bearer of the meaning of the entire phrase, e.g. Дѣѩннѧ : Дѣѩннѧ апл҃ска; исходъ : исходъ с҃новъ изл҃евъ изъ егнпта; Ѵисла : Ѵисла сыновъ изл҃евъ.

The presence of synonymy and polysemy in the names of the books of the Bible in Old Bulgarian literature shows that these names had not yet been either unified or standardized: two phenomena that we see in Modern Bulgarian.

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Srezn – Срезневский, И. *Словарь древнерусского языка*. Репринтное издание. Том 1–3 (Москва, 1989).
SS – *Старославянский словарь (по рукописям X–XI вв.)*. Под редакцией Р. М. Цейтлин, Р. Вечерки и Э. Благовой (Москва, 1999).

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Abbreviations of Books of the Bible

Ex	The Book of Exodus
Kings	The Book of Kings (I, II, III)
Ps	The Book of Psalms
Is	The Book of Isaiah
Jer	The Book of Jeremiah
Ezek	The Book of Ezekiel
Dan	The Book of Daniel
Mt	The Gospel according to Matthew
Mk	The Gospel according to Mark
Lk	The Gospel according to Luke
Jn	The Gospel according to John
Acts	The Acts of the Apostles
Jas	The Epistle of James the Apostle
Pet	The Epistles of Peter the Apostle (I, II)
Rom	The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans
Cor	The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians (I, II)
Tim	The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to Timothy

Abbreviations of the names of MSS and medieval texts

Ap	Apostolos (Acts and Epistles)
Assem	Codex Assemanianus
Boyan	Boyana Palimpsest (11th c.)
ChronHam	Chronicle of George Hamartolus (George the Monk)
Cloz	Clozianus collection of homilies
Coll 1076	Collection of 1076
CommentAp 15th c.	Apostolos with commentary (15th c.)
CyrJer 12th c.	Catechetical Orations by Cyril of Jerusalem (12th c.)
Discourse	Discourse on the True and Erroneous Books
En	Enina Apostolos (11th c.)

EphrKorm	Ephremova Kormchaya Kniga
Euch	Sinai Euchologion (11th c.)
F.I.461	The Old Testament Books with Commentaries (14th c.)
Gosp 13th c.	gospel ms. dated to the 13th c.
GrNaz 11th c.	Thirteen Orations by Gregory the Theologian of Nazianzus (11th c.)
GrNaz 14thc.	Sixteen Orations by Gregory the Theologian of Nazianzus with commentaries
Hil	Hilandar Folia (11th c.)
Ip	Ipatievski Letopis (chronicle)
JoETheol	John Exarch's'Theology' (translation of 'On the Orthodox Faith' by John Damascene)
Kiev	Kiev folia
Mar	Codex Marianus
Men 1096	Menaion of 1096
MenPut 11th c.	Putyatin Menaion (11th c.)
MenReadFebr	Reading Menologion for February (15th c.)
MihHom	Homiliary of Mihanovich (13th c.)
PandAnt 11th c.	Pandects of Antioch (11th c.)
Paroem	Paroemias Collection (14th c.)
PresbCosma	Oration of Presbyter Cosma
RNM	Russian National Museum of History
Sav	Savvina Kniga
SimMisc 1073	Tsar Simeon's Miscellany (1073 copy)
SinServ	Sinai Service Book (11th c.)
Supr	Codex Suprasliensis
Tetraev 14th c.	Tetraevangelion dated to the14th c.
UstKorm	Ustyug Kormchaya Kniga (13th c.)
YurGosp	Yuriev Gospel (1119)
Zlatostruy 12th c.	Zlatostruy (12th c.)
Zogr	Codex Zographensis

MUSLIM PARALLELS TO SLAVONIC APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE: THE CASE OF THE *NARRATION OF HOW GOD CREATED ADAM*[*]

Sergey Minov

It was during his last public presentation in the year 1942 that Andrey Borisov, an eminent Russian scholar of Semitic and Iranian languages, raised the general problem of Oriental influences on Old Slavonic literature[1]. After reviewing several previous contributions to this field by his predecessors and outlining general tendencies, Borisov lamented the deplorable lack of cooperation between scholars dealing with Oriental cultures and those in the field of Slavonic literature, while calling on Soviet Orientalists to engage more actively in this field. In his lecture Borisov himself contributed to this, pointing out two new cases of such influence, one from the Islamic and another from the Jewish tradition (Борисов 1987: 159–165). Unfortunately, the untimely death of the scholar, whose health had broken down during the blockade of Leningrad, nipped his labours in the bud.

Since the time of Borisov's lecture a considerable amount of work has been done in this direction and new connections between Slavonic and Oriental literatures have come to light (Алексеев 1993; Alexeev 2001; Кузнецов 1976; Philonenko-Sayar 1998; Alvarado & Sázdova-Alvarado 1997; Турилов 2004). Yet many questions in this interdisciplinary research area still remain unanswered and some Slavonic texts have never been explored from this angle. In this article, dedicated to the memory of Borisov, I should like to make a contribution to this field of research by addressing the question of possible Muslim influence on one particular Slavonic text which until now has received no scholarly attention in this respect, an anonymous apo-

[*] I am most grateful to Dr. Miriam Goldstein and Dr. Julia Rubanovich of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, who kindly helped me in the work on Arabic and Persian sources.

[1] This lecture has been posthumously published by K.B. Starkova as Борисов 1987.

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cryphal composition whose original title is the *Narration of how God created Adam* (Сказание како сотвори бгъ аддама).

To the best of my knowledge, the text of the *Narration* is preserved in a single manuscript in the Russian State Library (РГБ), Rumyantsev Collection, № 370, ff. 147–174, which is dated to the middle of the seventeenth century (Востоков 1842: 546). This work was published for the first time in 1862 by Alexander Pypin (Пыпин 1862: 12–14). Later on, in 1987, it was republished by Michail Gromov (Громов 1987), and most recently by Vladimir Mil'kov (Мильков 1999: 421–427), on whose edition I rely here.

As to its content, this composition retells the biblical story of the creation of Adam. The story starts with the creation of Adam and ends with his expulsion, together with his wife, from Paradise as the result of their transgression. Besides the biblical narrative, the author of the *Narration* made extensive use of extracanonical material on Adam and Eve. While some of these traditions have obvious parallels in the earlier Jewish or Christian sources, the provenance of others is not so easily recognizable. In what follows, I shall discuss three such extra-canonical traditions about the first couple in the *Narration* in light of Muslim parallels: (1) the connection between Adam and the Arabian peninsula; (2) the story of Satan's aggression against the body of Adam and the creation of the dog; (3) the creation of Eve from Adam's left rib.

1. Connection of Adam to the Arabic peninsula

In the opening line of his story the author of the *Narration* tells us how God sets about "creating man in the land of Madiam" – со(ꙁ)дати в ꙁемли мадїа(м)стей члка (Мильков 1999: 423, f. 147r). A similar idea is expressed also at the very end of his work, where it is stated that after having been expelled from Paradise Adam "dwelt in the land of Madiam, from which he was created and in which he died" – всели(с҃) в ꙁемлю мадїа(м)скоую ѿ тоꙗ (ж) соꙁда(н) бꙑсть в тои (ж) і оумре (Мильков 1999: 427, f. 175r-v). An unusual detail that appears in both these sentences is the close connection established by our author between the life of the first man and the "land of Madiam".

Identification of this region does not present particular difficulties. It is certain that the toponym ꙁемлꙗ мадїа(м)скаꙗ should be

recognized as the biblical "land of Midian" (ארץ מדין; cf. Ex 2:15; Hab 3:7), a region on the Arabian peninsula, in the northern Hejaz, east of the Gulf of Aqaba. Our Slavonic form is apparently derived from the Greek γῆ Μαδιάμ that appears for the first time in the Septuagint. The location of this region was well known in antiquity. Thus Eusebius of Caesarea (4th c.) in his *Onomasticon* explains this toponym in the following way – "Madiam (Μαδιάμ) is a city named after one of the sons of Abraham and Keturah. It is beyond Arabia to the south in the desert of the Saracens, east of the Red Sea"[2].

Returning to the *Narration*, it should be noted that nowhere in the Bible is Adam or his wife linked to this geographical region. Given that, the claim of our author is in need of explanation. A search for the origins of such a connection between Adam and the north-western part of the Arabian Peninsula reveals that this notion is absent from ancient Jewish as well as Christian traditions of exegesis. Among the places of Adam's creation or burial that are found in ancient Jewish and Christian sources dealing with the story of the first couple one comes across such locations as Paradise, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Damascus, Mount Gerizim and some others, but not the Arabian peninsula in general or "the land of Midian" in particular.

It is only in some relatively late Christian sources that we do find Adam associated with this region. One Christian work that contains such an allusion is the so-called "third redaction" of the Greek *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* (1.1). Here it is related that after their expulsion from Paradise Adam and Eve "dwelt in the land of Madiam" (ἐκάθησαν εἰς γῆν Μαδιὰμ)[3]. While one might entertain the possibility that this text was the source of the *Narration*, several points need to be taken into consideration. First of all, the oldest manuscript of the third Greek redaction of Pseudo-Methodius, where this tradition appears, i.e. Codex Athos, Panteleemonos 197, is dated to the seventeenth century (ed. Lolos 1978: 13; see also Истрин 1897: 96, 102), that is, it belongs to the same period as the *Narration*. Second, there is no explicit mention that Adam and Eve were created in "the land of Madiam" in this text. Third, there is no Slavonic translation of the third Greek redaction of Pseudo-Methodius, while none of the three Slavonic redactions of this work, published by V. Istrin, contains the mention of "the land of Madiam" in connection with

[2] Notley and Safrai 2005: 118. Cf. also Josephus, *Ant*. 2.257.

[3] Lolos 1978: 25. This sentence is absent from the earliest Greek and Latin translations of Pseudo-Methodius, published by Aerts and Kortekaas 1998.

Adam. All these considerations make the suggestion about dependence of the *Narration* on the Greek Pseudo-Methodius in this case implausible.

Another medieval Christian source in which a connection between Adam and "the land of Madiam" appears is the Slavonic erotapocritic composition known as the *Conversation of the Three Hierarchs*. In many manuscripts of this popular work it is mentioned that Adam was created from the earth taken by God from this region as well as dwelling there after his expulsion from Paradise[4]. Some scholars have suggested that the author of the *Conversation* relied for this motif on the *Narration* (Мильков 1997: 182). However, this scenario can hardly be accepted if we take into consideration that the oldest Slavonic manuscripts of the *Conversation* containing this tradition are dated to the thirteenth century and thus predate considerably the text of the *Narration*[5]. An even stronger blow to this theory comes from the fact that the association between Adam and "the land of Madiam" is found also in some of the Greek question-and-answer compositions that served as prototypes and sources for the Slavonic tradition on which the *Conversation* draws. One of the earliest attestations of this association comes from the brief erotapocritic work (Paris National Library (PNL), No. 2875; 13th c.) which was published for the first time by V. Mochul'skij. There the idea of Adam's close connection to the land of Madiam is expressed in the following way:

> "Question: Where was the dust found that became man? Answer: In the land of Madiam. Question: Where did Adam dwell after he went out from Paradise? Answer: In the land of Madiam."[6]

Similar traditions are found in several other Greek compositions of this fluid genre[7]. Although both the earliest Greek and Slavonic ver-

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[4] See Милтенова 2004: 402–403, where the relevant Slavonic texts of the *Conversation* are presented in synoptic form.

[5] Among the manuscripts used by Miltenova are National Library of Serbia, Belgrade, No. 651 (Dragolov Sbornik; 13th c.); Austrian National Library, Vienna, No. 12 (13–14th c.).

[6] Ἐρ. Ποῦ εὑρέθη ὁ χοῦς, ὁ γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος; Ἀπ. Εἰς τὴν γῆν Μαδιάμ. Ἐρ. Ποῦ ἐκατῴκησεν Ἀδάμ ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου; Ἀπ. Εἰς γῆν Μαδιάμ; ed. Мочульскій 1901: 3, §§4–5.

[7] See Мочульский 1901: 9, No. 53. Cf. also Greek erotapocritic texts published by Красносельцев 1898: 20, No. 1, §3, p. 25, No. 4, §3, p. 49, No. 8, §8, p. 52, No. 9, §10, p. 63, No. 11, §68, p. 65, No. 12, §7; Heinrici 1911: 47, §§13–14; pp. 66–67, §94.

sions of the *Conversation*, where the idea of a connection between Adam and Madiam appears, are dated to the thirteenth century, there is hardly reason to doubt that it was borrowed by the Slav authors (or translators) of this work from a Greek prototype. Given that, as well as the great popularity of the *Conversation* in the Slav world, it seems much more likely that it was the author of the *Narration* who relied for the notion of Adam's link to "the land of Madiam" on the *Conversation*, and not vice versa.

It should be added that a connection between Adam and this region is found in some manuscripts of the Slavonic recension of the *Life of Adam and Eve*. For example, in one of the Slavonic texts of the *Life* published by N. Tikhonravov (Тихонравов 1863, vol. 1: 5), it is related that after their prolonged repentance Adam and Eve "dwelt in Madiam" (сѣдоχомъ въ Мадиямѣ), where Abel and Cain were born to them. However, the relevance of this tradition to our case is undermined by the fact that the mention of Madiam in connection with Adam in the Slavonic witnesses of the *Life* appears only in late manuscripts, such as the one just quoted, No. 637 from the collection of Undolskiy, dated to the end of the seventeenth century. Furthermore, this mention is absent from the Greek, Latin, Armenian and Georgian recensions of the *Life*[8]. All this makes us regard the appearance of this tradition in the Slavonic *Life* as the result of an addition that was made on Slav soil at a relatively late date, probably under the influence of such apocryphal works as the *Conversation* or the *Narration*.

Having established the absence of the motif about a connection between Adam and "the land of Madiam" from the ancient Jewish and Christian sources and its earliest attestation in Christian tradition in a thirteenth-century Byzantine work, let us try to uncover the ultimate roots of this peculiar idea. For this purpose we shall turn to the traditional Islamic lore about Adam and Eve, where similar traditions are attested. One discovers there a great number of legends and traditions that establish a close relation between the beginning and end of the first couple's life and al-Hejaz, the region which in terms of its geographic location is the closest analogue of the biblical "land of Madiam".

[8] These are conveniently collected in Levison 2000 and Anderson and Stone 1999.

For instance, as an example of a connection between the creation of Adam and this region one could mention Isḥāq ibn Bišr, a ninth-century Arab writer, who claims that Adam's body was formed from the dust of Mecca, the holy city of Islam located in Hejaz[9]. As a variant of this tradition one can mention the stories about the creation of Adam's body from the dust coming from Daḥnā (دَحْنَا), a place located in the vicinity of the city of al-Ṭā'if in Hejaz. Thus Yākūt al-Rūmi (12–13th c.) in his geographical dictionary reports about this location that "it is the soil from which the Exalted God created Adam"[10]. According to some sources, Daḥnā was also the site where Adam landed after his expulsion from Paradise[11].

Moreover, one comes across various Muslim traditions that associate certain events and activities in the life of Adam with Mecca. The most prominent and popular example of such a connection involves the legends about Adam's performing *hajj*, i.e. the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, and about his founding the sanctuary of Ka'ba. These legends are found, for example, in the works of Muḥammad ibn al-Ṭabarī (839–923), one of the most prominent Muslim historians and interpreters of the Qur'ān. In his *History* al-Ṭabarī quotes several *ḥadīths* that report how after his expulsion from Paradise Adam undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca, where he circumambulated Ka'ba[12].

Finally, there is also a well attested tradition claiming that Adam and Eve were buried in the region of Hejaz. Thus, al-Ṭabarī, who in the *History* brings together different opinions about the location of Adam's grave, mentions among these one which states that "he [i.e. Adam] was buried in Mecca in the cave of Abū Qubays"[13]. In addition

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[9] *Mubtada' al-dunyā wa-qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*; Bodleian Library, MS Huntingdon 388, fo. 42r (*apud* Kister 1988: 102).

[10] وهى ارض خلق الله تعالى منها آدم; ed. Wüstenfeld 1866–1873, vol. 2: 557. For the references to other Arabic authors who make use of this tradition, see the references in Kister 1988: 102.

[11] Cf. Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa'l-nihāya* (Beirut / Riyad, 1966), vol. 1: 80.

[12] See ed. De Goeje et alii 1879–1901, vol. 1: 121–124. For the references to other sources where this tradition appears, see Kister 1993: 169–170.

[13] دفن بمكة فى غار ابى قبيس; De Goeje et alii 1879–1901, vol. 1: 162; tr. Rosenthal 1989: 333. Cf. also al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūǧ al-ḏahab* III; De Meynard and De Courteille 1861–1877, vol. 1: 69. On this site, see Rentz 1986. There is also a tradition that identifies another Meccan site, the mosque of al-Ḫayf, as the burial place of Adam; see on this Kister 1993: 171.

to this, al-Ṭabarī quotes another legend, according to which Eve died one year after Adam's death and was buried in the same cave together with her husband (De Goeje et alii 1879–1901, vol. 1: 163). There is also an alternative tradition about the burial of Adam and Eve. Muḥammad ibn Abd Allah al-Kisā'ī, a twelfth-century author of the *Stories of the Prophets*, reports on the place of Eve's burial that "she was buried alongside Adam, her head by his head and her legs by his legs, and it is said that her tomb is at the city of Jidda"[14]. The city of Jidda, where according to this tradition the grave of Eve and Adam is located, is a port on the Red Sea, 72 km to the west of Mecca. These traditions about the burial of the first couple in Hejaz enjoyed wide popularity and are found across the works of many later Islamic historiographers and theologians (for the references, see Kister 1993: 171).

It should be noted at this point that many of these Islamic traditions pre-date by several centuries not only the *Narration*, but any Christian source that connects Adam to "the land of Madiam", including the earliest Greek versions of the *Conversation of the Three Hierarchs*. It is even more important that, in distinction from these Christian works, where the mention of Adam's having been created and buried in "the land of Madiam" does not serve any obvious theological or narrative purpose, these Arabic legends make perfect theological sense in the overall context of Muslim tradition. By connecting the first human couple to the western part of the Arabian Peninsula and the most holy places of Islam located there, they confer legitimacy on these sites and provide the new religious community with a foundation myth that challenges both Jewish and Christian narratives.

Taking all this into consideration, it seems justified to regard these Arabic traditions as an original outcome of the creative reworking of the biblical stories about Adam and Eve that took place in a Muslim milieu. Accordingly, it would be legitimate to consider them as the ultimate source behind the idea of Adam's connection to "the land of Madiam" in the *Narration*. There is no need, however, to look for a Muslim work or author that might directly have influenced the author of the *Narration*. It is more plausible that he derived this information from some intermediary source. The most likely candidate for such a role appears to be the *Conversation of the Three Hierarchs*, which in its turn inherited this notion from its Byzantine prototype.

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[14] ودفنت الى جنب ادم عَم راسها عند راسه ورجلاها عند رجليه وقيل ان قبرها ببلد جدّة; ed. Eisenberg 1922–1923, vol. 1: 79; tr. (modified) Thackston 1978: 85.

It should be added that a Muslim background for the connection between Adam and "the land of Madiam" is even more apparent in the *Conversation*. In several versions of this work the region of Madiam is characterized as "the middle of the world"[15]. These phrases identify clearly "the land of Madiam" as the centre of the world. This idea looks rather odd in the context of Christian cosmographical beliefs, where it was Jerusalem that usually had such a status (Alexander 1999; Paczkowski 2005). At the same time, this notion is in perfect agreement with the Muslim tradition of sacred geography that proclaims Mecca, with its holiest sanctuary of Ka'ba, to be the centre and navel of the world (King 1991). Furthermore, identification of Madiam as the place of Adam's burial contradicts the ancient and widespread Christian tradition about his grave located on Golgotha in Jerusalem, which was also known to the compilers of the Byzantine erotapocritic works. Thus, in the thirteenth-century Byzantine question-and-answer text mentioned above (PNL, No. 2875) the answer to the question about the land in which Adam was buried is: "in the place of a skull, where the Lord was crucified"[16]. Apparently, at least some of the editors of these compilations perceived the conflicting character of the two different traditions about the location of Adam's grave and tried to harmonize them by identifying Madiam with Jerusalem, in defiance of all the rules of geography. For example, we find these two traditions conflated in another Greek collection of questions and answers from the same period (Austrian National Library, Cod. Theolog. No. 247; 13th c.), where to the question about the place of Christ's crucifixion the answer is provided that it happened "in the land of Madiam, in the middle of heaven and earth, where Adam was buried"[17].

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[15] National Library of Serbia, Belgrade, No. 651 – вь ҂земи мадиѧмьстѣ п҃ сръ҆ ҂земе; Austrian National Library, Vienna, No. 12 – вь ҂земли мадиѧмьсцѣи посръ҆ ҂земле; Russian State Library, Moscow, No. 6 – въ ҂земли мадїамсцѣи срѣдѣ ҂земла; *apud* Милтенова 2004: 402.

[16] Ἐρ. Εἰς ποίαν γῆν ἐτάφη ὁ Ἀδάμ; Ἀπ. Ἐν τόπῳ κρανίῳ, ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη ὁ Κύριος.; Мочульский 1901: 3, §7.

[17] εἰς γῆν Μαδιάμ, μέσον οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὅπου ἐτάφη ὁ Ἀδάμ; ed. Мочульский 1901: 7, §22. Cf. also Ibid., p. 18, §68 – Ἐρ. Ἐν ποίᾳ γῇ κατῴκησεν ὁ Ἀδάμ; Ἀπ. Ἐν γῇ Μαδιάμ. ἕως ἐν γῇ Ἱερουσαλήμ; p. 26, §10; Красносельцев 1898, p. 20, No. 1, §3, p. 49, No. 8, §8, p. 52, No. 9, §10, p. 63, No. 11, §68, p. 65, No. 12, §7; Heinrici 1911, p. 47, §14; pp. 66–67, §94.

2. AGGRESSION OF SATAN AGAINST THE BODY OF ADAM AND CREATION OF THE DOG

Another part of the *Narration* to which Muslim sources provide significant parallels is the description of the double attack perpetrated by Satan on the unfinished body of Adam. In this narrative the author presents two different traditions about Satan's aggression against Adam. The story begins with a description of how after having created the body of Adam God departs in order to bring him eyes from the sun and leaves his unfinished body spread on the ground. During the time of God's absence Satan comes and defiles Adam's unattended body by smearing it with mud, ooze and mucus. Upon his return God curses Satan, cleans the body of Adam and creates a dog to guard it. After this, he departs again, to the "Heavenly Jerusalem," in order to provide a soul for Adam. At this time another, "second", Satan comes and pierces the body of Adam with a wooden stick, causing him seventy diseases. When God returns, he expels this Satan and heals Adam[18].

This account comprises two separate aetiological stories, – one on the origins of the dog, and another about the cause of human diseases.

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[18] и поиде г҃ь бг҃ъ очи има(ти) ѿ со(л҃)нца і оставї адама едино(г҃) лежаща на зе(м)ли. прїиде (ж) окаа(н)нъый сотона ко адамоу і и(з)маза его кало(м) і тиною, і во(з)грами, і прїиде г҃ь ко адамоу, і восхотѣ очи вложити во адама, і видѣ его гноусна и(з)маза(н)на, і ра(з)гнѣва(с҃) г҃ь на дїавола. і на(ч҃) глаатї окаа(н)не дїаволе проклатъый не достои(т) ли твоа погибель что радї чл҃коу семоу сотвори(л҃) еси пако(с҃)ть и(з)маза его, і прокла(т) тъı боуди і дїаво(л҃) исчезе акї мо(л҃)нїа скво(з) зе҃млю ѿ лїца г(с҃)на. г҃ь (ж) сне(м) с него пако(с҃)ти сатаинъı и в то(м) сотвори г҃ь собакоу, і смеси(в҃) со адамовъıми слезa, і теслою оч(с҃)ти его акї зерцало ѿ всѣ(х) скверна. і постави собакоу і повелѣ стрещи адама, а са(м) г҃ь о(т)иде в горнїй ер(с҃)лимъ по дъıханїе ада(м)лево, і прїиде второе сотона і восхотѣ на адама напоустити злую скверноу, і ви(дѣ) собакоу прї нога(х) адамлевъı(х) лежаща і оубоаса вельми сотона, собака нача зло лаатї на дїавола. окаа(н)нъıи (ж) сотона взе(м) древо і истъıка всего чл҃ка адама і сотвори емоу в не(м) о҃. недоугов. і прїиде и҃с и(з) горнево ер҃слима, і ви(дѣ) адама древо(м) исколота і мл(с҃)рдова о не(м) і ре(ч҃)е сотонѣ проклатъый дїаволе что сотвори(л҃) чл҃коу семоу, почто вложи(л҃) недоугї сїа, тогда ѿвеща дїаво(л҃) окаа(н)нъый сотона г҃оу гла а(ц҃) прїиде(т) каа болѣзнь ч(л҃)коу семоу да не по(с҃)тигне(т) до ско(н)чанїа всего тоба не помане(т), аще (л҃) поболи(т) кой нед(г҃)ъ в не(м) по(с҃)тражет тогда всегда тебе їма(т) на помощь прїзъıвати в недоузе(х) сих і ѿгна г҃ь дїавола і и(з)чезе дїаво(л҃) прогна акї тма свѣто(м), і обороти всѣ недоугї в не(г҃); ed. Мильков 1999: 421–423, ff. 148a–154a.

It has been suggested by some scholars that the appearance of these two similar but not quite identical descriptions of Satan's attempt to cause harm to the body of Adam demonstrates the composite nature of the *Narration* (Мильков 1999: 419–420). Apparently, our author took these traditions about Satan from different sources and tried to harmonize them. In what follows, I shall explore separately two elements of his narrative, the motifs of Satan's assault on the body of Adam and of the creation of the dog, in light of Muslim traditions about the first man.

a. Satan's attack on the body of Adam

Each of the two aetiological stories that make up this account contains its own version of how Satan assaulted the unfinished body of Adam. In the former, he defiles it by smearing it with his bodily fluids. In the latter, he tries to destroy man by piercing his body with a wooden stick. It is the second version that I should like to begin with.

In Christian sources, the closest parallel to this description of Satan's attack on the body of Adam comes from the Slavonic apocryphal work known as the *Sea of Tiberias*[19]. In this cosmological composition an account is offered of how after God had created the body of Adam and departed to heaven in order to bring a soul for him, Satan came and pierced the body with his fingers:

> "[Then] God went to the sky, to his Father, for Adam's soul. Not knowing what to do to him, Sotona pierced Adam's body with his fingers. God came to his creation, to Adam's body and saw that his body was all pierced, and God said, "O Devil, how did you dare do this to my creation?" The Devil answered, "God, as soon as man has an ache somewhere, he will mention your name." God then turned Adam inside out, with his sores on the inside, and this is how illness originated. This is what Sotona did, [and that is why] when someone is ill, he sighs and says, "Oh, oh God, have mercy upon me!" (ed. Барсов 1886: 6; tr. Badalanova Geller 2010: 126).

In a manner very similar to the second aetiological account of the *Narration*, this narrative strives to explain the meaning of human

[19] The oldest, sixteenth-century, Slavonic version of this work was first published by Барсов 1886. This and other Slavonic witnesses of the *Sea of Tiberias* have been re-edited recently, with English translation and detailed commentary, by Badalanova Geller 2010.

illnesses by ascribing their origin to the direct intervention of demonic forces[20]. If the various differences between these two accounts are taken into consideration, such as the different tools used by Satan to carry out his attack, it does not seem likely, however, that the author of the *Narration* directly used the text of the *Sea of Tiberias* as it is known to us. It seems more probable that both authors relied for this legend on some common source, oral or written[21]. Whatever might be the immediate source used by the author of the *Narration*, the ultimate origins of the motif of Satan's piercing the body of Adam in these Slavonic works need further elucidation.

One detail of this story, namely the image of the unfinished body of Adam lying on the ground, is well attested in various Jewish sources that are considerably older than our work. The image of the newly created Adam as a *golem*, i.e. lifeless body (sometimes of gigantic size), was very popular in Rabbinic literature. Thus in the fourth-century midrash *Genesis Rabbah* (8:1) we are told that Adam was created "as a lifeless mass (גולם) extending from one end of the world to the other" (Theodor and Albeck 1996, vol. 1: 55). Similar traditions appear in many later Rabbinic sources[22]. In addition to the Jewish works, similar imagery appears also in writings of some Gnostic groups[23]. It is important for our investigation that none of these sources represents Satan (or his counterpart in Gnostic mythological systems) as acting aggressively against the body of Adam while it is in this unfinished state. This fact does not allow us to regard these Jewish and Gnostic traditions as a possible source of inspiration for the author of the *Narration*. At the same time, in Christian literary

[20] Belief in the demonic origin of diseases was widespread among Christians and goes back to the New Testament. See on this Ferngren 2009: 49–57.

[21] Among other Slavonic works that contain this motif, the *Struggle of Archangel Michael with Satanail*, composed originally in Greek, should be mentioned. In this work, God thus describes Satan's fall to the angels – ѥ҆гда҃ Сатанаиль съблазѣни се, ѿ҆вѣ҆ржѥ и болѣзни въ прьст на ч҃лка положи, егоже азъ тво҆ри҆ своима роукама; Милтенова 1981: 100, ff. 42a-b. Besides apocryphal literature, this motif is attested also in the folklore tradition of Slavic peoples. For examples, see Badalanova Geller 2010: 80–81.

[22] Cf. *Genesis Rabbah* 14:8; *Leviticus Rabbah* 29:1; *Exodus Rabbah* 40:3; *Pesikta de Rav Kahana* 23:1; *Pesikta Rabbati* 23:1; *b.Sanhedrin* 38b; *Avot de Rabbi Nathan* A 1; *Midrash on Psalms* 139:5; *Pirqe de Rabbi Eiezer* 11; *Midrash Tanhuma* (ed. Buber) 1.25. See also Barc 1975; Idel 1990.

[23] Cf. Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* I.30.6; Hippolytus, *Refutatio* V.2; Coptic treatise *On the Origin of the World* (NHC II, 5) 115:4–16.

sources the motif of Adam's lifeless body occurs very rarely[24], and in combination with the theme of Satan's aggression against it, only in some medieval Slavonic works, such as the *Narration* and the *Sea of Tiberias*.

The appearance of one such aetiological story in the *Sea of Tiberias* makes us turn to the South Slav cultural area when looking for the ultimate roots of the motif of Satan's attack on the body of Adam[25]. For instance, A.N. Pypin suggested that the legend about conflict between God and Satan in the *Narration* was formed under the influence of dualistic mythology characteristic of the Bogomil heresy (Пыпин 1907: 426). I do not intend to address this complicated issue. For our investigation, which is more limited in its scope, it is important that the Bogomil mythological tradition contains one unusual variant of the legend about Satan and Adam, which might throw light on the genesis of the story under discussion.

This legend appears in the *Letter against the Bogomils*, written in Greek by Euthymius of the Peribleptos monastery, a monk from Constantinople, in the middle of the eleventh century. In this polemical work he refutes the heretical doctrines of the Bogomils and, in order to illustrate his charges, retells their myths. When Euthymius comes to the story of the creation of Adam, who according to the Bogomil views was created by Satan, he narrates the story of how Satan tried by force to breathe soul into the lifeless body of Adam and, after he failed to do this, left it lying on the ground –

> "When all this had happened, he (i.e. the *archon*) formed Adam, and came to inserting into Adam (when he had formed him) the soul which he had stolen from God. He inserted it starting from the mouth, and it went out through the anus. Again he inserted it, starting from the anus, and it went out through the mouth. Although he did this many times, the soul went out, refusing to accept habitation in what he had formed, and went out now by the mouth, now by the anus. Since he could not force it into the body so that Adam might have life, he abandoned it, and it lay lifeless for 300 years."[26]

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[24] Cf., for example, the Irish apocryphal work about creation and fall of Adam in Herbert and McNamara 1989: 2.

[25] On the South-Slavic origins of the *Sea of Tiberias*, see Stoyanov 2001, pp. 20–21; Badalanova Geller 2010: 115.

[26] Tr. Hamilton et alii 1998: 152. For the Greek text, see Ficker 1908: 87–125 (non vidi).

This unusual account has no parallels in Jewish or Christian literary sources that deal with the creation of the first humans. However, when one turns to Muslim tradition, it becomes apparent that the motif of Satan's aggression against the unfinished body of Adam was very popular there (Calasso 1970).

The earliest attestation of this motif in Arabic literature is found in the commentary on the Qur'ān by Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān, composed during the eighth century. In this work it is related that when God had created the body of the first man from clay and left it to lie on the ground for forty years Iblis came and, in order to figure out the nature of this new creation, "began to enter it through its anus and exit it from its mouth"[27]. In the works of later Muslim authors this legend was further developed and supplemented with new details. Thus, a more elaborated version of it appears in the *History* of al-Ṭabarī, included in a *ḥadīth* attributed to Ibn ʻAbbās, a cousin of Muhammad. According to al-Ṭabarī, when God created Adam from clay, He left his body lying unfinished on the ground for forty nights. During that time Iblīs used to come to it and kick it with his foot, whereupon it made sounds. At one moment Iblīs entered Adam's mouth and left from his posterior, and he entered his posterior and left from his mouth –

> "He created Adam from sticky clay from stinking slime. He continued. It became stinking slime only after (having been compact) soil. He continued. He created Adam from it with His own hand. He continued. It remained lying around as a body (جسدا) for forty nights. Iblīs used to come to it and kick it with his foot, whereupon it made sounds (فكان ابليس يأتيه فيضربه برجله فيصلصل فيصوّت). He continued. This is (meant by) God's word: "From *ṣalṣāl* like potter's clay" (cf. Qur. 15:26). He means: like something separated that is not compact. He continued. Then (Iblīs) entered Adam's mouth and left from his posterior, and he entered his posterior and left from his mouth. Then he said: You are not something for making sounds (لست شيأ للصلصلة). What, then, were you created for? If I am given authority over you, I shall ruin you,

[27] فجعل إبليس يدخل من دبره ويخرج من فيه; *Tafsīr Muqātil b. Sulaymān* (Cairo, 1979–1988), vol. 1, p. 97.

> and if you are given authority over me, I shall disobey you."[28]

As can be seen from other examples of the use of this legend by al-Ṭabarī, it originated and functioned as a sort of midrash on the Qur'ānic version of Satan's fall, according to which the latter refused to bow down to the newly created Adam on the ground that the man was formed from clay, a substance much inferior to fire, from which he himself was made (cf. Qur'ān 2:34; 7:10–11; 20:115; 38.71–77). In the later Muslim tradition, this interpretation of the fall of Satan enjoyed great popularity and is attested in the works of many authors[29].

While there are significant differences between this legend and the Bogomil myth related by Euthymius, there are several important features that they have in common. Both narratives share the motif of Adam's body lying on the ground unattended for a long time, as well as the notion of the bilateral penetration of Adam's body by Satan during this period. It is not my intention to discuss here genetic relations between these two accounts in details. It should be stressed only that in Muslim sources the motif of Satan's attack on the body of Adam appears much earlier than in Christian tradition and plays there a more central role. Given that, the appearance of this motif in Bogomil mythology should most likely be regarded as an example of Muslim influence on this heterodox movement[30].

This example of circulation of the classic Muslim tradition about Adam's creation in the South Slav cultural area makes it possible to suggest that the narrative of Satan's attack on the body of Adam in the *Narration* has Muslim roots. This suggestion also gains support from the existence of Muslim parallels to another version of Satan's assault against Adam in this composition, according to which he does not pierce the body of the first man, but defiles it with his bodily fluids.

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[28] De Goeje et alii 1879–1901, vol. 1: 89–90; tr. Rosenthal 1989: 261–262. This tradition appears also in al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr*, I, 159.

[29] Cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūǧ al-ḏahab* III; De Meynard and De Courteille 1861–1877, vol. 1: 52–53; al-Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā al-musammā 'arā'is al-maǧālis* (Egypt, 1937), p. 25. For more examples, see Chipman 2001: 18–19.

[30] On the problem of cultural exchange between Muslims and Christians in the Balkans, see Stoyanov 2005.

One of the earliest attestations of this legend in Muslim tradition comes from the works of ʻAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʻAbd al-Salām al-Ṣaffūrī al-Šāfʿiī, a Meccan scholar, who was active during the second half of the fifteenth century (d. 1489). In his *Pious Gatherings and the Select Precious Matters*, al-Šāfʿiī offers an explanation of a popular *ḥadīth*, according to which angels do not enter a house where a dog is present. According to the Muslim scholar, this happens because angels try to avoid any contact with demons, while the dog partakes of demonic nature, since it was created by God from the spittle of Iblis, who spat upon the unfinished body of Adam when it was lying on the ground[31]. A similar legend appears in the *Gospel of Barnabas*, a Muslim apocryphal composition, produced in the circles of Spanish Moriscos around the sixteenth century (De Epalza 1982; Leirvik 2001). It is related in this work (§35) that after Satan refused to bow down before the newly created body of Adam and lost his beautiful appearance, he was rejected by God and expelled. On his way to exile, Satan spat upon the body of Adam, which was lying on the earth. The Archangel Gabriel removed this spittle together with a small piece of earth from which the body was made, leaving the mark of the navel scar (Ragg and Ragg 1907: 81).

b. Creation of the dog

The legend about Satan's attack on the body of Adam, as attested in al-Šāfʿiī and in the *Gospel of Barnabas*, contains an additional aspect that further reinforces the possibility of Muslim influence on the author of the *Narration*. It is the idea that the dog was created from that part of Adam's body that was defiled by the spittle of Satan.

According to the *Narration*, when in the aftermath of the first assault on Adam's body by Satan God saw it smeared with mud and mucus, he cleaned it by removing the dirt. From this removed matter, mixed with Adam's tears, he created the dog, whose mission was to guard the body of Adam from further attacks by Satan (Мильков 1999: 421–423, ff. 150r-v, quoted above n. 18). As far as our knowledge goes, this aetiological legend has no precedents in Jewish and Christian literary sources that predate our composition. At the same time, accounts similar to the Slavonic story are found in a number of Muslim sources.

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[31] *Nuzhat al-majālis wa-muntakhab al-nafāʾīs* (Egypt, 1935), p. 287.

One of the earliest attestations of this legend comes from the works of Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī Ibn Bābawayhi al-Qummī, a tenth century Shiite scholar from Baghdad. Ibn Bābawayhi transmits the following *hadith* in the name of ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, where the Prophet answers the question from what material the dog was created:

> "The Prophet, God's blessings upon him, was asked: from what did God create the dog? He said: he created it from the spittle of Satan (خلقه من بزاق ابليس). It was said: and how so, o messenger of God? He said: when God the exalted caused Adam and Eve to descend to the earth, he sent them down as two trembling birds. So the cursed Satan turned to the lions, who were on earth before Adam, and said to them: these two birds have fallen from the sky; nothing greater than them has ever been seen. So come, eat them. And the lions turned toward him, and Iblis began to encourage them and to shout and to remind them at close distance. And thus, due to the haste of his speech, a bit of spittle (بزاق) fell from his mouth. And thus God created from the spittle two dogs, one male, one female, and they stood around Adam and Eve, the female in Jidda and the male in India, and they did not permit the lions to come near them. From that day on, the dog is the enemy of the lion, and the lion is the enemy of the dog."[32]

Although the plot of this story differs significantly from that of the *Narration*, there are several shared motifs that connect them: the general link between creation of the dog and the story of Adam, the creation of the dog from Satan's bodily fluids and the function of the dog as protector of Adam from Satan.

Much closer to the version of the *Narration* is the legend of the creation of the dog reported by al-Šāfʻiī, mentioned above. According to this author, the dog was created from the saliva of Satan mixed with the clay of Adam's body in the region of navel. Al-Šāfʻiī resorts to this legend in order to explain why the angels would not enter a house, where a dog is present:

> "It is important to mention the reason that the angels refrain from entering a house in which a dog is present: because it was created from Satan's spittle (خلق من ريق الشيطان). This is because Iblis, may God curse him, spat on Adam, when he was still a

[32] *'Ilal al-šarā'i'* (Nağaf, 1966), bāb 250, p. 496. This *ḥadīth* appears also in al-Mağlisī (17th c.), *Bihār al-anwār*, XI, 207.

> piece of clay (بزق على آدم وهو طين); the angels scraped it off, and it became the place of the human navel. Then God created the dog from the clay struck by Iblis's spittle. And angels and satans do not mix."[33]

Al-Šāfʿiī is not the only Muslim author who makes use of this aetiological legend. A similar account is found in the *Gospel of Barnabas* (§39), whose author offers the following account of Satan's plot against the mass of clay from which Adam had to be moulded:

> "One day Satan approached unto the gates of paradise, and, seeing the horses eating grass, he announced to them that if that mass of earth should receive a soul there would be for them grievous labour; and that therefore it would be to their advantage to trample that piece of earth in such wise that it should be no more good for anything. The horses aroused themselves and impetuously set themselves to run over that piece of earth which lay among lilies and roses. Whereupon God gave spirit to that unclean portion of earth upon which lay the spittle of Satan, which Gabriel had taken up from the mass; and raised up the dog, who, barking, filled the horses with fear, and they fled" (Ragg and Ragg 1907: 89).

Another close parallel to the account of the *Narration* comes from the so-called *Persian Rivāyats*, a compendium of Zoroastrian knowledge produced by Dārāb Hormazyār in Gujarat in India ca. 1678 (Unvala 1922; engl. tr. Dhabhar 1932). This work belongs to the erotapocritic genre and comprises answers to the questions on a wide range of issues, about which members of different Zoroastrian communities of India turned to the religious authorities in Persia. The scholars of Parsi communities in India collected the outcomes of these enquiries and processed them into books, which circulated later under their names[34]. This genre is attested already in Pahlavi and its beginnings in Persian seem to go back to the second half of the fifteenth century. The rivāyat produced by Dārāb Hormazyār belongs to the later compilative stage in the development of the genre and is based on many earlier works.

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[33] *Nuzhat al-majālis wa-muntakhab al-nafāʾīs* (Egypt, 1935), p. 287. On this *ḥadīth*, see Juynboll 2007: 698.

[34] This rich and diverse literature is in need of thorough investigation. For general information, see the Introduction by J.J. Modi in Unvala 1922, vol. 1: 1–58; Hodivala 1920: 276–349.

Among other early authorities Dārāb Hormazyār quotes a tradition in the name of Bharūčī, a Parsi scholar from the ancient port Bharūč in Gujarat, who was active during the sixteenth century. In the section of Šāpūr's rivāyat, quoted by Dārāb Hormazyār, a story is narrated of how the highest Zoroastrian deity Ohrmazd created the body of the first human being Gayōmard, identified with Adam, and assigned the seven lesser deities to guard it from his enemy Ahriman. Notwithstanding this precautionary measure, Ahriman succeeded in tricking the guardians and gaining opportunity to cause harm to the body of Adam by throwing upon it an unspecified "something" (چیزی), which hit the region of the navel. When Ohrmazd became aware of what had happened, he ordered the guardian deities to scrape this substance off Adam's body, while keeping it. Afterwards, he created from this matter the "golden-eared" (زرین گوش) dog and conferred upon him the task of guarding the body of Adam. In distinction from the guardian deities, the dog accomplished this task successfully. He is also appointed as the guardian of the bridge Činwad that connects this world with the next and must be crossed by the souls of the deceased. These mythological accounts are meant to validate the high regard with which the members of Zoroastrian community are expected to treat dogs (Unvala 1922, vol. 1: 256–257; for English translation, see Dhabhar 1932: 259–260).

Due to the limitations imposed by the scope of this research, I will not address in details the problem of the genesis of this aetiological myth. One important aspect of this legend about the origins of the dog, however, should be noted here, namely the ambivalent character of this animal's nature, which appears to combine both demonic and human elements. In my opinion, this ambivalence needs to be analysed against the background of pre-Islamic Iranian views on this animal. In Zoroastrian religious tradition the dog was considered to be one of the most highly esteemed animals (Boyce 1996). It helped man in the cosmic struggle led by the highest deity Ohrmazd against the evil forces. Accordingly, the dog was thought to be able to prevent the demonic forces from causing harm to humans. What is even more significant, Zoroastrian literature contains a number of ritual and mythological traditions that presuppose a unique and very close connection between dog and man. For instance, not only does the dog have to be provided with the same kind of food that men consume, but

the rules of purity that regulate the handling of a dog's corpse are the same as those applied to the bodies of humans[35]. Moreover, in some of these sources we come across statements that seem to imply a direct genetic relationship between dog and man. Thus, the *Bundahišn* relates that the dog, created for protection of cattle, is a result of a "mixture" (*gumēzag*), two thirds consisting of the nature of cattle (*gōspandān*) and one third human (*mardōmān*). To bolster this claim a folk etymology is presented according to which the Persian word *sag* "dog" is derived from *seh-yak* "one third" (Iranian *Bundahišn* 13.28; Anklesaria 1956: 122–123). In addition to this, according to the Pahlavi *Rivāyat* (46.26–27), it is forbidden to eat the flesh of dogs because it has in it "something of the semen (*šuhr*) of Gayōmard", the primal man of Zoroastrian myth (Williams 1990, vol. 1: [Pahl.]; vol. 2: 74–75 [tr.]). In the light of these statements it seems plausible to suggest that the idea in Muslim sources that the dog was created from the matter of Adam's body might have Zoroastrian roots. In fact, this aetiological legend might be considered to be an outcome of Muslim-Zoroastrian syncretism, in which an attempt is made to reconcile two diametrically opposed views on the dog that were current in Persia after the Arab conquest: the highly positive Zoroastrian view and the negative attitude of the Arabs, who regarded this animal as impure and connected with Satan[36].

* * *

Returning to the text of the *Narration*, it is hard to miss the remarkable similarity between the narrative of Satan's attack on the body of Adam in this work and the aetiological legends of the Muslim and Zoroastrian sources discussed above. There are, however, several significant differences between these versions and that of the *Narration* which prevent us from suggesting a direct literary connection between the Slav author and any of these Oriental sources. At the same time, the appearance in all these accounts of the central aetiological motif, i.e. the creation of the dog from the two antithetical substances, that of Adam and that of Satan, cannot be discarded as incidental and thus compels us to consider the possibility of genetic relation between them.

[35] For the references and more examples, see Boyce 1996: 468.

[36] For a general survey of Muslim views on dogs, see Foltz 2006: 129–143.

Taking into consideration the significant chronological precedence of the Arabic accounts about the creation of the dog over that of the *Narration* and the greater popularity of this aetiological myth among Muslims than among Christians, one might be tempted to suggest that the medieval Slav author was, directly or through the mediation of other sources, influenced by the Muslim tradition.

However, there is one important consideration that prevents us from embracing this hypothesis unreservedly. The main challenge to the theory of possible Muslim influence upon the author of the *Narration* in this particular case comes from folklore. There we come across the mythological motif of "damaged creation," which structurally is very close to the legend about Satan's attack on the body of Adam known to us from written sources. In its most basic form, this myth relates how the creator deity, having formed the body of the first human being, abandons it in order to bring a soul for its animation, while assigning the dog the task of guarding it. At the time of the creator's departure his malevolent antagonist interferes, who tricks the guarding dog and brings damage to the body of man by smearing it with his bodily fluids (saliva etc.). Upon his return, the creating deity repairs the damage by turning the human body inside out and imposes a penalty on the dog. The primary function of this account is aetiological as it purports to explain the origins of human diseases. This myth is attested in the oral traditions of several ethnic groups which inhabit the northern part of the Eurasian continent. According to Yurij Berezkin, who offers an overview of this diverse material, it is found in the folklore of Finno-Ugric, Uralic, Turkic, Altaic and East Slav peoples[37]. As one compares this aetiological myth with the account of the *Narration*, their close connection becomes instantly apparent. They have in common not only the basic plot of antagonism between the creator deity and his enemy over the newly created body of the first human being, but also such major features as the figure of the dog as the body's protector, the manner in which the antagonist causes damage to it and their aetiological function in relation to the origins of diseases. These similarities force us to consider seriously the possibility that the Slav author relied on these oral traditions in creating his narrative.

[37] Березкин 2006. On Slavonic folklore versions of this myth, see also Кузнецова 1998: 98–109.

At this point, however, we face a fundamental methodological conundrum, presented by the difficulty inherent in assessing the character of the relationship between written and oral mythological traditions, which is rooted in the impossibility of dating the folklore material with a sufficient degree of exactness. On the one hand, there are more than enough examples when written mythological material enters the body of folklore, being transmitted and transformed further under the influence of different factors. The fact that the earliest written witnesses to the legends about Satan's attack on the body of Adam and the creation of the dog predate their folklore attestations by several hundred years seems to support such a scenario. On the other hand, the movement of mythological material in the opposite direction is also possible. In this connection it should be noted that the wide distribution of the aetiological myth of "damaged creation" prompted Berezkin to date its spread through the Eurasian continent to the "early Turkic" period, i.e. the fifth and sixth centuries CE. This dating, if correct, places the oral circulation of this myth before its earliest written expressions. Accordingly, it makes it possible to count the scenario of our myth among those pre-Islamic mythological traditions that were absorbed by Muslim authors.

These considerations demonstrate that the problem of the ultimate origins of the account of Satan's attack on the body of Adam and of the origins of the dog in the *Narration* is rather complicated to solve. A detailed investigation of all written and folklore versions of this myth and the relationships between them is still a desideratum. In the absence of such a study, I shall limit myself to offering a couple of observations that should be taken into account in any future discussion of this myth.

First of all, attention should be paid to the possibility that the author of the *Narration* merged in his account of the creation of Adam two distinctive aetiological myths, which, although associated closely with the creation of the first human being, originated in different cultural milieus: one about the origins of the dog and another about the origins of diseases. The different origins of these myths are borne out by the fact that while the former aetiology is attested primarily in Muslim and Zoroastrian written sources, the latter seems to be confined to the Eurasian folklore versions of the myth of "damaged creation". If confirmed, this distribution would imply that the close connection between the aetiology of the dog and the creation of the first man is unique to Muslim tradition. Besides this, even if the myth of "damaged creation" together with the associated aetiology of diseases

originated in Central Asia during the pre-Islamic period, as suggested by Berezkin, that still does not completely exclude the possibility of its mediation by Muslim tradition in the process of its transmission to Slav soil. As Yuri Stoyanov has convincingly demonstrated in his recent research, a number of pre-Islamic Turkic and other Central Asian beliefs often survived in the doctrines of various heterodox Muslim groups, from which they could enter Slavonic apocrypha (Stoyanov 2005: 90–91). All this, in my opinion, makes the testimony of Muslim sources indispensable for any future study of the account of Satan's aggression against the body of Adam in the *Narration*.

3. Creation of Eve from the left rib

Let us turn now to the last instance of possible Muslim influence on the author of the *Narration*. It comes from the section dealing with the creation of Eve, where it is reported that after having put Adam to sleep God "took his left rib (ребро лѣвое) and in this rib he stretched out hands and legs and head, and created for him a wife on the sixth day" (Мильков 1999: 423, ff. 156a-b). One unusual detail of this otherwise quite traditional account that demands explanation is that it explicitly identifies the rib from which Adam's wife was created as the left one.

In the biblical narrative of the creation of Eve (Gen 2:21–22) no explicit information is provided concerning the rib from which she was made. Likewise, ancient Jewish and Christian exegetical traditions seem not to be particularly interested in this aspect of Eve's creation. However, when we turn to the classical Muslim sources the notion that Eve was created from a left rib emerges as a very popular and widely distributed tradition.

The Qur'ān itself offers almost no explicit details on how exactly God created a wife for Adam, save the general statements that both the first man and his mate were created from a "single soul" (مِّن نَّفْسٍ وَاحِدَةٍ) (Qur'ān 4:1; 7:189; 39:6). Detailed accounts of the creation of the first couple appear only in the writings of commentators or editors of the collections of *ḥadīths* and stories about the prophets[38].

[38] For a general overview of Muslim traditions on creation of Eve, see Smith and Haddad 1982; Smith 2007.

Among the most popular Muslim traditions about Eve's creation that are of immediate relevance for our subject is the *ḥadīth* transmitted in the name of Ibn ʻAbbās or Ibn Masʻūd. One of its earliest attestations comes from the commentary on the Qur'ān by al-Ṭabarī, who in the section dealing with Sūrah 2:35 presents different traditional opinions on the matter of Eve's creation. In one of these *ḥadīths* it is stated that after God cast slumber upon Adam, he took "one of his ribs from his left side" (ضلعا من أضلاعه من شقه الأيسر) in order to create a wife for him[39]. A similar tradition is found in the *Lives of the Prophets* by al-Thaʻlabī (11th c.), where in order to make a partner for Adam God takes "one of his ribs from his left side, which is called 'the lowest one'"[40]. Eventually, this notion became very popular and one finds it across a wide range of Muslim sources[41]. Thus, besides works written in Arabic, it appears in the *Gospel of Barnabas* (§35), where God makes a wife for Adam from "a rib from near his heart" (*una chossta da la parte del chore*), i.e. the rib located at the left side (Ragg and Ragg 1907: 90–91). This motif is attested also in the sacred texts of such syncretic dualistic religion as Yezidism, which developed under Islamic rule and absorbed various Muslim traditions. In the so-called *Black Book*, it is related that God commanded the Archangel Gabriel to create Eve "from the left armpit" (من تحت اباط الايسر) of Adam (Joseph 1909: 124).

The idea of Eve's creation from a left rib was occasionally augmented by another popular but misogynistic *ḥadīth* that makes a general statement on women's moral disposition by likening it to a curved rib that can hardly if at all be made straight. This *ḥadīth* is found in many works as, for example, in al-Thaʻlabī's account mentioned above, where almost immediately after the passage quoted a saying in the Prophet's name is brought forward that "woman was formed from a crooked rib (ضلع أعوج); if you straighten (correct) her, you will break her, and if you leave her as she is, you will relish her

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[39] *Ǧamiʻ al-bayān ʻan taʼwīl āy al-Qurʼān tālīf Abū Ǧaʻfar Muḥammad b. Ǧarīr al-Ṭabarī* (Beirut, 1988), vol. 1, p. 230. This tradition also appears in al-Ṭabarī's *History*; De Goeje et alii 1879–1901, vol. 1: 102.

[40] ضلعا من أضلاعه من شقه الأيسر يقال له القصيرى; *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā al-musammā ʻarāʼis al-maǧālis* (Egypt, 1937), p. 24; Brinner 2002: 48 (modified).

[41] Cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Al-tafsīr ak-kabīr* (Cairo, 1935), vol. 3, p. 2; Ismāʻīl Ibn ʻUmar Ibn Kathīr, *Al-bidāya waʼl-nihāya fī al-tārīkh* (Cairo, [n.d.]), vol. 1, p. 80; al-Fadl Ibn al-Hasan al-Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʻ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qurʼān* (Beirut, 1970), vol. 1, p. 166; Ibn Bābawayhi, *ʻIlal al-šarāʼiʻ* (Najaf, 1966), p. 17.

despite her crookedness"[42]. Due to the similar aetiological reasoning and shared misogynistic thrust, these two traditions, Eve's creation from the left rib and from the "crooked" rib, were often merged. An example of such a combination is found in the *Lives of the Prophets* of al-Kisāi (11th c.), who begins his account of Eve's creation with the statement that while Adam was asleep, God created Eve "from a rib from his left ribs, which is his crooked rib"[43].

This evidence shows that the notion of Eve's creation from a left-side rib, first attested in the ninth century, became a popular stock motif of Muslim traditional lore about the first couple.[44] As to the ultimate origins of this idea, there is a certain ambiguity. While the general idea that Adam's wife was created from his rib was certainly borrowed by Muslim exegetes from Jewish or Christian tradition, as no such mention is found in the Qur'ān itself, the location of this rib on the left side poses a difficulty. In this respect, the *ḥadīth* from al-Ṭabarī quoted above is of particular interest to us. It is transmitted in the name ʻAbdallāh Ibn ʻAbbās, the son of the Prophet's uncle, ʻAbbās Ibn al-Muḥḥalib (Juynboll 2007: 1–2). But in addition to that, we find in the *isnād*, i.e. the chain of transmission, of this *ḥadīth* a statement that it goes ultimately back to "the people of the Torah among the people of the Book and other people of knowledge"[45]. The claim of Jewish origins implied in this sentence deserves to be taken seriously, since there is a considerable amount of Jewish tradition that entered Muslim lore (Rosenblatt 1945; Sachedina 1989; Wasserstrom 1994; 2000). However, when we turn to the Jewish sources that predate the time when classical Muslim collections of *ḥadīth* and Qur'ānic commentaries were produced, no explicit identification of the rib from which Eve was created with the left side is found. In fact, in those extremely rare cases when Rabbinic sources do speak explicitly about this rib, as in the *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* on Gen 2:21, they identify it as "the thirteenth rib of the right side"[46]. Therefore the absence of the motif about the creation of Eve from the

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[42] *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā al-musammā ʻarā'is al-maǧālis* (Egypt, 1937), p. 25; tr. Brinner 2002: 48. For more references to this *ḥadīth*, see Kister 1993: 143, n. 153.

[43] من ضلع من اضلاعه الايسر وهو ضلعه الاعوج; Eisenberg 1922–1923, vol. 1: 31.

[44] On biblical background and misogynistic aspect of this tradition, see Spellberg 1996: 310–312.

[45] أهل الكتاب من أهل التوراة وغير هم أهل العلم; *Ǧami' al-bayān 'an ta'wīl āy al-Qur'ān tālīf Abū Ǧa'far Muḥammad b. Ǧarīr al-Tabarī* (Beirut, 1988), vol. 1, p. 230.

[46] עלעא תלסרית דמן סטר ימינא; Ginsburger 1903: 5.

left rib in Jewish sources before the ninth century makes the theory of Jewish origins of this idea implausible.

The part quoted from the *isnād* in al-Ṭabarī suggests yet another, non-Jewish, scenario for this tradition's origins, since alongside "the people of the Torah" it mentions "other people of knowledge". This phrase could be easily understood as referring to Christians, who similarly to the Jews served for Muslim theologians as the main source of knowledge relating to various biblical figures and events (Künstlinger 1929–1930; Samir 2007; Horn 2008). However, the situation concerning possible Christian antecedents for our motif resembles very much that of Jewish sources. It is very rare that we find in Christian sources pre-dating the ninth century explicit statements on the nature of the rib of Gen 2:21–22. And even when they touch upon this subject, Christian authors do not associate this rib with the left side. For instance, in the *Cave of Treasures*, a work written in Syriac during the sixth century, it is said that in order to create Eve God took from Adam "a rib from the loins on his right side"[47]. Likewise, according to the medieval Irish apocryphal work *On the Creation and Fall*, Eve was created "from the eighth upper rib of the chest on Adam's right side" (Herbert and McNamara 1989: 3). As far as the Slav milieu is concerned, it seems that the idea of Eve's creation from the right side of Adam was current there as well. This is indicated by the fact that in some Slavonic works, such as *Palaea Interpretata*, we find a close typological connection between the act of taking Eve out from Adam's side and that moment in Jesus' execution on the cross when the soldier pierced with a spear his side, from which blood and water issued (cf. John 19:34)[48]. Although it is not made explicit in the text of *Palaea* which side of Jesus' body is meant, it becomes clear from the contemporary Byzantine and Slav icono-

[47] *Cave* III.12 – ܕܝܡܝܢܐ ܡܢ ܥܠ ܟܬܦܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܐܕܡ ; RI 1987: 24. The text is quoted according to the best textual witness of the *Cave*, the manuscript A of the Oriental recension. It should be noted that some of the East Syrian manuscripts identify this rib not as "right" but as "left" (ܣܡܐܠܝܐ). However, this reading should be discarded as secondary because the variant "right" is supported by the superior manuscripts of the Oriental and Occidental recensions of the *Cave*. In fact, it seems reasonable to suggest that the change from "right" to "left" in this passage might be regarded as an example of Muslim influence upon the Syriac Christian transmitters of the *Cave*, who lived and worked in the cultural milieu of early modern Middle East.

[48] See *Палея Толковая по списку сделанному в г. Коломне в 1406 г.: Труд учеников Н.С. Тихонравова* (Москва: Типография О. Гербека, 1892), p. 66; Камчатнов et alii 2002: 101.

graphical traditions of the scene of the Crucifixion that its author almost certainly had in mind the right side, since it was there that the wound mark left by the soldier's spear is always represented[49].

It should be noted, however, that as we leave the realm of written sources and enter that of iconography the situation becomes more complicated. Thus, in Byzantine art one finds a number of representations that depict the scene of Eve's creation. On rare occasions there Eve is represented as emerging from the left side of Adam, although the variant with the right side seems to be much more widespread (Meyer 2008: 245, 250). While more work needs to be done in order to reconstruct the diachronic development of this iconographical theme, it may be noted for the present that the earliest among the Greek codices mentioned by Meyer which depicts Eve emerging from the left side of Adam, i.e. Florence, Bibliotheca Medicea Laurentiana, Cod. Plut. 5:38, is dated to the eleventh century. Accordingly, it is considerably later than the parallel Muslim traditions and thus may reflect their influence. Representations of Eve's creation from the left side of Adam are attested also in Bulgarian Christian art (Badalanova 2008: 349, 361). However, examples of this sort presented by Badalanova are dated to the eighteenth century and thus cannot help us to determine the origins of this motif in the *Narration*.

Concluding this section, I do not want to rule out completely the possibility of Jewish or Christian origins for the Muslim tradition about the creation of Eve from a left-sided rib. However, given the fact that this identification plays no significant role either in ancient or in medieval Jewish and Christian exegesis, it would be safer for the time being to regard it as a distinctively Muslim notion. This would justify our attempt to understand the appearance of this tradition in the *Narration* as derived from Muslim sources, whether directly or indirectly.

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[49] For Byzantine icons of the Crucifixion that represent the blood flowing from Christ's pierced right side, see Вейцман et alii 1967: 45 (13th c.), 63 (14th c.), 67 (14th c.), 91 (16th c.). One of the earliest specimens (8th c.) of this iconographic type in Byzantine art is found in the monastery of St Catherine on Mt Sinai (see Nelson et alii 2006: 128–129). For examples of this scene in Slavonic culture, see Вейцман et alii 1967: 121 (Bulgaria, 16th c.), p. 167 (Serbia, 13th c.), p. 173 (Serbia, 14th c.); Lazarev 1969: No. 72 (Novgorod, 15th c.); Lazarev 1971: No. 18 (Moscow, 14th c.), No. 69 (Moscow, ca. 1500). Cf. also the scene with Doubting Thomas (Novgorod, 15th c.), where Jesus shows the apostle the wound in his right side (Lazarev 1969, No. 71).

CONCLUSION

The main rationale of this investigation was to draw the attention of scholars in the field of Slavonic apocryphal literature to the body of Muslim traditions about biblical figures and subjects as an important factor to be reckoned with, while analysing the complex processes of cultural exchange in the sphere of extracanonical scriptural lore that took place in Slav lands during the Middle Ages.

Our examination of the three extra-canonical traditions about Adam and Eve in the *Narration of how God created Adam* has demonstrated their similarity to a number of Muslim beliefs about the first human couple. In all three cases the Muslim analogues of Slavonic apocryphal motifs are attested much earlier than the probable date of the composition of the *Narration*, i.e. 16–17th c. This fact raises the question of the possible routes for transmission of these Muslim traditions to the cultural milieu of late medieval Russia. Although one cannot exclude with absolute certainty the possibility that the author of the *Narration* acquired them directly from a Muslim informant, the option of an intermediate Christian source seems much more plausible. This scenario almost certainly underlies the motif of the "land of Madiam", which is attested in Byzantine and dependent Slavonic sources[50]. However, the situation with the two other motifs, i.e. Satan's attack on the body of Adam and the creation of Eve from the left rib, is more problematic since no close Christian analogue of these traditions, whether Greek or Slavonic, has been discovered so far.

At this point, it can only be proposed tentatively that the author of the *Narration* had become acquainted with these traditions through the mediation of a written or oral Christian source. As to the cultural milieu from which this hypothetical Christian source might stem, I would like to suggest that of the Balkans. This region, which came under Ottoman rule during the fourteenth century, developed gradually into an important contact zone, where cultural exchange between Muslims and Christians took place. One aspect of this exchange relevant for our investigation has been explored by Yuri Stoyanov, who has demonstrated how some extracanonical cosmological beliefs that were current among various Muslim groups of this

[50] This case illustrates well the process of intercultural transmission from the realm of Islam to Byzantium, on which see Conrad 1990; Mavroudi 2002: 392–429; Mavroudi 2007.

region penetrated Christian tradition via Slavonic apocrypha[51]. It is possible that some of the South Slav apocryphal works containing legends about Adam and Eve that originated in the melting pot of the Balkans were transmitted to the territory of late medieval Rus' during the period of so-called "second South Slavonic influence" (14–15th c.) or even later, up to the first half of the sixteenth century[52]. This hypothesis gains support from the fact that two Slavonic apocryphal compositions which share future traditions about Adam and Eve similar to those of the *Narration*, namely the *Conversation of the Three Hierarchs* and the *Sea of Tiberias*, are considered by some scholars to be of South Slav origin[53].

Needless to say, this hypothesis needs to be researched further, first of all through a thorough source-critical examination of the *Narration*, which would throw additional light on the kind of literary sources used by the author of this work. Moreover, only a more systematic investigation of the role played by apocryphal traditions in the process of intercultural exchange between the Muslim world and the realm of *Slavia Orthodoxa* will place the examples of Muslim-Christian parallels discussed above in their proper perspective.

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[51] See Stoyanov 2001; Stoyanov 2005. See also Badalanova 2002 on the folklore dimension of this exchange.

[52] On South Slavonic literary influence on Eastern Slavs during these periods, see Турилов 1998; Турилов 2000.

[53] On the South Slavonic origins of the *Sea of Tiberias*, see the references mentioned above in n. 25; for the *Conversation of the Three Hierarchs*, see De Santos Otero 1978–1981, vol. 2: 198.

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MELCHIZEDEK AMONG RUSSIAN SAINTS: THE HISTORY OF MELCHIZEDEK BETWEEN JEWS AND SLAVS

Christfried Böttrich

One of the most enigmatic biblical figures is without any doubt Melchizedek. The short accounts in Gen 14:18–20 and Ps 110:4 seem to be only drafts or abstracts of a much more detailed story which is not told but only touched upon lightly. This naturally raises many questions: Who is this king of Salem? Where is his city located? How did he become a priest of God Most High? And what is the relation between his priestly service and Abraham's perception of the one God, creator of heaven and earth? The answers are manifold. Both Jews and Christians have been attracted to this figure and have tried to solve its riddle. In the end, they made Melchizedek the subject of a long narrative tradition[1].

Among the biblical narrations there is none so strange and unconventional as the so-called History of Melchizedek (HistMelch). From late antiquity onwards, this narrative was widespread and well-known in many languages of the Christian East, but it gradually fell into oblivion as centuries went by. Surviving mainly as part of Athanasius' works[2] and as a chapter of the Byzantine *Palaea historica*[3], the HistMelch eluded the attention of biblical scholars until recently.

[1] Cf. the overviews by M. Delcor, "Melchizedek from Genesis to the Qumran Texts and the Epistle to the Hebrews", *JSJ* 2 (1971), pp. 115–136; F. L. Horton, *The Melchizedek Tradition* (SNTS.MS 30; Cambridge et al., 1976); C. Gianotto, *Melchisedek e la sua tipologia* (SRivBib 12; Brescia, 1984); B. A. Pearson, "Melchizedek in Early Judaism, Christianity, and Gnosticism", in: M. E. Stone and Th. A. Bergren (eds.), *Biblical Figures outside the Bible* (Harrisburg, 1998), pp. 176–202; J. L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible. A Guide to the Bible As It Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge–London, 1998), pp. 275–293. A table of the full names of abbreviated bibliographic sources is found at the end of the article.

[2] *Migne PG* 28 (1857), pp. 523–530.

[3] А. Васильев, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina: Сборник памятников византийской литературы*. Ч. 1 (Москва, 1893), pp. XLII–LVI (introduction), 188–292 (text).

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The text, originally written in Greek, left its mark on a wide range of different languages: Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, Arabic, Armenian, Georgian and Romanian. It flourished particularly, however, in the Slavonic translation, as its greatest popularity and distribution was in the Slavonic lands. In this respect, the HistMelch is a good example of the reception of early Jewish literature among the Slavs concerning the traditions of Early Jewish literature (that is, assuming that the HistMelch is indeed of Jewish origin).

My hypothesis is the following: The HistMelch in its more recent form has a clearly Christian shape, but the core of the narrative is deeply rooted in Jewish exegesis. The narrative wears a Christian garment, but it does not really fit. Nevertheless, the story was attractive enough for Christian readers to retell and revise it. That was due first of all to Melchizedek's *typos* as a Nazirite, as the term was understood at the time: i.e. as an ascetic father. Thus the HistMelch attracted the specific interest of Christians and found its widest audience, at least, in Slavonic hagiography[4].

1. TEXT: GREAT AUTHORITIES AND A SIMPLE FOLK TALE

Obviously a Greek prototype lies behind all translations of the HistMelch, and there is no hint that we should look for another underlying language such as Hebrew or Aramaic. But we have access to this prototype only through two Greek recensions or versions[5]. The first is found among the works of Athanasius of Alexandria (4th century) falsely ascribed to the great theologian; the second is part of the *Palaea historica*, mentioned above, which is a Byzantine compilation of stories from the Old Testament from the 8th/9th century (see discussion of the history of this text below). Further recensions and versions have become known over the past few centuries[6].

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[4] For a detailed account, see C. Böttrich, "Die "Geschichte Melchisedeks" in ihrer slavischen Überlieferung", in: L. DiTommaso and C. Böttrich (eds.) with assistance of M. Swoboda. *Old Testament Apocrypha in the Slavonic Tradition. Continuity and Diversity* (TSAJ 140; Tübingen, 2009), pp. 163–207; C. Böttrich, *Geschichte Melchisedeks* (JSHRZ.NF 2/1; Gütersloh, 2010), pp. 23–27.

[5] The term 'recension' is used in this article to mean a version of a text, while 'version' means the version in a particular edition, such as the *Corpus Athanasianum* or the *Palaea historica*.

[6] A new preliminary edition of these different Greek recensions has been prepared

The two main recensions contain the text in different orders and with different characteristics. It is hard to determine which recension is closer to the Greek prototype. The *Palaea historica* version and the Pseudo-Athanasius version have been revised by Christian editors. The greater rearrangement of the text probably occurs in the *Palaea Historica* version, which offers it in the form of a narrative enclosed within a story frame. But for the moment both versions should be used together as a basis for analysing this apocryphon[7].

All later translations are dependent on these two recensions. The connection with Athanasius' name was most influential in legitimizing the HistMelch, but some of the translations seem to have dealt with the Greek original very freely. The Slavonic tradition clearly started by translating both recensions independently and combining them later to create a new short version.

The content of the narrative is conveyed here briefly. The king of Salem is a husband and a father of two sons, and as noted in a long genealogy, he sacrifices to idols. One day he tells his son Melchizedek to gather some cattle from the meadows to offer to the idols. While Melchizedek is on his way he looks at the starlit sky and concludes that there is only one God and creator of heaven and earth. When he returns without the cattle, a conflict arises between him and his father. The king decides to sacrifice one of his sons. Melchizedek's mother, who loves Melchizedek, sends his brother to warn him. Melchizedek leaves his clothes behind and flees naked. When he asks God for help, the earth opens up and the entire town is swallowed up, together with the crowd gathered for the sacrifice. Terrified by this divine judgement, he climbs Mt. Tabor and hides there in the bushes and in a cave. Years later, God sends Abraham to Mt. Tabor. At the foot of the mountain Abraham calls out: "Man of God" three times. Melchizedek appears as a wild man, and Abraham follows God's orders, cuts Melchizedek's hair and nails, gives him clothes and feeds him. Melchizedek blesses Abraham, and they both

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by J. Dochhorn, "Die Historia de Melchisedech (Hist Melch). Einführung, editorischer Vorbericht und Editiones praeliminares", *Museon* 117 (2004), pp. 7–48.

[7] Meanwhile a third version has emerged from the verso of the famous Joshua-rotulus; it was published by P. Schreiner, "Die Prachthandschrift als Gebrauchsgegenstand: theologische und wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Notizen auf dem Verso des Josua-Rotulus (Vat. Palat. gr. 431)", *AAWW.PH* 134 (1997–1999), PP. 43–62, spec. 48–50.

sacrifice and offer up bread and wine to God after Abraham's fight with the kings. At this point the story returns to the text of the Bible.

2. Origins: Jewish exegesis and the enigma of Gen 14

In my German translation of the text with introduction and commentary for the series *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* (JSHRZ), I have tried to present the full evidence that HistMelch stems from a Jewish apocryphon[8].

The major arguments for a Jewish origin are the following. All Christian elements in the story can easily be identified as secondary[9]. They openly contradict the structure and the intention of the basic story. The relation to Hebr 7:3 is one of the most obvious indications: it is simply impossible to harmonise the information that Melchizedek is "without father or mother or genealogy" with a detailed story about his father, mother, brother and ancestors. This is, if I may say so, a real lapse on the part of the Christian editor. The same applies to all typological references to the Eucharist: the original text of the HistMelch makes no such reference and has no reason to do so.

But when we look for a suitable context we find the nearest parallels in Jewish speculations about Melchizedek. The main interest of Jewish exegesis in interpreting Gen 14 is the question: How can a Canaanite be a "priest of God Most High"[10]? There are usually two answers: (a) the Canaanite was not Melchizedek but rather Sem, Son of Noah, a priest, according to Gen 9:27[11]; (b) Melchizedek was a

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[8] C. Böttrich, *Geschichte Melchisedeks* , pp. 1–167.

[9] Namely, the relation to Hebr 7:3; the eucharistic typology in both versions; the reference to Abraham's 318 servants and the fathers of the Nicene council in the Athanasius version; a hint of the Mount of Olives and a reference to St. Paul in the *Palaea historica* version.

[10] See V. Aptowitzer, "Malkizedek. Zu den Sagen der Agada", *MGWJ* 70 (1926), pp. 93–113.

[11] Full evidence is given by R. Hayward, "Shem, Melchizedek, and Concern with Christianity in the Pentateuchal Targumim", in: *Targumim and cognate studies. Essays in honour of Martin McNamara*. Ed. by K. J. Cathcart and M. Maher (JSOT.S 230; Sheffield, 1996), pp. 67–80; M. McNamara, „Melchizedek: Gen 14:17–20 in the Targums, in Rabbinic and Early Christian Literature", Bib. 81 (2000), pp. 1–31. See also the rabbinic evidence in G. Beer, *Leben Abraham's nach Auffassung der jüdischen Sage* (Leipzig, 1859), pp. 30–31 and 142–145; P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zu Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* IV/1 (München, 1928), pp. 453 Anm. 2 und 464–465; L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews.* Vol. 1 (Philadelphia, 1909), p. 233; and Vol. 5 (1925), pp. 225–226.

Canaanite, but he abandoned idolatry and found his way individually to the one God, the creator of heaven and earth. It is precisely this second answer that is found in the HistMelch and which is unfolded there in a narrative way. The most direct references were taken by the author from Jewish Abrahamic traditions. These are the renunciation of idolatry, the true insight into God and the permanent threat of death for the confessor. In this sense Melchizedek appears like a "twin brother in spirit" of Abraham. Their encounter is based on the similarity of their stories. When they meet, a kind of mutual authorisation takes place. Thus it was consistent that the *Palaea historica* embedded the HistMelch into the context of its Abraham story, closely relating the one to the other.

A specific Christian interest, however, cannot be found in any part of the basic story. Many narrative details come primarily from Jewish Old Testament motifs. They stress the Jewish character of the original story in many ways[12].

Of special importance is Melchizedek's typos. The biblical model in Gen 14 / Ps 110 / Hebr stresses the typos of priest and king, which is carefully maintained and slightly modified throughout the whole Melchizedek tradition, both Jewish and Christian. Only the heretical speculations from the second to fifth centuries add some new typoi such as "power of God", "Holy Spirit" or "firstborn son", but they are clearly motivated by the Epistle to the Hebrews. Thus it is a proprium of the HistMelch to depict its hero in a totally different way i.e. as a hermit. Melchizedek lives isolated from human society and absolutely secluded in the wilderness of Mt. Tabor, naked, with long hair, beard and nails, receiving nourishment from dew, herbs and fruits alone. But this picture of a "wild man" is not connected with madness or frenzy. When Abraham arrives at Mt. Tabor he addresses Melchizedek as "man of God" and initiates a cultivated conversation. So what is behind the typos of the hermit in the wilderness? Does he live an ascetic life like the Fathers in the desert? Or can his typos be explained otherwise? I find more convincing Melchizedek's typos in the HistMelch as a nazirite[13].

[12] The evidence for this intertextual relation is found in the footnote commentary to my German translation.

[13] See generally C. Böttrich, „Melchisedek Naziraios. Beobachtungen zur apokryphen ‚Geschichte Melchisedeks' (HistMelch)", in: *Mein Haus wird ein Bethaus für alle Völker genannt werden (Jes 56:7). Judentum seit der Zeit des Zweiten Tempels in Geschichte, Literatur und Kult. Festschrift für Thomas Willi zum 65. Geburtstag*. Ed.

The Old Testament tradition gives some narrative examples of prominent lifelong nazirites like Samson (Jdg 13–16) and Samuel (1Sam 1–3) which have been much more influential than the legal regulations in Num 6:1–21 and later in the Mishna[14]. Crucial to nazirite status is a special dedication to God through intensified purity. Such an association with the realm of the holy also means a partial dissociation from the realm of the profane, expressed mainly in three forms of abstinence: from cutting the hair, from intoxicating drink and from pollution through contact with the dead. The phenol-type of a nazirite may look at first glance like that of an ascetic. But asceticism is not the point. The nazirite eats, drinks and has sexual intercourse. His partial abstinence is not significant in itself but only denotes a temporary state of consecration. All these elements are connected with Melchizedek's typos in HistMelch. Neither his loneliness nor his nakedness nor his drastically reduced diet has any programmatic character. They are simply the consequence of his personal fate when he loses his family and his city by God's judgement. After recognising the one God in a rational process, he then has to prove his knowledge by means of a radical, existential dedication to God. In the end Abraham appears, cutting his hair and nails, clothing him in priestly garments, and preparing food and an offering. This is exactly the way to release a nazirite. But one detail does not fit: usually there is a vow at the beginning of a nazirite's period of dedication, but Melchizedek retires directly into the wilderness without any vow. Nevertheless, his decision derives from a prayer and reflects a well-planned step. In this respect Melchizedek's typos of a nazirite may best explain how a Canaanite prince, already prepared by his rational search for God, converts to a true "man of God" and "priest of God Most High".

There are three further strong arguments for an original Jewish conception underlying the HistMelch. First, we can observe many frictions and tensions between the basic story and the attempt to harmonise it with the christological and the eucharistic typology. Is it plausible to interpret these frictions and tensions as a Christian redactor's improvement on a previous Christian narrative[15]? Possibly, but

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by J. Männchen with the assistance of T. Reiprich (Neukirchen–Vluyn, 2007), pp. 17–38; Böttrich, *Geschichte Melchisedeks*, pp. 52–62.

[14] S. Chepey, *Nazirites in Late Second Temple Judaism* (AGJU 60; Leiden–Boston, 2005).

[15] This question is asked concerning other Jewish-Christian apocrypha by: J. Davila. *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha: Jewish, Christian, or other?* (JSJ.S ;

why should the original author have created such problems? More likely these Christian elements signal the usurpation of an original Jewish story to make it an argument on behalf of other interests. Second, the story fits much better into the context of Jewish exegisis than into that of Christian exegesis. Of course, Christians also may have been familiar with Jewish traditions, but as far we can see, the Christian interest in Melchizedek is absolutely dominated by the picture of him in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The figure of Melchizedek is seen here from the christological and eucharistic perspective. But instead, the HistMelch simply answers the core question of Jewish Melchizedek interpretation: How can a Canaanite be a "priest of God Most High"? The answer is cogent and absolutely sufficient, without tensions or logical problems: he experienced a conversion and a subsequent qualification period. Third, the structure of the story is based on a specific relation, not between Melchizedek and Christ, but between Melchizedek and Abraham. Hebr 7:3 describes Melchizedek expressively as "without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life", in order to make him compatible with the image of the son of God[16]. It would be difficult for the Melchizedek of HistMelch to match that description.

Thus, with regard to the origin of the HistMelch, it is a Jewish apocryphon presented in Christian dress. Formally the story represents a "haggadic-biographical narrative"[17]. Its theological argumenttation, style and local atmosphere belong to the wide field of "popular literature". The many references to the traditions around Abraham lead us into the literary creative milieu of Early Jewish theology.

To fix a date is difficult, but using some grids[18] of different criteria to make the focus sharper, we have good arguments for the period between the first and third centuries C.E.[19].

Leiden–Boston, 2005), pp. 81–82.

[16] Cf. J. H. Neyrey, "Without Beginning of Days or End of Life" (Hebrews 7:3). Topos for a True Deity", *CBQ* 53 (1991), pp. 439–453.

[17] Cf. in detail Böttrich, *Geschichte Melchisedeks*, p. 78.

[18] For methodological questions see B. Schaller, "Zur Methodologie der Datierung und Lokalisierung pseud- und anonymer Schriften dargestellt an Beispielen vornehmlich aus dem Bereich der JSHRZ", in: *Jüdische Schriften in ihrem antikjüdischen und urchristlichen Kontext*. Ed. by H. Lichtenberger and G. S. Oegema (JSHRZ-St 1; Gütersloh, 2002), pp. 59–74.

[19] Cf. a detailed discussion in Böttrich, *Geschichte Melchisedeks*, pp. 73–76.

3. Affinities: Christian asceticism and Melchizedek on Mt. Tabor

As indicated above, when Christian recipients, i.e., Christians who read, used, reworked, and transmitted the HistMelch, adopted this originally Jewish narrative, there was good reason for them to associate it with the authority of Athanasius[20]. From the fourth century onward, it seemed natural to understand Melchizedek's long-term stay in the isolation of Mt. Tabor as a type of ascetic life, and for ascetic biographies Athanasius was the most suitable attribution because of his influential *Vita Antonii*[21]. Hence the little story about Melchizedek started its Christian career as an instance of a just-awakening, fascinating and flourishing ideal of anchorite piety and lifestyle.

At first glance, there are many ascetic associations in the HistMelch. When the hero of this narrative withdraws from his former life, he adopts the habits of a "wild man": not only does Melchizedek abandon cutting his hair and nails, he also takes off his clothes and remains "naked as when he emerged from his mother's womb". His appearance becomes animal-like, with long hair and claws and a "back like a tortoise-shell" (HistMelch 9:4–5). In absolute isolation, he lives on berries, herbs and dew alone. Like Anthony the Great, he lives on a mountain and leaves all culture behind.This is a picture much more radical than that of the Desert Fathers. Nevertheless, in Syria and Egypt we can find some ascetic movements with similar practices. Irenaios and Sozomenos refer to a certain group called the "Boskoi" who lived naked in the mountains and grazed like cattle on the meadow[22]. There are related phenomena in the Egyptian tradition[23]. Obviously the hermit Melchizedek could be seen here as a similar typos. In such a context, there was no alternative at the time but to understand the intended nazirite as an anchorite. For the following centuries, the ascetic ideal became one of the guiding images for

[20] His name was used pseudonymously as well for the "Vita Pachomii" and for the oriental translations of the Jewish-Christian "Testament of Abraham", "Testament of Isaac" and "Testament of Jacob".

[21] See *Migne PG* 26, cols. 835–978.

[22] Irenäus, *Adversus haereses* IV 30,3 (ca. 180; Sozomenos, *Historia ecclesiastica* VI 33,2); cf. S. P. Brock, „Early Syrian Asceticism", *Numen* 20 (1973), pp. 1–19.

[23] See W. Bousset, "Das Mönchtum der sketischen Wüste", *ZKG* 42 (1923), pp. 1–41.

Christian piety, which offered the general key to the narrative of HistMelch.

If the original story is considered a product of Jewish exegesis, its adoption by Christian readers is easy to understand. When the ascetic fathers looked for models of their life in the Old Testament tradition, they came up mainly with the prophet Elijah[24]. But now the HistMelch offered them a further source. The story of the wild hermit Melchizedek, "man of God", was very useful support for the assertion that ascetic life was deeply rooted in biblical tradition. Christians would not have invented such a figure[25], but finding it in an already existing story must have been a very welcome discovery for them. The only problem was to harmonise it with Hebr 7:3, as we can observe in all the versions of the text we have. This project failed, but nevertheless the figure of Melchizedek the hermit became an accepted part of Christian tradition.

The ascetic interpretation of the HistMelch was the most important precondition for its popularity and spread in the Christian East. No direct influence on other ascetic texts or traditions can be identified, but its presence in different text corpora, the connection with Athanasius Athanasius and the obvious fascination with Melchizedek as a wild man prove its perceived affinity to the ascetic ideal very clearly. Hence among the corpus of apocryphal material in Byzantine literature the HistMelch was well equipped for transfer into the Slavonic cultural sphere.

4. Fascinations: Slavonic hagiography and the hermit priest-king

When the Slavs started to create a literary tradition in the tenth and eleventh centuries, most of the texts were translations from Byzantine manuscripts. Alongside the books necessary for liturgical services, there was a special interest in narrations useful for religious edification[26]. Therefore many apocrypha found their way into Slavonic

[24] In VitAnt 7 and 47: Elijah also lives in the desert (1Ki 18:4ff), has a girdle of leather about his loins (2Ki 1:8), and lives on water and bread (1Ki 19:6).

[25] There is nothing in the short account of Gen 14 and Ps 110 to support such a figure, if one is looking for an appropriate story about ascetic life.

[26] See F. J. Thomson, "'Made in Russia'. A survey of the translations allegedly made in Kievan Russia", in: *Millenium Russiae Christianae. Tausend Jahre Christliches Russland* 988–1988. Ed. by G. Birkfellner (Köln–Weimar–Wien, 1993), pp.

translations, in spite of an early-established and continuously developing *index librorum prohibitorum*[27]. The HistMelch is lacking throughout this index because it was unchallenged and protected by the name of Athanasius. The story came into Church Slavonic through two different translations, first as a discourse of Athanasius, and second as part of the *Palaea historica*, which was translated as a whole[28]. Most widespread was the Pseudo-Athanasian version, which, in the form of a separate text called *Slovo Afanasija Arhiepiskopa Aleksandr'skogo o Melhisedece*, was incorporated into several new types of text, becoming, for example, part of the *Tolkovaja paleja*. There are also interconnections with the translated text of the *Istoričeskaja paleja* that demonstrate a lively process of reception.

Independently, Slavonic literature reflects some other traditions about Melchisedek, mainly a short exegetic article explaining Hebr 7:3 in the context of the Byzantine chronographic tradition[29], and the strange narrative about Melchizedek's miraculous birth that is embedded in 2 (Slavonic) Enoch[30]. None of these, however, enjoyed as much popularity as the HistMelch. There are at least three reasons for this.

First, the little narration attributed to 'our father Athanasius' offered a biblical model for the ascetic lifestyle, which held a great fascination from the very beginning of Slavonic Christianity. From Kievan Rus' on, in several waves culminating in the flourishing initiated by Paisij Veličkovskij (1722–1794), the ascetic ideal was popular for Christian self-definition in Eastern theology and piety[31]. This was the consistent context for the HistMelch, which, for example, was added

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295–394; G. Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus'* (988–1237) (München, 1982).

[27] See I. M. Gritsevskaya, "Some problems of textology of indexes of prohibited books", in: *Old Testament Apocrypha in the Slavonic Tradition: Continuity and Diversity*. Ed. by L. DiTommaso and C. Böttrich with the assistance of M. Swoboda (*TSAJ* 140; Tübingen, 2009), pp. 201–223.

[28] А. Н. Попов, *Книга Бытия небеси и земли (Палея историческая) с приложением сокращенной Палеи русской редакции* (Москва, 1881).

[29] See Böttrich, "Die "Geschichte...", pp. 168–169.

[30] See C. Böttrich, "Die vergessene Geburtsgeschichte. Mt 1–2 / Lk 1–2 und die wunderbare Geburt des Melchisedek in slHen 71–72", in: *Jüdische Schriften in ihrem antik-jüdischen und urchristlichen Kontext*. Ed. by H. Lichtenberger and G. S. Oegema (JSHRZ-St 1; Gütersloh, 2002), pp. 222–249.

[31] See I. Smolitsch, *Leben und Lehre der Starzen* (Wien, 1936).

to a Russian Paterikon in the seventeeth century, and is connected in an eighteenth-century manuscript with the vita of the hermit Onufrij[32].

Second, there was a growing need in the hagiographic tradition for an appropriate narrative about Melchizedek. The relevant collections of vitae included not only Old Testament "men of God" in the "cloud of witnesses" (Hebr 12:1) but also the so-called "holy pagans"[33] and even Greek philosophers and other wise men in general[34]. To commemorate them or to relate something about them was possible only through biographical narrative. But Gen 14 and Hebr 7 are absolutely insufficient in this respect: they provide no information besides Melchizedek's name and function. The same lack of information concerning Melchizedek is characteristic of apocryphal literature in general, with the exception of the HistMelch. So the little story offered exactly what hagiography needed, namely a narrative with genealogy, circumstances of Melchizedek's former life, a dramatic conflict, a turning point and a description of the hero's paradigmatic importance in the end. On Slavonic soil, the HistMelch was rearranged in a short version to meet that special need and became an integral part of the Prolog, which followed the model of the Byzantine synaxarion[35]. There is much textual evidence for this, but perhaps the most interesting example is in Metropolitan Makarij's Velikie Minei Četii (1542–1563)[36]. Working on a reform of the church books, Metropolitan Makarij compiled this monumental repertory of hagiographic traditions by assigning the texts to the saints' commemoration days in the calendar. Under the date of May 22 he compiled several texts, enclosed within the HistMelch in the short Prolog version, followed by the longer „Word of Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, on Melchizedek"[37]. The Old Testament priest-king thus has not only a date in the Church's calendar of saints but also a proper vita for that day.

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[32] See the evidence in Böttrich, "Die "Geschichte...", p. 191.

[33] These are Abel, Enoch, Noah, Job, Melchisedek and the Queen of Sheba; see J. Daniélou, *Die Heiligen Heiden des Alten Testaments* (Stuttgart, 1955).

[34] The most exciting example is the figure of Aphroditian; see, most recently, K. Heyden, *Die "Erzählung des Aphroditian". Thema und Variationen einer Legende im Spannungsfeld von Christentum und Heidentum* (STAC 53; Tübingen, 2009).

[35] See Böttrich, "Die "Geschichte...", pp. 173–174; Böttrich, *Geschichte Melchisedeks*, p. 129 offers a German translation of the Prolog version.

[36] See Böttrich, "Die "Geschichte...", pp. 174–176.

[37] E. Weiher is currently preparing a new critical edition *Die großen Lesemenäen des Metropoliten Makarij: Uspenskij spisok* (Monumenta linguae Slavicae dialecti

Third, the HistMelch was welcome also from a homiletic perspective, as the hermit of Mt. Tabor advanced to become an example of conversion and repentance. This can be learnt from the context of certain homiletic collections in which the order of the entries is based on catchword connections. In this way the HistMelch became part of the so-called *Izmaragd* / Emerald, *Zlataja Čep* / Golden Chain and other similar collections[38]. The literature of this genre is extensive and still awaiting detailed study.

Finally, the HistMelch found a form of reception in Slavonic literature which opened a new window into Byzantine traditions. The long series of Russian pilgrimages to the Holy Land[39] begins with the famous itinerary of Abbot Daniel (1106/07)[40], who, in describing Nazareth, also mentions his visit to Mt. Tabor. In this context Daniel notes not only the site of the Transfiguration but also a little cave church where Melchizedek lived long ago as a hermit in the wilderness. The question is whether Abbot Daniel introduces into his description what he knows from the literature, whether he writes about what he has actually seen on his journey, or whether he connects his own thoughts on holy places with his scholarly knowledge. In any case, for his Russian audience the chapter about the cave church on Mt. Tabor was easy to understand because of the popularity of the related narrative.

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veteris, Freiburg, T. 39 (1997), T. 41 (1998), T. 44 (2000), T. 45 (2001), T. 49 (2006), T. 51 (2007), T. 53 (2009), T. 60 (2013)); for further information see www.slavistik.uni-freiburg.de/Forschungsprojekte/Lesemenaen_neu.htm.

[38] Cf. Böttrich, "Die "Geschichte..." pp. 176–177.

[39] Th. G. Stavrou and P. R. Weisensel, *Russian Travelers to the Christian East from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Century* (Columbus, 1968); K.-D. Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur. Theorie und Geschichte eines literarischen Genres* (München, 1976).

[40] М. А. Веневитинов, *Житье и хожение Даниила, Руськыя земли игумена: 1106–1108* (PPTS I / III; Санкт Петербург, 1883/1885), reprinted by K.-D. Seemann, *Slavische Propyläen* 36 (1970); Г. М. Прохоров, "Хожение игумена Даниила", in: *Библиотека литературы древней Руси* 4 (Санкт Петербург, 1999), pp. 26–117 (text), 584–599 (notes); C. W. Wilson, *The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel in the Holy Land 1106–1107* A.D. (PPTS 4; London, 1888, pp. I–XVI and 1–109; M. Garzaniti, *Daniil Egumeno. Itinerario in Terra Santa, introduzione, tradizione e note* (Rom, 1991).

5. Discussion: Scholarly interests and a forgotten text

After a century of neglect, the HistMelch has recently attracted the attention of several scholars. It was Stephen E. Robinson who first brought it back into biblical scholarship in 1987 with a short but important article[41]. In 2004 Jan Dochhorn prepared a first preliminary edition of the Greek text[42]. My own German translation with introduction and commentary appeared in 2010[43]. One year later, in 2011, Pierluigi Piovanelli published an English translation[44]. These publications opened the field for discussion anew because there were now different positions and arguments on the table.

The main problem is: we have dominant evidence for a Christian treatment of the story, but its Jewish origins or roots are only the result of reconstruction. Arguments for an orginal Jewish or Christian character therefore have to be examined carefully.

Two major reasons for a Christian origin have already been proposed by Marcel Simon in his innovative 1937 article[45]. At that time he identified in his time a monastic background behind the story as a whole and the figure of John the Baptist as the closest analogy and obvious model for Melchizedek in particular. Robinson picked up the monastic context again to ascribe two assumed stages in the formation the narration to certain discourses between the second and fifth centuries. Pierluigi Piovanelli has further strengthened the relationship between the figure of John the Baptist and Melchizedek in order to integrate it exclusively into early Christian literature. I wish to join

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[41] S. E. Robinson, "The apocryphal story of Melchizedek", *JSJ* 18 (1987), pp. 26–39.

[42] Dochhorn, "Die Historia de Melchisedech", pp. 7–48.

[43] Böttrich, *Geschichte Melchisedeks*, pp. 1–167.

[44] P. Piovanelli, "The story of Melchizedek with the Melchizedek Legend from the *Chronicon Paschale*. A new translation and introduction", in: *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Chronicon Paschale*. A new translation and introduction", in: *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. More Noncanonical Scriptures*. Vol. I. Ed. by R. Bauckham, J. R. Davila and A. Panayotov (Grand Rapids / Cambridge 2013), pp. 64–84; my warm thanks go to P. Piovanelli for sending me a copy of his translation and commentary in advance.

[45] M. Simon, "Melchisédech dans la polémique entre juifs et chrétiens et dans la légende", *RHPhR* 17 (1937), pp. 58–93, 70–73, reprinted in: idem, *Recherches d'histoire judéo-chrétienne* (EtJ 6, Paris–La Haye, 1962), pp. 101–126.

the ongoing discussion here only with some observations and questions.

A real monastic background is hard to determine. What we have is a wild man living abstinently in the wilderness, but he lacks some crucial peculiarities of the ascetic fathers. His loneliness is neither a free decision nor an escape from the world. Also, it is limited to the encounter with Abraham, when Mechizedek gives up his hermit life. He does not struggle with temptations or demons. Nothing is said positively about Melchizedek's piety or worship on Mt. Tabor except that he is a "man of God". Would that be enough to present him deliberately as a hero of the monastic ideal? According to Robinson's proposal, the HistMelch received its final form at around the fourth or fifth century, in order to better integrate the ascetic movement into the Church. Is such a domestication of radical asceticism via Melchizedek's subordination to Abraham plausible if we lack a clear leading idea of what the hermit should be in the end? Should all the wild desert fathers become priests like Melchizedek in this narrative? Why do we have no trace of the HistMelch other than this in the ascetic literature of the time? Robinson has mentioned yet another discourse as a possible background for the HistMelch. When the Church was confronted with the heretical Melchizedekians (2nd–5th centuries)[46], the little story could be very useful to defend Melchizedek's human nature. But again there is no hint that the story ever played any role in these discussions.

The relation between Melchizedek and John the Baptist seems much more interesting. In Eastern iconographic tradition, John also appears as a wild man, partly naked and with long hair, living in the desert. The Slavonic version of Josephus' Bellum Judaicum has consistently emphasized this picture of John the Baptist "like a wild animal" coming "out of the forest"[47]. Could it be the model for Mel-

[46] Cf. H. Stork, *Die sogenannten Melchizedekianer mit Untersuchung ihrer Quellen auf Gedankengehalt und dogmengeschichtliche Entwicklung* (Leipzig, 1928); B. A. Pearson, "Melchizedek in early Judaism, Christianity, and Gnosticism", in: *Biblical Figures outside the Bible*. Ed. by M. E. Stone and Th. A. Bergren (Harrisburg, 1998), pp. 176–202.

[47] *See Josephus' Jewish War and its Slavonic Version: A Synoptic Comparison of the English Translation by H. St. J. Thackeray with the Critical Edition by N. A. Meščerskij of the Slavonic Version in the Vilna Manuscript translated into English by H. Leeming and L. Osinkina*. Ed. by H. Leeming and K. Leeming (AGAJU 46; Leiden–Boston, 2003), pp. 248–249, 258–259 (notes 654–656).

chizedek in HistMelch? Piovanelli draws attention to the pilgrim Egeria's famous report (around 400) which mentions ruins of a Melchizedek palace near a place called Sedima, not far from Aenon[48]. Is there any connection between local traditions of John the Baptist and a northern location of Melchizedek's Salem as in HistMelch? Here we enter the wide field of speculation. It is much easier to understand John the Baptist and the Melchizedek of HistMelch originally as nazirites[49]. As presented by the Synoptic Gospels, John clearly lives as a lifelong nazirite. Luke adds a birth story exactly in line with the Old Testament model and ascribes to him priestly antecendents. His nazirite behaviour is closely connected with priestly purity. But he is definitely not an ascetic; that is a consensus in New Testament scholarship. Josephus approves this picture of John as an ascetic in Ant VIII 116–119 and favours the prophetic character of John. Thus the Baptist towers like an Old Testament figure in the Gospel narrative. Only the later Christian tradition makes him an ascetic typos and interprets him in terms of cultural criticism. This is, why John the Baptist is not a paradigm for Melchizedek but an analogue for a similar Christian adoption of an original Jewish tradition. John the prophet is attested by Josephus; Melchizedek the priest-king is attested by Gen 14 and Ps 110. A Jewish author depicts Melchizedek in HistMelch as a nazirite; the Evangelists, brought up in the Jewish tradition, also depict John the Baptist as a nazirite. John and Melchizedek look like brothers in spirit and behaviour. They are connected with priestly tradition, their nazirite lifestyle reflects the habit of wildness, the experience of the one and the preaching of the other have to do with returning to God. So it was almost unavoidable that someday a link would be discovered between these two figures. For Christian recipients, especially in the Slavonic culture, it must have been compelling. Like the winged "angelos / herald" John, Melchizedek is also presented as a winged figure, for example in the illustrated *paleja* from Pskov[50]. In my opinion, the parallel between John and Melchi-

[48] Peregrinatio 13:3–14:3. See also Egeria, *Itinerarium. Reisebericht*. Ed. by G. Röwekamp (FC 20; Freiburg–Basel–Wien, 1995); H. Donner, *Pilgerfahrt ins Heilige Land. Die ältesten Berichte christlicher Palästinapilger (4.–7. Jahrhundert)* (2 ed. Stuttgart, 2002), pp. 68–133.

[49] Cf. J. A. Kelhoffer, *The diet of John the Baptist: "Locust and wild honey" in synoptic and patristic interpretation* (WUNT 176; Tübingen, 2005).

[50] Cf. Böttrich, *Geschichte Melchisedeks*, pp. 50–51 (description) and 146 (images).

zedek is that of developing Jewish narrative models in Christian interpretation, but it is not a genetic relation.

It is Piovanelli's great achievement to have pointed out the seventh-century *Chronicon Paschale*[51] as "the most intriguing parallel to the story of Melchizedek". Here we find the "classical" Christian solution to the riddle of Melchizedek's origin, which was characteristic of the chronographic tradition: i.e., that Mechizedek is named without father, mother, or genealogy (Hebr 7:3) because his wicked ancestes are not worth mentioning. But I would like to question the value of this parallel. The HistMelch and the passage in the *Chronicon Paschale* have only two features in common: first, Melchizedek is a Canaanite indeed, but an outstanding one; second, Melchizedek and Abraham have a similar way of life because God has guided them both out of their idolatrous tribes to adore Him alone. But the differrences are much more significant. In the *Chronicon Paschale*, Melchizedek's ancestry is simply derived from Gen 10:6. There is no single reason why Melchizedek was so outstanding among his family or why he became so "holy and righteous", in contrast to the dramatic conversion story in HistMelch. Melchizedek's offer of "bread and wine" remains unexplained and seems to mirror the Eucharist independently of the literary context. The baptism symbollism appears totally freehand without any anchoring in the core narrative. One can say without doubt only that the passage in the *Chronicon Paschale* tries to explain Hebr 7:3, i.e. why Melchizedek was "without father, without mother, without genealogy". It is a very forced and unsatisfying answer this is because his family is not worth mentioning any longer. The biblical genealogies from Gen 10:6 onwards do not support such a *damnatio memoriae*, and for Abraham's clan the biblical memory is preserved in spite of his father Tara's idolatry. Can HistMelch be influenced by this chronographic tradition, possibly in order to fill in its gaps or to solve its dissonances? I do not think so. We find in the chronographic tradition represented here by the *Chronicon Paschale* only an interest similar to that of the Christian recepients of HistMelch: the interest in making the Old Testament figure of the priest-king compatible with Hebr 7:3. The two accounts establish two distinct and independent approaches. First, Melchizedek's tribe has totally perished by God's judgement (Christian redaction of HistMelch); second, Melchizedek's

[51] *Migne PG* 92: col. 176.

tribe is not worth mentioning any longer (ChronPasch). Both explanations are equally unconvincing. Hence the example of the *Chronicon Paschale* seems more important for the transmission of the HistMelch than for its origin.

When the HistMelch arrived in the Slavonic countries after hundreds of years, it had become a true Christian text meanwhile. It had undergone a reshaping and recontexualization already in the Byzantine literature. This process continued when the narration became part of new types of texts like the *Palaea interpretata*, the Prolog, the Četii Minei and certain homiletic miscellanies. But we can still follow its roots back to a basic narrative created in an Early Jewish milieu. Many links inbetween have been lost, but there are still enough indications to support this wide-ranging transmission. Melchizedek's origin as a nazirite explains how he could become a priest of "God Most High" and one of the holy pagans among the Russian canon of saints commemorated in the Eastern Orthodox church calendar.

6. Conclusion: insights and outlook

We owe the History of Melchizedek much more respect as an Old Testament Apocryphon than it has been granted up to now, for at least three reasons:

1. Studies in Slavonic apocryphal literature need to broaden their horizon. As far as the origin of the *Slovo Afanassija* is concerned, more than the underlying Greek texts need to be considered. Also the entire Jewish Melchizedek tradition needs to be consulted. Only in this wider context can the Slavonic texts be interpreted appropriately.

2. The investigation into apocryphal traditions should not end just after the Hellenistic-Roman period, with respect to Biblical studies or Judaistic studies. One can understand the peculiarities of the starting point much better in the light of later transmission. New possibilities for the meaning of a text open up if the entire history of its interpretation is considered.

3. The figure of Melchizedek has been at the centre of a new and intense discussion since the discoveries of Qumran and Nag Hammadi. Meanwhile, the time has come to include remote documents

such as the History of Melchizedek in this discussion and consider its full range of transmission.

To sum up, the History of Melchizedek proves how important interdisciplinary co-operation is in the field of the Apocrypha, especially concerning their transmission from Jews to Slavs. It would be a challenging and compelling project to collect all the witnesses to the HistMelch in Slavonic translation in order to prepare a critical edition. Here scholarly work is still at its beginning[52].

Abbreviations

AAWW.PH	Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
CBQ	Catholic biblical quarterley
EtJ	Études juives
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JSHRZ.NF	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit. Neue Folge
JSHRZ-St	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit. Studien
JSJ	Journal for the study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman period
JSJ.S	Supplements to the Journal for the study of Judaism
JSOT.S	Journal for the study of the Old Testament. Supplement Series
Migne PG	J.-P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca
MGWJ	Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums
PPTS	Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society
RHPhR	Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses
SNTS.MS	Society for New Testament Studies. Monograph Series
SRivBib	Supplementi alla Rivista biblica
STAC	Studien und Texte zum Antiken Christentum
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
ТОДРЛ	Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы

[52] Recently a step in this direction has been taken by А. Г. Маштакова, "К изучению апокрифа о Мелхиседеке в составе Полной Хронографической Палеи", *ТОДРЛ* 61 (2010), pp. 375–381.

CYRILLO-METHODIAN

TRADITIONS

THE EXTENT OF THE WORKS OF ST. METHODIUS: SYNTACTIC OBSERVATIONS

Johannes Reinhart

We do not know much about the life of St. Methodius (ca. 815–885). In all, we know the place of his birth, his activity as administrator of a province in the European part of the Byzantine empire, his stay at a monastery in Asia Minor, his activity in Moravia and the year of his death (see Hannick 1991; Николова 1995). This is more than we know of most other Old Bulgarian men of letters.

A better assessment of Methodius' activity could be obtained if we could say with a certain degree of probability which works he wrote. We know of about half a dozen Old Church Slavonic works which have been ascribed to him, but in most cases the certainty of ascription is not very high.

The following works are often thought to be his: a number of books of the Old Testament, the Nomokanon (the Synagoge of 50 Titles of John Scholastikos, see Mareš 1994: 44; Schenker 1995: 232 (3.51.1.), the Anonymous Homily in the Codex Clozianus (see Schenker 1995: 212 (3.44) and the Canon in honour of St. Demetrios of Salonica. Some scholars have ascribed to him the legal text *Zakon sudnyi ljudem* (see Schenker 1995: 232sq. (3.51.1.) and the Scete Paterikon, as well.

There are a number of reasons why a text has been thought to be composed by Methodius. They are: information in historical sources, linguistic criteria, intertextual arguments (viz. thematic or textual similarity of two or more texts) and factual criteria (e.g. legal criteria or arguments from church history). As additional evidence, the age of a text as well as the number of manuscripts and their geographic distribution have a certain relevance.

In the present paper some of the texts mentioned will be analysed from the point of view of one linguistic level, syntax. It is quite clear that syntactic investigation of a group of texts can establish their authorship only with a relative degree of certainty. This is due to the fact that the syntax of a group of authors who were close to each other,

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e.g. Cyril and Methodius or Methodius and his pupils, is not likely to differ very much from one of them to another. Further facts that affect syntactic comparisons of old texts are the different genres of these texts and the different chronology of their attestation.

For our investigation the following texts have been chosen: the Nomokanon, the Anonymous Homily, the Canon in honour of St. Demetrios of Salonica and the *Zakon sudnyi ljudem*[1]. The last mentioned text is not unanimously ascribed to Methodius by all students of Old Church Slavonic legal texts; some, e.g. Vašica[2], have seen the younger brother of Methodius as its author, not to mention the Bulgarian (G. A. Rozenkampf, A. S. Pavlov, V. Bogišić, V. G. Vasil'evskij, M. Benemanskij, M. Andreev, V. Ganev)[3] or the Macedonian (S. V. Troickij)[4] theory of its origin[5]. However, in a recently published monograph (Максимович 2004) new arguments in favour of Methodius' authorship have been advanced, and therefore it is legitimate to include the *Zakon sudnyi ljudem* in our analysis.

The exclusion of two (groups of) texts, the Old Testament and the Scete Patericon, is determined by practical considerations, i.e. by reasons of limited space and because of the size of these texts, as well as by the lesser probability of Methodius' authorship. This becomes clear if we look at different opinions expressed in the literature. The opinion that Methodius was author of the translations of various books of the Old Testament is based on the famous information in chapter 15 of his Vita: пѹѣложї въ бъѕѕѣ вьсѧ книгы вьсѧ испълнь. ѕѧѕвѣ макавѣн. ѿ гѹьѵьскꙗ ѣѧзыка въ слов҃ѣньскъ. (Usp. sb.[6], 108v11–15) "he rapidly translated all the books in full, except Maccabees, from the Greek to the Slavonic language" (Thomson 1998: 639). Twelve years ago Francis Thomson wrote about this as follows: "The earliest surviving translations of Old Testament books vary so consid-

[1] The four texts are cited from the following editions: Vašica 1971d: 243–363 and Срезневский 1897, Приложение I: 1–66 (Nomokanon), Dostál 1959: 51–58, 124–142 and Vašica 1971c (Anonymous Homily), Ягич 1886 (Canon in honour of St. Demetrios of Salonica), Vašica 1971b: 178–198 (*Zakon sudnyi liudem*).

[2] See Максимович 2004: 19–22.

[3] See Максимович 2004: 7–12.

[4] See Максимович 2004: 16–19.

[5] For an overview of the existing opinions see Kaiser 1980: 46sq. (esp. 48).

[6] „Usp. sb." stands for Uspenskij sbornik (edited in Котков 1971).

erably with regard to both language and metaphrastic approach that there can be no question of ascribing them all to one person." […] "It must be admitted, however, that as it stands, the passage in Methodius' Vita probably belongs to the realm of hagiography rather than historiography…" (Thomson 1998: 642, 641). At the opposite end of opinions about this central question in Slavonic biblical studies stands the Russian scholar Anatolij Alekseev. In his book published one year after Thomson's long article he identified the following books of the Slavonic Old Testament as translations by Methodius: (1) [together with his brother Cyril:] Psalter, Canticles, Prophetologium; (2) Ruth, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs (Cantica Canticorum), Jeremiah, Daniel (13 chapters), Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Ecclesiasticus (= Jesus Sirach); (3) [pupils of Methodius:] Kingdoms, Job (Алексеев 1999: 155). The edition of the Scete Patericon available in print (van Wijk 1975) reflects only a specific South Slavic redaction (on the basis of the Mihanović Patericon and MS Paris slav. Nr. 10; a critical edition under the direction of William Veder will be published in the near future)[7].

Before turning to syntax let us briefly sum up some basic information about the manuscript tradition of the four texts and the possibility of ascribing them to Methodius.

The Nomokanon (hereafter also: Nom) is mentioned in chapter 15 of the Vita Methodii, where we read: тъгда же н номоканонъ рекъше ѕаконоу правнло. н оу҃бскыѧ книгы прѣложн. (Usp. sb., 108v31–108g2). The text has been preserved only in two East Slavic manuscripts of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries (*Ustjužskaja kormčaja*) and of the sixteenth century (*Joasafskaja kormčaja*). Besides this, five words from the Nomokanon, the so-called St. Emmeram Glosses (see Vašica 1971d: 233sq.), have been discovered in a Latin manuscript from Munich (ninth century). The Czech Slavist Josef Vašica claimed that the Nomokanon contains several lexical elements of Moravian origin (some of them already known before him), e.g. *dogoniti* 'to force', *istina* 'věc vzata, ukradená; stolen goods', *neračenije* 'rejection, refusal', *sědati sъ mǫžemь* 'to have sexual intercourse', *uvarovati* 'to guarantee', *vъzdъšenije* 'turning away, rejection' (Vašica 1971d: 224sq.). Some of them are unlikely to be of Moravian origin, or at

[7] Among others, the following syntactic phenomena are attested in the Scete Patericon: the short enclitic dative pronoun in possessive function, *svoj-* + dative, instrumental in the predicate with verbs denoting being or becoming.

least are not exclusive isoglosses, as was rightly noted in 1985 by Jaroslav N. Ščapov with regard to *istina* and *uvarovati* (Щапов 1985: 239sq.). Some of Vašica's other opinions are also insufficiently founded, e.g. the one about a Bulgarian hyparchetype of the Nomokanon redaction in the *Ustjužskaja kormčaja*, or that the *Efremovskaja kormčaja*[8] had an influence on some passages of the Methodian Nomokanon. But he was certainly right when he claimed that the Nomokanon was known in South Slavic literature (see Vašica 1971d: 236.), which is shown by its influence on the Serbian legal text *Pravila svetihь otьcь po zapovědi svetago i velikago Vasilija* (although it cannot be excluded that this influence goes back to the first Eastern Slavic influence in South Slavic lands, and is therefore only secondary, see Максимович 2008: 131). Another finding of Ščapov is crucial for the understanding of the original translation of the Nomokanon, namely that the abridgements of the text did not originate in the translation of the ninth century, but are due to a redaction in Russia, probably not older than the thirteenth century (Щапов 1985: 243, 248). Thereby one can easily explain certain linguistic peculiarities of the text which owe their existence to this redaction. This fact lessens the value of the text for the reconstruction of the language of the original translation. The Nomokanon contains certain textual parallels to the Vita of Methodius (Vašica 1971d: 222sq.).

The Anonymous Homily (hereafter also: AH) in the Codex Clozianus, whose origin might go back to the ninth century, lacks a beginning. There is no information about it in historical sources or other texts. A connexion with Methodius is assumed on the basis of its language and because of similarities with other texts attributed to Methodius (above all in chapter 11 of the Vita Methodii). It is the only one of the four texts which has an excellent linguistic description, namely by Emilie Bláhová (1973)[9].

The *Zakon sudnyi ljudem* (hereafter also: ZSL), similarly to the Nomokanon, is known only in East Slavic copies, but differently from it is found in numerous manuscripts starting from the thirteenth to the

[8] The evidence adduced to prove this influence does not seem to be conclusive (see Vašica 1971d: 213sq.). It must be mentioned that Vašica also assumes an influence in the opposite direction, viz. from the Methodian Nomokanon on the *Efremovskaja kormčaja* (Syntagma of XIV Titles), see his stemma on p. 214.

[9] It cannot be excluded that the Anonymous Homily is, as has been maintained by André Vaillant (Vaillant 1947), a translation of a Greek original (not yet identified). It would at least be worth while to search for it. One might cite as a possible parallel case the *Napisanije o pravěi věrě*, which has until recently passed for an original Old Church Slavonic text.

sixteenth century. On the basis of its language and of various correspondences with other texts it has been ascribed either to Cyril or to Methodius. In his monograph of 2004, Kirill Maksimovič adduces several interesting arguments from church history and canon law to prove the authorship of Methodius. On the other hand, some of the linguistic arguments which he discusses are not quite so convincing.

The Canon in honour of St. Demetrios of Salonica (hereafter also: CD) is the most distinctive text among the four from the point of view of genre, and it is the least interesting one from the syntactic point of view. It has been ascribed to Methodius not only because he was born in Salonica, but also on the basis of the following sentence in chapter 15 of his Vita: сътворѧ памѧть стѣ̀го Дмнтрѧ (Usp. sb. 108v24–25)[10]. The Canon is attested in a great number of copies. Bojka Mirčeva in her article in the volume dedicated to Stefan Kožucharov mentions nineteen manuscripts, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, which belong to the East Slavic, Middle Bulgarian and Serbian redactions. Kožucharov emphasized the textological importance of MS Zographensis Nr. 88, of which he published a photocopy (Кожухаров 1986), whereas Мирчева (2003) published an edition in transcription. Unfortunately, we do not have a critical edition, but the detailed commentaries in the edition of the *Il'ina kniga* by Vadim B. Krys′ko (2005) compensate for it to a considerable extent. It cannot be overlooked that the oldest existing copy of the Canon in the Novgorod Menaia (11th century) published by Jagić (1886: 179–190) is already full of redactional changes and corrupt readings.

There are some previous syntactic investigations of the four texts. The exemplary monograph of Emilie Bláhová on the language of the Codex Clozianus, and especially the Anonymous Homily, has been mentioned above. Another paper dealing with the syntax of the Anonymous Homily belongs to Roland Marti (1988). Some observations on the syntax of the Nomokanon can be found in Heinrich Felix Schmid's dissertation of 1922 as well as in various papers by Vašica, above all in the introductory study to his edition of the text in the series Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici (Vašica 1971d: 205–236). The language of the *Zakon sudnyi ljudem* has been analysed by Maksimovič in his book already mentioned (Максимович 2004: 103–121). Numerous useful observations are included in Angelina Minčeva's paper about the syntax of the Vita Constantini (Minčeva

[10] The Slovak slavist Ľubor Matejko advanced the idea that the Canon is a translation from Greek (Matejko 2004).

1988). It goes without saying that all four texts have been perused and evaluated anew.

When analysing the material of the four texts it is desirable to divide it into correspondences and differences. The correspondences can be further subdivided into relevant and unimportant ones. In addition, some texts contain singular phenomena which are worth mentioning even if they do not serve to differentiate a given text from the other ones. Another point to be studied is syntactic variation. The two texts which are translations from Greek, the Nomokanon and the *Zakon sudnyi ljudem*, allow a deeper analysis of some syntactic features (e.g. the translation of a Greek passive by an active verbal form). This possibility is not applicable in the case of the two other texts (the Anonymous Homily and the Canon for Demetrius of Salonica). Another advantage when analysing the two translated texts is their identity of genre and their length (compared to the other two texts). Therefore they most easily lend themselves to syntactic comparisons. But there are also differences between the two OCS legal texts: the Nomokanon is much longer than the *Zakon sudnyi ljudem* (121 pages vs. only 21 pages in the Vašica's edition), and, moreover, contains longer and more complicated sentences.

The Nomocanon is not free from certain mistakes in comparison with its Greek original:

Nom 263.15: мольбъı – τὰ πρεσβεία; Nom 296.14: съ поп҃ъı (EfrKrmč[11]: по поп҃ъхъ) – μετὰ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους; Nom 312.6–8: ѹ҆҃тьнъıꙗ снрѣѵь паѵє боѵ҆҃тнꙗ – προτιμωμένης παρ᾽ αὐτῶν θεοσεβείας.

In both legal texts one can observe a limited number of semantic loan translations:

ZSL 194.11: не ꙗвѣ твоꙗ – ἀφανῆ ποιῶν[12].

Nom 265.13: ꙗвѣ ꙗко – δηλονότι[13].

The redaction of the Nomokanon in the thirteenth century has a number of consequential lexical and syntactic elements of Russian origin:

[11] „EfrKrmč" is the abbreviation used for the *Efremovskaja Kormčaja* (edited in Бенешевич 1906).

[12] See Максимович 2004: 108sq.

[13] See Максимович 2004: 50, 121.

Nom 323.21–22: просвѣщающихъ[14] (*просвѣщающы) ... помазати – τοὺς φωτιζωμένους ... χρίεσθαι; Nom 347.11: въ грѣхъ тотъ – τῷ ἁμαρτήματι

The Nomokanon abounds in syntactic loan constructions:

A.1. *ježe* + infinitive[15]; *jako* + infinitive[16]: Nom 257.12: еже оучитн сѧ – ἐκμανθάνειν; Nom 265.2–3: ꙗко ѿ сего двѣма митрополитома бꙑтн въ єдинои области – ὡς ἐκ τουτοῦ δύο μητροπολίτας εἶναι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ; Nom 267.20–22: иже ни цр҃кви тѣщетꙑ которꙑꙗ прияти (vl.: да … прїимѣ) – τὸ μήτε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ζημίαν τινὰ ὑπομένειν; Nom 270.14–16: ꙗко не бе-съвѣдѣтельства боудеть строєнние цр҃квьно (vl.: бꙑтн строєнїю ц-номоу) – ὥστε μὴ ἁμάρτυρον εἶναι τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας; Nom 348.22–23: ꙗко по ѕ҃ лѣ҃ бꙑтн имъ приꙗтомъ – ὥστε μετὰ ἕξ ἔτη εἶναι αὐτοὺς δεκτούς.

A.2. Infinitivus pro imperativo[17]: Nom 301.24–302.1: пржнвъшаꙗ же оуже дѣти ... приводнти ꙗ къ wбщенню кафолнкнꙗ цр҃кве – τοὺς δὲ ἤδη ... παιδοποιήσαντας ... προσάγειν αὐτὰ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας[18]; ZSL 183.5: разлоучати ꙗ – μετὰ τὸ ἀποδιωχθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων.

A.3. Accusativus graecus: Nom 350.17: порочєнѣ҃ таковѣ҃ (*такова) – τοῦ ἐγκεχειρισμένου τὰ τοιαύτα.

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[14] See Крысько 1994: 105sq., 139; Йорданиди, Крысько 2000: 199sq., 201sq. Since there are some marginal OCS examples of plural participles in the genitive-accusative (see Vaillant 1964: 179sq., Крысько 1994: 139; Йорданиди, Крысько 2000: 192) the form attested in the manuscript might go back to the original translation.

[15] See Večerka 3: 169; 4: 443 (§ 170.6.). Bláhová (1973: 24) states that the construction is not attested in the Codex Clozianus.

[16] See Večerka 4: 334sq.

[17] See Večerka 3: 85. The Nomocanon has examples where an infinitive with the meaning of an imperative is translated by *da* + indicative (see Vašica 1971d: 217) or by an imperative (Nom 271.17 невластьно боудн оустроєнние – ἄκυρον εἶναι τὴν κατάστασιν).

[18] Strictly speaking, the example is valid only if the infinitive is not governed by ὥρισεν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος in the preceding sentence.

A.4. Accusativus cum infinitivo[19]: Nom 330.16–23: съмоудрьствоующю (vl.: -ща) … клнрнкъı … повелѣваємъ не повнноватн̑ нмъ – τοὺς … συμφρονοῦντας … κληρικοὺς κελεύομεν μηδ᾽ … ὑποκεῖσθαι; Nom 333.2–5: пожьршаѧ ... прнводнтн достонть ... омъıвъшь сѧ – Τοὺς … τεθυκότας ἔδοξεν … προάγεσθαι δεῖν ὡς ἀπολουσαμένους.

A.5. Government of verbs and verbal nouns: Nom 285.15–16: прн ıетерѣхъ грѣсѣхъ оклеветанъ бъıвъ – ἐπί τισιν ἐγκλήμασιν κατηγορηθεὶς (the normal government is *o* + locative); Nom 319.1–2: къ женнхоу съвъкоуплennıе – τὴν πρὸς τὸν νυμφίον ἕνωσιν (the normal government is *sъ* + instrumental, or with the genitive).

These five phenomena (1. *ježe/jako* + infinitive[20]; 2. infinitive in imperative function; 3. accusativus graecus; 4. accusativus cum infinitivo; 5. government) differ in importance. The example with the accusativus graecus – if my interpretation is right – is rather to be analysed as a mistake of the translator. The same could be true of the construction of infinitive in imperative function although it is paralleled by an analogous construction in several Slavic languages (e.g. Croat, Czech, (Old) Russian, Slovene, see Katičić 1986: 143 (410a); Šmilauer 1966: 113 (364); Горшкова, Хабургаев 1981: 314; Граматика 1970: 567, §1330; Toporišič 1976: 501, nr. 5). The infinitive with an article is attested already – though rarely – in the OCS gospel manuscripts, but according to E. Bláhová (1973: 24) never in the Anonymous Homily. The accusativus cum infinitivo is also a marginal construction in the OCS canon, or as Večerka puts it in his OCS syntax: "normstrukturelle Randstellung als Nachahmung des griechischen syntaktischen Modells" (Večerka 4: 446). It is at least supported by the native construction of verbs like *moliti*, *naustiti* + infinitive.

There are a couple of syntactic correspondences between the Nomocanon and the *Zakon sudnyi ljudem*: the conditional (*-l-* + *bǫd-*), relative clauses (in most cases as equivalents of Greek participles), dativus cum infinitivo, the translation of Greek passives by an active

[19] See MacRobert 1986: 157 ("Once again, infinitival complements of these verbs are rare. Where they do occur, the infinitive appears to have future reference, to express a plan or expectation rather than a supposition."), Večerka 4: 446sq.

[20] There are also examples where Greek infinitives are translated by finite verbs (e.g. Nom 275.22 да боудеть вес прнчастнѧ – τοῦτον εἶναι ἀκοινώνητον) or by a participle (e.g. Nom 308.24 оумнчьжаѧ – διὰ τὸ ἐξευτελίζειν). See also Vašica 1971d: 216.

construction, 2nd person imperative for 3rd person and constructions with double accusative.

B.1. *-l-* + *bǫd-* (see Večerka 2: 88, 180sq.): Nom 291.10 пришли боудоуть – μετῆλθον; Nom 301.13–14 аще кто боудеть … въшьлъ – Τῶν … παρελθόντων; Nom 320.19–21 аще … приѣли боудоуть (EfrKrmč: приѣтоша) – εἰ … ἐγκατηρίθμησαν; Nom 324.15–18 аще … прилоужилъ сѧ боудеть – εἴ … προσέθετο; Nom 333.15–16: иже … боудеть дѣѩлъ – Ὁ … ἐξαγορεύων; Nom 347.16–17 съгрѣшили боудоуть – ἥμαρτον; Nom 348.23–24 аще ли … предали боудоуть – εἰ δὲ … προδόντες; Nom 348.23–24 аще не … осталъ боудеть – εἰ μὴ … ἀπολιμπάνοιτο; ZSL 188.1: възгнѣтилъ боудеть огнь – τὸ πῦρ ἐνέβαλεν.

B.2. Imperative 2nd person for 3rd person[21]: Nom 271.17: невластьно боуди оустроєнніе – ἄκυρον εἶναι τὴν κατάστασιν; Nom 280.19–20: ꙗко не лѣть боуди – ὅτι μὴ χρὴ; Nom 302.10–11: повиненъ боуди – ὑποκείσθω; ZSL 188.18–19: Никъиже … не изваѵи – Μηδεὶς ἀφαιρείσθω.

B.3. Double accusative case (see Večerka 3: 195sq., §79.1.–2): Nom 352.9–10: помните … wц҃а наша соужьша – Μέμνησθε … τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν κεκρικέναι; ZSL 190.10–11: да имать искоупъ (*искоупль, see Vašica 1971d: 218) іего мьздьника – ἐχέτω αὐτὸν ὁ ἀγοράσας μίσθιον; ZSL 191.3–4: слъишахомъ … сего дължьника – ἠκούσαμεν … τόνδε χρεωστεῖν (cf. also in CD 188.10: Нб҃наго тѧ съвѣдъи гражанина).

B.4. Passive > active (see Vašica 1971d: 218): Nom 348.1: аще ли wбличѵать и – εἰδὲ ἐλεγχθείη; Nom 350.12: законьнъи канонъ да соудить имоу – ἐπιτιμάσθω ἀφορισμῷ; ZSL 182.17–19: Блѧдоующюумоу … носъ емоу обрѣзаю – Ὁ πορνεύων … ῥινοκοπείσθω; ZSL 185.12–13: да тепеть іего соудии земли –

[21] See Vaillant 1964: 232sq.; Večerka 3: 65 (§ 17.4.). The 2nd person imperative for the 3rd person is typical of Western Church Slavonic (see Mareš 1963: 433 (§ IV.*3), and is amply attested in Old Croatian (see Hercigonja 1990: 95sq.), as well. Besides, we find also the more usual construction with *da* + indicative in the Nomocanon (e.g. Nom 299.9–10 да не въходитъ въ приѵетъ – εἰς κλῆρον μὴ προαγέσθω; Nom 303.9 да не ходить – μὴ ἑστιάσθω).

τυπτόμενος; ZSL 190.2–3: да не имоуть имъ вѣры – μὴ προσδεχέσθωσαν (cf. *Ekloge* 17.50, MPr[22] 192r23: да въстокнитъ и на сохи – φουρκιζέσθω, Burgmann 1983: 243: "soll … gekreuzigt werden.").

B.5. Dativus cum infinitivo (see Večerka 4: 444sq.): Nom 271.20: бытн поставленнѣмъ – γίνεσθαι τὰς καταστάσεις; Nom 297.20–22: (соудн) ... посагающин прѣзрѣне бытн – γαμουμένην παροράσθαι; Nom 318.19–21: болн (vl.: велін) оубо грѣхъ и рабѣ ... скврьнъı нсполнитн домъ – μέγα μὲν ἁμάρτημα καὶ δούλην ... φθορᾶς ἀναπλῆσαι τὸν οἶκον; Nom 318.24–319.1: тажьчѣіе невѣстѣ прелюводѣнцн (vl.: -ца) бытн (EfrKrmč: лютѣіе невѣстѣ прѣлюводѣнцн бытн) – χαλεπώτερον τὴν νύμφην μοιχαλίδα γενέσθαι.

B.6. Relative clauses (see Vašica 1971d: 216sq.): Nom 266.8–9: нн въ мѣсто ѥже ѥмоу нѣ̂ въ wбластн – μηδὲ χώρᾳ τῇ αὐτῷ μὴ διαφερούσῃ; Nom 269.3–4: ѿ нн̂ ѥже ѥсть бнѥ (EfrKrmč: бжнхъ) – τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ; Nom 287.14–15: нже есть прıалъ – ὁ δεξάμενος; Nom 308.11–12: развѣ того ѥже (*нже?) на поутн обнтаѥть – πάρεξ τοῦ ἐν πανδοχείῳ καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ δι᾽ ἀνάγκην καταλύοντος; Nom 322.24–25: (за …) вѣроу (in the manuscript: вѣра) ѩже потомь (EfrKrmč: по снхъ) – (διὰ τὴν …) μετὰ ταῦτα πίστιν; Nom 344.25–26: то нже ѥю останеть, то томоу тажко покаанніе ѥсть – δυσχερὴς τῷ μείναντι ἡ μετάνοια; Nom 351.16–17: ѩже соуть въ снѣдь – ὀπώρα; ZSL 189.19: томоу ѥже взатъ – οὗπερ ἀπείληφεν.

Syntactic correspondences between more than two texts are much less numerous. The correspondences between Nomokanon, *Zakon sudnyi ljudem* and the Anonymous Homily are the following three: *vъ* + accusative in locative meaning (the two examples in the Nomokanon are not absolutely sure), the final dative and the reflexive possessive pronoun + an enclitic personal pronoun (mostly in the dative case):

C.1. *vъ* + accusative with locative meaning (see Minčeva 1988: 628sq.; Večerka 2: 284sq., §123.8.): Nom 243.7–8: въ ѭпатню (?) – ἐν ὑπατείᾳ; Nom 266.6–8: не достонть въ южемь градѣ ходнтн нн <u>въ мѣсто</u> (?) (vl.: въ южь градъ) – μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν ἀλλοτρίᾳ πόλει; ZSL

[22] „MPr" stands for *Merilo pravednoe* (facsimile edition in: Тихомиров 1964).

186.11: аще н въ волю дв҃цн zалѣzлъ боудеть – εἰ καὶ προαιρέσει τῆς κόρης τοῦτο ἐγένετο; ZSL 186.14–15: въ свою кръвь свадьбоу дѣють (?) – Ø ‘uzavírající sňatek s pokrevnými’; ZSL 189.16–17: ꙗко не въ власть бываꙗ – ὡς μὴ ἀρχόμενος; ZSL 195.11: въ двѣ лицн – ἐν δυάδι προσώπων; AH 1b37: обрѣтаіѫщнхъ сѧ въ своіѧ імъ люді; AH 3a9: да въzъпыѫтъ въ мъисль своіѫ.

C.2. Dativus finalis (see Bláhová 1973: 36, Večerka 2: 237, §93.4.): Nom 259.13–14: о рабынѧхъ дающнхъ сѧ самѣмъ – περὶ … δουλίδων ἑαυτὰς ἐκδιδουσῶν; Nom 318.22–23: н оукоренню творнтн zлаго жнтнꙗ (*радн?) стѫжавъшаго (EfrKrmč: н рѫгатн с лоукавънмь жнтнѣмь съzьдавъшюумоу) ‘a svým špatným životem činí hospodáři hanbu.’ – καὶ καθυβρίζειν διὰ τοῦ πονηροῦ βιοῦ τὸν κεκτημένον; ZSL 183.1–2: Нже коупетроу свою поньметь женѣ себѣ (see Максимович 2004: 114) – Ὁ πρὸς γάμον τὸ δοκεῖν ἀγόμενος τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ σωτηριώδους βαπτίσματος γενομένην αὐτῷ σύντεκνον; AH 2a19: а не оукоріzнѣ творіть-є.

C.3. *svoj-* + dative (see Večerka 2: 221, §84.1a.): Nom 275.9–10: по своіѣн ієго волн – παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην; Nom 314.24–25: своіего іемоу г҃на – τοῦ ἰδίου δεσπότου; Nom 320.11: не по своіѣн нмъ волн – οὐκ οἴκοθεν; ZSL (see Максимович 2004: 107sq.) 188.11–12: ѵто от своіего іемоу храма (vl.: роухла) – τινα τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ πραγμάτων; ZSL 188.13–14: пожьжеть о҃кр҃тьнъіхъ своихъ іемоу сѫсѣдъ храмъı – ἐμπρήσῃ τινὰ τῶν συμπαρακειμένων αὐτῷ οἰκημάτων; AH[23] 1b37: обрѣтаіѫщнхъ сѧ въ своіѧ імъ люді.

The construction *vъ* + accusative in locative meaning was considered by Vašica to be of Moravian origin. But the investigation of a greater range of texts clearly shows that this construction was by no means confined to Moravian texts. So Angelina Minčeva (1988: 629) found examples of it in the Hexaemeron (*Šestodnev*) of John the Exarch and in the Sinaitic Patericon. It can also be found in Serbian and Bosnian charters[24].

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[23] Bláhová 1973: 20: „bulharské spojení“.

[24] Cf. како сѫ н мон старѣ нмалн с вашнмн старѣншнмн 8 стары zаконь (Стојановић 1929: 4; Nr. 7.7; Andrija, Great Prince of Hum in favour of Dubrovnik, 1214–1217), да стою с вамн 8 мнрь н 8 свакѫ правьдѫ (Стојановић 1929: 7; Nr. 10.3; Matija Ninoslav, Ban of Bosnia in favour of Dubrovnik, ca. 1234).

Still more limited is correspondence between all four texts. It is confined to the replacement of the adnominal genitive by the adnominative dative. As is well known, this construction is highly frequent in OCS (the construction with the adnominal genitive is present in all texts investigated, as well, but it is unnecessary to give any examples of it).

D.1. Dativus adnominalis (see Минчева 1964: 50–75; Večerka 2: 195sq., §72.1.): Nom 247.3: ѥп҃поу – τοῦ ἐπισκόπου; Nom 275.25: ꙗѥп҃пмъ – ἐπισκόπων; Nom 284.24: пьрн бѣгоунъ – φυγοδικῶν; Nom 296.11: ѥп҃поу – τοῦ μὲν ἐπισκόπου; Nom 275.13: тацѣмъ людемъ непокорнвомъ – τοιούτου λαοῦ ἀποτάκτου; ZSL 180.17–18: прнбъıтъкъ оброкоу людьскомоу нмъ – ἡ προσθήκη τῶν ῥογῶν αὐτῶν; ZSL 189.6–7: обнда прнбѣгшемоу – τοῦ αὐτοῦ προσφύγου … κεφάλαιον; AH (13x, see Bláhová 1973: 36) 2a10–11: бж̄и ст̄ъı х̄ѡ̄ ꙁаконъ; 2a17–18: сн̄омъ свѣтоу кръстьѣномъ; CD 186.14–15: оӯстволюбца славьна селоуню славьноумоу; CD 188.25: хранитель градоу своемоу.

When coming to the differences between our texts the following should be mentioned: Dativus comparationis (restricted to the Anonymous Homily), *razvě* + dative (only one example in the Nomokanon is extant)[25], Greek genitives translated by Slavic adjectives (examples could be found only in the Nomokanon):

E.1. Dativus comparationis (see Bláhová 1973: 35): AH 1b27–28: ѣдовнтоу оуѣденью ѣдовнтѣе; AH 1b40: соулѣе имѣтн бж̄ію ꙁаконоу (cf. Supr 464.4).

E.2. Genitive > adjective (see Vašica 1971d: 216; Bláhová 1973: 27sq.; Večerka 2: 206, § 74.13.): Nom 272.13: въ словесн же вѣрнѣмь – ἔν τε τῷ λόγῳ τῆς πίστεως; Nom 273.7–8: сщ̄енніа епп̄ьскаꙗ (= EfrKrmč) – τὰς χειροτονίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων; Nom 278.18: словомь вѣрнъıмь (EfrKrmč: бл̄гоуьстніа) – λόγῳ εὐσεβείας; Nom 293.20–21: бес повелѣннꙗ ієпп̄лꙗ ходнтн – ἄνευ κελεύσεως ἐπισκόπου ἀποδημεῖν; Nom 333.8–9 спс̄ѣноую танноу – τὸ τῆς σωτηρίας μυστήριον.

[25] See SJS III: 561: „semel etiam c. dat.”.

E.3. Short form of personal pronoun in dative: only in CD, e.g. 187.26: wц҃ство сн.

There are some interesting syntactic peculiarities in our texts which are mostly attested in only one text:

F.1. Double genitive in subordinate clauses: Nom 297.9–10: дѣаконнсъı не достонть ст҃нтн женъı – Διάκονον μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι γυναῖκα; Nom 354.2–3: кто оучнть храма г҃на небрегома бъıтн – Εἴ τις διδάσκει τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ εὐκαταφρόνητον εἶναι (cf. the Eulogy for Cyril and Methodius: н не тьрьпѧщю съзьданнѧ своюго. льстью дьıѧволею wдьржнмѧ, Usp. sb. 109v25–28).

F.2. Genitive case as direct object (see Večerka 2: 260sq., §109.1, 262, §109.3; Lunt 2001: 145, §18.a.): Nom 288.28–29: ѩко рaзмѣшаѧ канона цр҃кв҃наго – ὡς ἂν συγχέοντα τὸν κανόνα τῆς ἐκκλησίας; Nom 300.9: непорочьства бо мьщаıеть – τὸ γὰρ ἀνεπίληπτον ἐκδικεῖ; Nom 308.20–21: нже нероднть о творѧщнхъ ѿ вѣръı любъве (vl.: -бовь) (?) – Εἴ τις καταφρονοίη τῶν ἐκ πίστεως ἀγάπας ποιούντων; Nom 312.18: подобаıеть смотрнтн внnъı – τὴν αἰτίαν χρὴ σκοπεῖν; Nom 318.3–4: ıегоже мощьно нзъобрѣстн – ἣν δυνατὸν ἐξευρεῖν; Nom 328.12: о нарекъшнхъ сѧ оубо къгда самѣхъ ѵ҃тъ (?[26]) – Περὶ τῶν ὀνομασάντων μὲν ἑαυτοὺς Καθαρούς ποτε; Nom 336.24: покрьıтн мнѧщн грѣха (partitive meaning?) – συγκαλύψειν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ... νομίζουσα.

F.3. Instrumental predicative case[27]: ZSL 185.1 Прнложнн сѧ дв҃цн дв҃ою – Ὁ συγγινόμενος κόρῃ παρθένῳ; ZSL 185.17 Прнложнн сѧ дв҃цн дв҃ою – Ὁ βιαζόμενος κόρην.

F.4. Archaic constructions with numbers (see Večerka 1992, 1993 (= II): 320sq., §150.1; Жолобов 2006: 118sq., 268sq.): Nom 348.22: по s҃ лѣ҃ – μετὰ ἕξ ἔτη.

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[26] The reading чистъ seems to be more appropriate than Vašica's reconstruction чистэхъ.

[27] See Минчева 1978: 95 (6.a); Večerka 3: 146 (§ 58.1.); Максимович 2004: 114 («творительный состояния»).

F.5. Future tense: Nom 265.6–7: аще ли <u>имѹнѣть</u> се творити – ἐπεὶ τὸν τοῦτο ἐπιχειροῦντα; Nom 270.1–2: не подасть имоу трѣбованиꙗ – μὴ ἐπιχειροῦντα τὰ δέοντα; Nom 272.16–17: хотѧщихъ поставлѧти – τῶν μελλόντων καθίστασθαι; Nom 363.7–8: имѣти <u>имате</u> (имате added by the editor) – τινύντες; ZSL 185.7: иерѹнти <u>имѹнѣть</u> – οὐ θελήσει.

F.6. Periphrastic negative command (see Večerka 2: 84, §33.3; 3: 75, §22.5.): Nom 356.1–2: не можѣмъ оубо погыбноути – Μὴ τοίνυν καταδεξώμεθα συναπόλλυσθαι.

F.7. Supine: Nom 327.17–18: вънидѣть ... мт̑вы дѣꙗтъ – εἰσέλθοι ... προσεύξασθαι.

F.8. *ježe* + participle (see Večerka 3: 201, §82.2.): ZSL 181.5–6: по ѹасти ѥже обрѣтаѭщимъ сѧ на бранн – κατὰ δὲ τὴν μερίδα τοῦ εὑρισκουμένου εἰς τὸν πόλεμον (Burgmann 1983: 245: "Entsprechend dem Anteil derer, die am Kampf teilnehmen").

F.9. Agreement (see Večerka 2: 324sq., § 151.3.): Nom 288.17–20: не достоить ... въладѧще мт̑вы творити – Μὴ ἐξεῖναι ... κατ᾽ οἴκους εἰσιόντας συνεύχεσθαι; Nom 303.16–17: крт̑ьꙗномъ на бракы ходѧще – χριστιανοὺς εἰς γάμους ἀπερχουμένους; Nom 343.9–10 (see Večerka 2: 339, §156.1., 156.3.): <u>Многобрачиꙗ</u> премѣлѹаша ꙗко <u>скотьско</u> – Τὴν δὲ πολυγαμίαν ἀπεσιώπησαν, ὡς κτηνώδη; Nom 353.23–24: ѡ слоужьшихъ ꙗко непрaво послоужьше – κατὰ τοῦ προσενέγκαντος ὡς μὴ ὑγιῶς προσενέγκαντος; Nom 359.19–22: всѣмъ (!) ... ст̑ъин сборъ повелѣ стоѧще мт̑вы въздаѧти – πάντα ... ἑστῶτας ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδιδόναι; Nom 360.2–8: смѣюща ... бесприѹастьномъ ... бъити – τοὺς τολμῶντας ... ἀκοινωνήτους ... εἶναι; Nom 361.17–18: боудн ... книгы – Ἔστω ... βίβλια; ZSL 183.8: стоѧти плаѹюще сѧ – Ø; ZSL 198.2–5: не достоить обновати сѧ ... наставлѧти оуповаюшн – Ø.

I shall not comment on most of these constructions, but only say something about the negated imperative construction with the verb *mošti* (F.6. in the above list). It was until recently considered to be a loan construction, from Greek in OCS texts (Гълъбов 1968: 105),

from Latin in Croatian Church Slavonic (Mihaljević 2006: 225). In a paper in the Festschrift for B. A. Uspenskij, the Russian scholar Anna A. Pičchadze analysed this construction in the Novgorod birchbark letters (Пичхадзе 2008). Since in these documents there is no syntactic influence of either Greek or Latin she came to the conclusion that it must be a native construction. It might be added that in Church Slavonic the construction could have been strengthened by the foreign models.

Our texts show also a certain degree of syntactic variation. This relates above all to the case in a negated clause (genitive of negation or accusative) and to the agent of a passive construction (instrumental vs. *otъ* + genitive):

G.1. Variation of genitive and accusative as the complement of a negated transitive verb:

G.1.a. genitive: Nom 267.4–6: ꙗко да не мнимъ бꙋдемъ любовнъıхъ ꙁатварающе вратъ – διὰ τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ἡμᾶς τὰς τῆς ἀγάπης ἀποκλείειν πύλας; Nom 324.14–15: не неразꙋмѣтн обраꙁованъıхъ – μὴ ἀγνοῆσαι τὰ τετυπωμένα ‘(aby …) dobře znali, co je ustanoveno’; Nom 340.3: не достонть же ємꙋ нноꙗ поꙗтн – μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ αὐτῷ ἑτέραν λαμβάνειν.

G.1.b. accusative: Nom 254.9: свадьбъı не творнтн – μὴ … ἐπιγαμίας ποιεῖν; Nom 260.12–13: нн плъдоноснꙗ прїнматн – μήτε καρποφορίας … ὑποδέχεσθαι; Nom 265.20–21: (не достонть …) сцр҃енна творнтн – (μὴ δεῖν…) χειροτονίας ποιεῖσθαι[28]; Nom 313.12–14: нꙁволн сѧ ннкомꙋже … съꙁдатн нн съставлатн манастъıрь нн цр҃кꙑь – ἔδοξε μηδένα μηδαμοῦ οἰκοδομεῖν μηδὲ συνιστᾶν μοναστήριον ἢ εὐκτήριον οἶκον; Nom 350.7–9: нн брꙋнньна плата … ннктоже … да въꙁъмлеть – ἢ ὀθόνιον … μηδεὶς … σφετεριζέσθω; ZSL 195.13–16: нн женꙋ … разлꙋчь – οὐδὲ τὴν γυναῖκα … ἐχώρισεν.

G.2. Variation of instrumental and preposition *otъ* + genitive for expression of the agent in passive constructions:

[28] These three examples belong here only if the translator did not change a plural into a singular.

G.2.a. Instrumental: Nom 248.12–14: прнбытъцн ... нкономомь ... хрaннмн бoyдoyть – τὰς ... προσόδους ... παρὰ τῷ οἰκονόμῳ ... φυλάττεσθαι; Nom 284.10–12: wклевeтанъ бoyдeть ... нзвѣстьнъімн н вѣрнъімн ѵлв҃къı – κατηγορηθέντα ... παρὰ ἀξιοπίστων καὶ πιστῶν ἀνθρώπων; Nom 339.11–12: оустaвлeно ѥсть wц҃н – κεκανόνισται δὲ παρὰ πατέρων; Nom 340.9: ннѣмн въсхъіщeнъı – ὑπὸ ἄλλων ἁρπαγείσας; Nom 354.20–21: прeданъıя ст҃ъımн wц҃н ... канонъı – Τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ... ἐκτεθέντας κανόνας.

G.2.b. *otъ* + genitive: Nom 252.3: ѿ ннoго нзвьржeнъхъ (!) – τοὺς ὑπὸ ἄλλου καθῃρημένους; Nom 266.11–12: мѣстѣхъ влaдoмъıхъ (*отъ ?) дрoyгъıхъ е҆п҃пъ – τόπους ἑτέρων ἐπισκόπων ὑποκειμένους.

In the oldest OCS texts the distribution of the two constructions is the following (according to Večerka 2: 257–258): a. participles in *-m-*: Instrumental; b. participles in *-t-*/*-n-*: Instrumental & *otъ* + genitive. In the texts investigated, the agent in a passive construction is mostly found with the passive participles in *-n-* or *-t-*. Since both possibilities, the instrumental and the prepositional phrase, already exist in the oldest OCS texts, the material of the Nomokanon simply corresponds to this situation.

The adduced syntactic phenomena allow us to get a general picture of the four texts on the syntactic level. It goes without saying that it could be complemented. I need mention only the second dative (see Bláhová 1973: 37 (cd); Večerka 2: 324, §151.2; Reinhart 2002: 544, fn. 22) in the Nomokanon[29] or some interesting examples of government[30].

What conclusions can be drawn from the syntactic material of the texts investigated? There are some important correspondences among our texts (e.g. the replacement of the passive by an active construc-

[29] Cf. two examples mentioned already in another context: Nom 259.13–14: ѳ рaбъінaхъ дaющнхъ сѧ самѣмъ – περὶ … δουλίδων ἑαυτὰς ἐκδιδουσῶν; Nom 360.2-8: смѣющıа ... бeспрнѵастьномъ ... бъıтн – τοὺς τολμῶντας ... ἀοινωνήτους ... εἶναι.

[30] E.g. *razvě* + dative: (Nom 309.20–21: рaзвѣ телeсьнѣн нoyжн [vl.: + genitive] – χαρὶς σωματικῆς ἀνάγκης; for another instance of dative government of a preposition which generally governs the genitive, cf. AH 1b33–34: крoмѣ съпасънъімь нзвѣстънъімь ıспъıтaньемь); *vlastь* + instrumental (Nom 269.10–11; normally, *vlastь* governs the preposition *na* + locative).

tion, the 2nd person imperative for the 3rd person, the construction *vъ* + accusative in locative function or the final dative), but also some relevant differences. It should be stressed once again that these texts contain not only syntactic archaisms, but also some innovations (accusativus cum infinitivo, *ježe* + infinitive, *jako* + infinitive; perhaps the infinitive in the function of an imperative) which cannot be attributed to the (East Slavic) scribes or redactors.

The following syntactic features present in our texts can be considered to be characteristic of the language of Cyril and Methodius: dativus cum infinitivo, *vъ* + accusative in locative function and the final dative.

Are the adduced correspondences and differences of the texts sufficient to advance any hypotheses about the identity of the authors/translators? I fear they are not. But the syntactic differences between the two legal texts, the Nomokanon and the *Zakon sudnyi ljudem*, should make us cautious about identifying their authors.

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USE OF THE WORDS ЮДѢН, ЖНДОВЄ, ЄВРѢН IN THE LONG VITA OF CONSTANTINE-CYRIL THE PHILOSOPHER[1]

Maya Ivanova

It was at the first stage of the translation of the biblical books, which marked the beginning of the Old Bulgarian written culture, that it became necessary to adequately represent the Greek word Ἰουδαῖος, meaning tribal and religious affiliation. Three words were used in the old-Bulgarian monuments (original and translated): нюдѣн, жндове (жндьı) and еврѣн. The lexical pair нюдѣн, нюдѣнскъ – жндъ / жндовнинъ, жндовьскъ (*zhid-* the actual sibilant pronunciation of *iud- / *jud-) is one example of replacing the early borrowed Greek word, characteristic of the Cyrillo-Methodian Gospel translation, with the word used later by the Preslav literary school (Славова 1989: 59–62; see Mikloshich 1862–1865: 276–277, 197; Slovník 1965: 605–606; Slovník 1966: 842–844; Старобългарски речник 1999: 495–496). Sreznevskij used only the lexeme of the Preslav school жндъ (Срезневский 1893: 870–871). Єврѣн was used mainly in the plural (from the Greek Ἑβραῖοι), respectively еврѣнскъ, and appeared later (Mikloshich 1862–1865: 1149, 197; Slovník 1965: 559–560[2]; Старобългарски речник 1999: 471–472).

Church-Slavonic Vocabulary and Lexis of the Bulgarian National Revival Period

The Church Slavonic language keeps alive the link with Classical Old Bulgarian language. This could be seen in the use of the three lexemes, enriched by a variety of forms and expansion of the number of the derivatives.

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[2] These two dictionaries also provide the singular forms.

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ѥ҆вдéй, -а < июдеи, see ѥ҆дéанинъ, -а < июдеѧнинъ *m.* Ἰουδαῖος Judaean, Jew (respectively: ѥ҆дéанына, -и < июдеѧнъ҆ынꙗ *f. gender* ἡ Ἰουδαία female Judaean, Jewess) and the derivatives: ѥ҆вéскїй; -скъ < июдеискъ; ѥ҆вдéйство, -а; ѥ҆вдéйствовати (Атанасий Бончев 2002: 227).

жи́дъ, -а *m.*, жи́дове *pl.*, see жидови́нъ, -а *m.* Ἰουδαῖος Judaean, Jew (respectively: жидови́ныня, -и *f.* Ἰουδαία γυνή f. Judaean, Jewess) and the derivatives: жидо́вскїй < -вьскъ; жидо́вство, -а; жидо́вствовати (Атанасий Бончев 2002: 161).

ѣ҆врéинъ, -а see ѣ҆врéанинъ, -а *m.* ὁ Ἑβραῖος Jew (respectively: ѣ҆врéаныня, -и *f.* ἡ Ἑβραία Jewess) and the derivatives: ѣ҆врéинь, -ꙗ, -е *adj.*; ѣ҆врéйскїй, -скъ < иврескъ (Атанасий Бончев 2002: 172–173).

Since the Church-Slavonic language served as a basis for many of the most talented Russian writers until the early 20th century, the data from the Russian explanatory and etymological dictionaries is especially valuable. The dictionary of Vl. Dal contains only the word *жидъ* and the emphasis is placed on its pejorative meaning (Даль 1903: 1345). M. Vasmer mentions *еврей*, *жид* and *жиди* (Фасмер 1986: 6, 53) and *иудей*/*июдей* (Фасмер 1987: 145, 528).

The words from the Church-Slavonic language were almost entirely transferred to the authorship fund of the Bulgarian writers from the Bulgarian National Revival period (18th century – 1878) and the period after 1878 until today. According to the Dictionary of Rare and obsolete dialect words („Речник на редките и остарели диалектни думи“), excerpted from literary works from the 19th and 20th centuries, there is no such word as *юдеин* (Judaean). The dictionary, however, mentions the words *юда/Юда*: (1. evil, insidious wood-nymph; 2. traitor/Jewish first name) in its two meanings, as well as their derivatives, providing many examples (Речник на редките и остарели диалектни думи 1974: 583). There is also no evidence of the word *евреи*. The emphasis is placed on the words *жид*, *жидовка*, *жидовски* and from the examples one can draw the conclusion that in the 19th century these words were used mainly with a pejorative meaning, which they had assumed as a secondary meaning (Речник на редките и остарели диалектни думи 1974: 135). I would also add here *жит*, having the meaning of ‘legendary giant’. M. Vasmer distinguishes this meaning as secondary, but having the same origin as the meaning of the word *жид* (compare Фасмер 1986: 53). Iv. Dobrev writes about this obsolete dialect use, presenting various hypo-

theses about the origin of the toponym *Trapezitsa* (*Трапезица*). One of them is linked to the legend that the dining tables of colossal mythical creatures (*жидове* or *житове*) were located at that place. Referring the reader to N. Gerov's dictionary (Геров 1897: 20; see also Речник на редките и остарели диалектни думи 1974: 135), Iv. Dobrev looks for some historical meaning in that legend, associating it with the fact that the old Jewish cemeteries were situated on the northwestern slope of the Trapezitsa hill: "And so, it turned out that the giants (*житовете*) were the medieval Jews (*жидове* > *житове*) who lived on the very hill – not on the ridge itself, but to the west and northwest of the fortress walls of Trapezitsa, participating with more prosaic activities in the life of that historic place (to put it in most general terms, with banking and money-lending, my note – M.I.). The obscure meaning of the legends about the legendary *житове* and *житовци* 'colossus, giants' is no justification for us to abandon the thought about the medieval *жидове* 'Jews' from Tarnovo and about their likely professional and public role, concerning at least part of their community." (Добрев 2010: 624, note 31).

Otherwise, we could say that, apart from the noun *жид*, *жидове* with its meaning (Геров 1897: 20) the dictionary does not provide the main meanings of the words that are studied here. We could only find the word *еврейчя* with the meaning of 'small child, not yet baptized' (Геров 1897: 2). Similarly, the Supplement of Gerov's dictionary contains only the from *евричък*, *-чка*, *-чко*, diminutive form of *евреи* [*Имаш майка евричка*] (Панчев 1908: 108, cf. also Български етимологичен речник 1971: 543; Речник на българския език 1987: 76).

MODERN BULGARIAN VOCABULARY

According to the explanatory dictionary of the Bulgarian language the following words are used in the modern language:

юдей *m.* (юдеи *pl.*) Jew, the Jews in the ancient times.

With the derivatives: юдейски *adj.* – related to Judaeans or to Judaea. *Юдейско царство* (English transl. *the Kingdom of Judah*); юдаизъм *m.*, literary word – the monotheistic religion spread among the Jews, which preaches belief in the one God Jehova and is based mainly on the Bible and the Talmud [from Latin].

The following words have emerged secondarily, but are linked to the first meaning:

– юда[1] *f.*, a word from folk speech. An evil wood-nymph that inhabits the meadows in the mountains or flies like a whirlwind in the air. *Народът вярва, че юдите са хубави женски същества* (English transl. *The people believe that "yudi"* – the name of these evil wood-nymphs – *are beautiful women*). The derivatives: юдин; юдински. *Юдино хоро* (English transl. *a ring dance of "yudi"*). *Юдино желязо – пари* (English transl. *The iron of the "yudi" – money*).

– юда[2] *m.* (also *f.*) Bad, cunning person; deceiver, renegade, traitor. *Изигра ме този юда* (English transl. *This "yuda" has cheated on me*). [from the Hebrew, after the name of the betrayer of Christ]. Derivatives: юдински. *Юдинска усмивка* (English transl. *a Judas-like smile*). *Смее се юдински* (English transl. *He laughs in a Judas-like way*) (Български тълковен речник 1994: 1088).

The contemporary spelling dictionary contains the words *юдей*, *юдейка*, *юдейски*, *юдейство*, *юдене*, *юдин*, *юдински*, *юдя (се)* (Нов правописен речник 2002: 982).

The Bulgarian language also contains:

– жид *m.* 1. *archaic* Jew. 2. жидове *usually pl., archaic and dialect.* Legendary giants; жидовци [Russian < Italian]

– жидовец *m. archaic and dialect* Жид (with two meanings).

– жидовка и жидовски *archaic* (Български тълковен речник 1994: 230, cf. also Български етимологичен речник 1971: 543; Речник на българския език 1987: 76).

The word does not exist in the latest spelling dictionary of modern Bulgarian language (2002).

We also find in the dictionaries:

– Евреин (Jew) *m.* and еврейка (Jewess) *f.* A member of a Semitic nation spread almost all over the world with Palestine as its ancient homeland [from Modern Greek].

The derivatives еврейски (Jewish) (*Еврейски народ – Jewish people, Еврейски език – Hebrew language, Еврейска държава – Jewish state*), еврейство (Jewry) *n.* (Български тълковен речник 1994: 205, cf. also Български етимологичен речник 1971: 475; Речник на българския език 1984: 610).

The modern spelling dictionary contains the words *евреин*, *еврейка*, *еврейски*, *еврейство*, *еврейче – resp. Jew, Jewess, Jewish, Jewry, Jew boy* (Нов правописен речник 2002: 298).

The expectation that we would find a reference to the above words in the dictionary of Bulgarian synonyms was not confirmed since it contains none of these words. There is only one exception – the common noun *юда* (*yuda*) with the figurative meaning of 'traitor, hireling, renegade' within its etymological context (Нанов 1968: 626).

All three words нюдѣн, жндовє, евρѣн are found in the manuscript tradition of *the Long Vita of Constantine-Cyril the Philosopher* (hereinafter referred to as *VC*, i.e. *Vita Constantini*) – an early original Old Bulgarian hagiographic work, most likely written in the beginning of the 80s of the 9th century. Unfortunately, only copies made in the 15th–18th centuries have reached us. The present article is focused exactly on the use of the words within the framework of the entire manuscript tradition of that *VC*. In this connection, we should emphasize the fact that the research on the *VC,* which has been performed over many years, considers the vocabulary of that work to be one of the basic criteria for arranging the manuscript material into groups and to this day it remains one of the most interesting fields of research. For example, the presence of lexical pairs, along with the other specific features of the text, is a strong argument in the formation of the separate groups of its text. The earliest of the Russian tradition of Reading Menaia are the manuscripts in group A – the Reading Menaia for October, which indicate the existence of more archaic vocabulary; group B – in the Reading Menaia for February; group C – the Russian collections; group H or the South-Western Russian group; group F – Russian group, characterized with the contamination of more than one tradition, also referred to as "the contaminated group"; and the South Slavic copies. The specific problem on the use of the words proves that the lexical variety is one of the markers of grouping the copies of the *VC*. It is not discussed separately in the research on the *VC*. We could find the variant readings in the critical apparatus of the edition of Grivec-Tomšič (Grivec, Tomšič 1960), however they have not been referred to in the Bulgarian academic edition (Ангелов, Кодов 1973). The latest editions of the South Slavic copies (Diddi 2004), of group H (Capaldo 2005), group B (Diddi 2008), and group C (Diddi 2009) do not contain the variant readings (however, they very clearly indicate the differrences in the forms of the groups, if any) and this has its explanation – the groups are presented separately, i.e. the variant readings are within the framework of the groups and therefore the lexical problem cannot stand out.

The problem, however, lies not only in the variant readings, but also in the simultaneous use of the three lexemes.

The examples, which I will discuss here, are from ch. VIII, IX, X, XI, XIII, XV, XVI, and XVII in the *VC*. The first four chapters (VIII, IX, X and XI) present the participation of Constantine-Cyril the Philosopher in the imperial mission to the Khazars (860/861 A.D.); ch. XIII talks about the sacred inscription on the chalice in the St. Sophia Church in Constantinople – an inscription that Cyril the Philosopher spelled out; in chapters XV and XVI, in connection with the creation and use of the Slavic alphabet, the opponents of Constantine-Cyril the Philosopher raised the question about the three sacred languages (Hebrew, Greek, and Latin) chapter XVII briefly mentions a dialogue between Constatine-Cyril the Philosopher and a Jew, held in Rome.

The examples demonstrate comprehensively the state of the selected words in all the 57 actually existing medieval copies that I have studies. For the sake of comparison I have also used the more recent research apographs from the 19th century of known or non-identified copies (see the list of copies in the Appendix).

This is how the picture looks like:

нюдєн (three times in the entire manuscript tradition of the *VC*)

1. нюдєн же стоѧше wкрестъ рѣша емоу (ch. IX);

2. w҃вѣщаша же ноудєн и рѣша (ch. X);

3. w҃вѣщаша емоу ноудєн. всакь жндовннь свѣсть во истнноу ѣко бытн нмать тако (ch. X)[3].

Apart from these examples, we also come across (in chronological order and mainly in ch. X):

нюдєн (6 times in the Reading Menaia for October, the Russian collections, and the South Slavonic copies, groups H and F).

Thus, together with the 3-time use, which I have indicated, the word is used a total of 9 times in the Reading Menaia for October, the Russian collections and the South Slavonic copies, and group H and F.

Жндове replaces нюдєн 6 times only in the Reading Menaia for February as follows:

[3] All examples have been quoted after copy Sof. 1385.

1. ѿвѣщаша нюдеи к немоу (Sof. 1385, ch. X) – ѿвѣща жндовѣ к немѕ (Sin. 179);

2. рѣша же пакы ноудеи (Sof. 1385, ch. X) – рѣша же пакы жн҃ве (Sin. 179);

3. пакы же ноудеи рѣша (Sof. 1385, ch. X) – пакы же жндове рѣша (Sin. 991[4]);

4. пакы же вопросиша нюдеи (Sof. 1385, ch. X) – пакы же въпросиша и жндовѣ (Sin. 179);

5. ноудеи же к немоу ѿвѣщаша (Sof. 1385, ch. X) – жндовѣ же к немѕ ѿвѣщаша (Sin. 179);

6. нюдеи же свои добрѣ твора҃ много, и нїи нмъ (Sof. 1385, ch. XI) – жндовѣ же свои добрѣ творать и нми нмъ (Sin. 179). In the South Slavonic copies, we read in this place the following: срацнии такоже҃ и нми нмь (after PBS 282, cf. Diddi 2004: 166). B. Angelov and H. Kodov note in their critical apparatus that probably "the Vladislav (and in general the South Slavonic) copies have omitted the first part of the phrase: нюдѣи бо свои добрѣи творать" (Ангелов, Кодов 1973: 115). In group H the entire phrase has been modified and the specific lexeme is missing (cf. Capaldo 2005: 120).

Apart from these six examples, where only in the Reading Menaia for February (Russian group B) the word нюдеи is replaced by жндове, in all copies, without exception, the singular form of жндовнмъ is used two times:

1. ѿвѣщаша емоу ноудеи. всакь жндовнмь свѣсть во истнноу іако бытн нмать тако (ch. X);

2. жндовнмъ же етеръ тако. прихода и стаѯаꙗ са с нм҃ (ch. XVII)[5].

In all copies of the *VC*, even in those with restricted use of the noun жндове, we find only the lexeme жндовьскъ used four times.

[4] Here I quote Sin. 991, because of a technical omission in the copy of the transcript with which I have worked.

[5] All examples are quoted after copy Sof. 1385.

Only copy RNB F.I.891 is more specific – the word жидовьскъ is replaced by сарацинскъ.

1. абїе же поутѣ ѭтъ. и херсона дошѣ, наоучи са жидовьскон бесѣды и книгамь (ch. VIII)[6]. This is the case in the South Slavic copies, only in RAN 135 we see жиды; in group C we see жидовьскы; -скои; -скъи; -стъи (cf. Diddi 2009: 244); in all Reading Menaia for February and group H we see жидовстъй;

2. рече же первын совѣтникь ѿ нх къ прнѧтелемь жидовьскы. по бжїею помощїю, гость сен всю гордыню срачньскоую на землю съвръже а вашоу на wнъ полъ поверже ѭко скверноу. (ch. XI). This is also used in the rest of the copies. For the sake of comparison, however: рѣ же первын совѣтникъ ѿ нх. къ прнѧтелемъ срацнмьскомъ бжнею помощню гость сен всю гордыню жидовьскоую на землю сверже. а вашоу на ѡ полъ рекн преверже. (RNB F.I.891);

3. а нже ѿ вѣ на ѕапа кланѧ са лн жидовьскы млтвы творнть. лн срачньскоу вѣроу держнть скоро смрть прїнметь ѿ на (ch. XI). The same is used in all of the rest of the copies (with some differences in the forms, cf. Diddi 2009: 262);

4. на немь соу пнсмены, жидовськы и сараньскы грань напнсаны (ch. XIII). The same is used in the rest of the copies. Certain differences are seen in Sol. 503/522, Sol. 502/521: жидовскнмн и самаран'скимн; in the Reading Menaia for February: на нем же соуть пнсмена жидовьскы грань напнсаны (after Sin. 179).

еврен (3 times: twice in ch. VIII, once – in ch. XVI), where еврен is replaced by жидове only in the Reading Menaia for February:

1. еврен же оустоѧще ны вѣроу нхъ и дѣтель х прнѧтн (Sof. 1385, ch. VIII) – жидовѣ оустаще ны, вѣрѣ нхъ и детель держаще (Sin. 179). The only exception are the copies in group H (the South-

[6] All examples in the section are quoted after copy Sof. 1385; the differences in the forms, which do not affect in principle the choice of a lexeme, are indicated after the main example.

Western Russian group), where the subject of the sentence is not specifically mentioned (cf. Capaldo 2005: 96);

2. проснмъ моужа книжна ѡ васъ, да аще препрѣ евреа и срацины то по вашоу са вѣрѣ имемь (Sof. 1385; in Sol. 503/522 and in Sol. 502/521: евръанъ и срацынъ, ch. VIII) – просним же моужа книжна ѡ васъ. да аще преприть жиды и срачины. то по нашю са имѣ вѣрѣ (Sin. 179);

3. мы же трн ꙗзыкы токмо вѣмь имже есть славнтн ба евръа еллнин, латины (Sof. 1385, ch. XVI). This is the case in all Russian copies of the Reading Menaia (groups A and B) and in the South Slavic copies: мы же трн тыкмо єзыкы вѣмь, имыже дѡить вь книгахъ славнтн ба. евреѣ елины, латины (cf. PBS 282 after Diddi 2004: 179). In ZIIIa.47, however, the same place is conveyed by means of the adjectives "Jewish, Hellenic, Latin": мы же трн тыкмо єзыкы вѣмь имн же дѡнть въ кнігахь славнтн ба еврейскын, еллинскын, латинскын (cf. after Ангелов, Кодов 1973: 106), similarly in group H: мы же три ꙗзыки вемы томо, иже досто'но бога славити. евре'ски', латински', еллискн' (cf. Capaldo 2005: 138).

еврейскъ (once in ch. XV in all copies):

но трн ꙗзыкы є оубо токмо нзбра еврѣйскъ, имже достонтъ бѣ слава даатн (Sin. 179, ch. XV). It is the same in all Russian copies of the Reading Menaia (groups A and B). The situation is also the same in group H (cf. Capaldo 2005: 136). Only in the two edited Solovetsky copies of the Reading Menaia for October the phrase is supplemented by: трн ꙗзыкн нзбралъ есть еврѣйскы греческін. и рнмскїн. имнже достонтъ славѣ бгѣ воздаа (Sol. 503/522) and Sol. 502/521). In the South Slavic copies and in the Russian group C the phrase is complete: нь трн ѥзыкы ѥ тыкмо нзбраль. еўренскы, и грьчьскы, и льтинскы. имыже дѡнть славоу боу вьзатн (ch. XV, after PBS 282, cf. after Diddi 2004: 177); но трн ѥзыкн есть токмо нзъбралъ. евренскъ, греческъ и латыньскїн, имнже достонтъ бгѣ славѣ воздаатн (after Und. 330, ch. XV, cf. also Diddi 2009: 269).

I point to one more example of use, found only in the two edited copies of the Solovetsky Monastery's library, in ch. XV: бѣшѧ̑ се глю҃ще латинстїи архиерѣи і еврейстин оучителн (Sol. 503/522 and Sol. 502/521, ch. XV). In the other copies by groups we read the following versions in this place: бѣша се глю҃ще латиньстии и архїерен. іерен оученицн (in the Reading Menaia for October, here after Sof. 1385) and бѣша же глю҃ще латиньстїи. фрѧжестїи архїерѣи. и оучи҃цы (in the Reading Menaia for February, here after Sin. 179); беѣше сице глю҃ще, и латн҃стии и прочын архиерен. иерен, и оученицы (group H, cf. Vat.Sl.12 after Capaldo 2005: 136); бѣшѧ̑ се глю҃ще латиньстїи и спроучьстїи архїерен иерен и оучи҃цн нхъ (group C, after OIDR 342, cf. the versions after Diddi 2009: 269) and бѣхоу же се глю҃ще латинꙗцїи сьпрнчестнницн. архїерен їерен и оученицн (the South Slavic copies after PBS 282, cf. the versions after Diddi 2004: 177).

Finally I mention the lexeme нюдовъ, which is found three times in the biblical quotations used in the *VC*:

1. къ еремнн пакы въпеть, послоушан же ѕавѣта сего и въ҃глешн во рекъ моужемъ_нюдовомъ, и жнвоуцн҃ въ не҃рлнмѣ (quotation from Jeremiah 11:2, ch. X);

2. неремїа во рече ꙗвѣ се днїе градоуть гл҃ть г҃ь и ѕавѣщаю домоу нюдовѣ, и домоу нѕ҃левоу ѕавѣтъ новъ не по ѕавѣтоу нже ѕавѣщѧ̑ ко wц҃мь вашнмъ въ дн҃ь прнимшю мн роукоу ѫ̑ нѕвестї а и ѕемлѧ егӱпетьскыѧ. (quotation from Jeremiah 11:2–4, ch. X);

3. мнхеѧ рече, и ты внѳлеѡме ѕемле ноудова ннкакоже меншн бывѧ въ владыкѧ̑_ноудовѧ̑ (quotation from Micah 5:2, ch. X)[7].

On the basis of this diverse picture of the lexical use within the framework of the manuscript tradition of the *VC* we can make the following conclusions:

1. In the main part of the tradition the form нюдєн is used most frequently (9 times). A discrepancy is noticed only in the copies of the

[7] All three quotations are after copy Sof. 1385.

Reading Menaia for February, where нюдєн is used extremely rarely (only three times in two different chapters), in the remaining six cases it is replaced by жндове.

2. Apart from the provided examples, жндовинъ is used only incidentally (twice), but nowhere in the tradition is it substituted by a synonym.

3. We don't find the adjective нюдєнскъ in the *VC* tradition, though the word is well-known from the early Old Bulgarian monuments (Codex Marianus, Codex Zographensis, Codex Assemanianus, Savvina Kniga, Psalterium Sinaiticum, Euchologium Sinaiticum, Glagolita Glocianus, Codex Suprasliensis). The word жндовьскъ is firmly preferred (used a total of four times).

4. The lexeme єврєн also has limited use (three times), and in two of the cases in the copies of the Reading Menaia for February it is replaced by жндове. The adjective єврєнскъ is used once.

5. In certain cases, in the copy from the 16th century in MS RNB F.I.891, we notice some mixing up of *еврейски [Jewish]* with *сарацински [Saracinic]*. This may be a result of a mechanical mistake made by the copyist or his conceptual system, according to which all non-Christians are pagans and heretics and this unites them (regardless of their ethnic or religious affiliation).

Based on what we've said so far, it follows that the variant reading жндове is typical only for the copies of the Russian Reading Menaia for February, replacing once нюдєн and another time єврєн. Having made this conclusions and having isolated the copies in group B based on this criterion, we are left with the question whether the original text of this early Cyrillo-Methodian written monument (*VC*) used all three lexemes simultaneously and if so, whether this use was entirely synonymous or one could seek in it differences of meaning. It is obvious that in the case of the derivatives there are preferences that should be discussed more carefully. On the other hand, the textual tradition of *VC* has many similar or identical examples: for instance, the noun бальство is characteristic only of the Reading Menaia for October, while врачьство is typical of the rest of the tradition (in very

few copies we can also see a form formed by using a different suffix – врачевание). But at the same time in group A we do not find the word балин, only the word врачь (this is the case with all copies of *VC*). All this shows that at the time of the creation of the earliest preserved copies of the *VC*, the lexical picture was already rather complicated and probably did not reflect chronologically the stages of the emergence and use (as well as the falling into decay) of certain words.

APPENDIX (LIST OF THE COPIES OF *VC*)

15th century

Bars. 619 – in an incomplete Palaea Interpretata, State Historical Museum, Moscow, Barsov collection, ff. 250v–267r.

MDA 19 – in a manuscript containing the biblical books of the 16 prophets with interpretations, Russian State Library, Moscow, fund 173, MDA collection, ff. 365r–389v.

ZIIIa.47 – in a Panegyric, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb, ff. 722v–736v.

RM 4/8 – in a Panegyric, Rila Monastery, Bulgaria, ff. 571v–584r.

Sof. 1385 – in a pre-Makary Reading Menaion for October, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, fund 728, Novgorod Sophia Library collection, ff. 147v–174v.

Sol. 503/522 – in a Reading Menaion, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, fund 717, Solovetsky Monastery collection, ffl. 197r–237v.

Ios.-Volok. 193(591) – in a pre-Makary Reading Menaion for October, Russian State Library, Moscow, fund 113, Yossifo-Volokolamsky Monastery collection, ff. 307r–330v.

15th–16th centuries

Vjaz.Q.10 – in Collection with vitae, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, fund 166, Vjazemsky collection, ff. 245r–264r.

Olon. 9 – in a pre-Makary Reading Menaion for October, Russian State Library, Moscow, fund 212, collection of the Olonetsk Theological Seminary, ff. 77r–96v.

Petr. 8 – in a codex containing a Gospel with commentaries by Theophylact of Ochrid, part of the novella about Varlaam and Ioasaph, Vassilij

Stefanik National Library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Lviv, Petrushevich collection, ff. 173r–196v.

Pog. 957 – in a Collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, fund 588, Pogodin collection, ff. 393r–410r.

16th century

Sof. 1288 – in a Collection of vitae and sermons, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, fund 728, Novgorod Sophia Library collection, ff. 25r–82v.

Egor. 314 – in a Reading Menaion for February, Russian State Library, Moscow, fund 98, Egorov collection, ff. 334v–361r.

Pog. 1131 – in a codex containing orations of Grigoriy Tsamblak, from RNB, Moscow, fund 588, collection of M. Pogodin, ff. 296r–330r.

RNB F.I.891 – in a Collection of vitae and orations, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, ff. 67v–94v.

Sof. 1318 – in the Great Reading Menaia of Metropolitan Makary for October, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, fund 728, Novgorod Sophia Library collection, ff. 292r–299r.

Sin. 987 – in the Great Reading Menaia of Metropolitan Makary for October, State Historical Museum, Moscow, Synodal Library collection, ff. 443r–457v.

Sin. 991 – in the Great Reading Menaia of Metropolitan Makary for February, State Historical Museum, Moscow, Synodal Library collection, ff. 455v–466v.

Sin. 175 – in the Great Reading Menaia of Metropolitan Makary for October, State Historical Museum, Moscow, Synodal Library collection, ff. 481r–495r.

Sin. 179 – in the Great Reading Menaia of Metropolitan Makary for February, State Historical Museum, Moscow, Synodal Library collection, ff. 642v–658v.

Sol. 501/520 – in a Reading Menaion for October, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, fund 717, Solovetsky Monastery collection, ff. 212r–244r.

RNB I.1.29 – in a Collection bound together with a printed Gospel, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, ff. 243r–261r.

PBS 282 – in a Menaion panegyric, Patriarchal Library of Serbia, ff. 305v–331v.

Sof. 1356 – in a Collection of vitae and sermons, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, fund 728, Novgorod Sophia Library collection, ff. 520r–555r.

Kir.-Bel. 57/1134 – in a Collection of sermons and vitae, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, fund 351, Kirilo-Belozersky Monastery Library collection, ff. 27r–87r.

Sol. 509/528 – in a Reading Menaion for February, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, fund 717, Solovetsky Monastery collection, ff. 107r–127v.

Nik. 264 – in a Collection of vitae and sermons, Russian Academy of Sciences Library, St. Petersburg, fund 32, Nikolsky collection, ff. 272r–318r.

OIDR 342 – in a codex that contains only the *VC* and the Eulogy of Cyril, Russian State Library, Moscow, fund 205, OIDR collection, ff. 1r–24r.

RNB F.I.738 – in a codex containing a Psalter and Collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, ff. 415r–426r.

Sof. 1335 – in a Reading Menaion for October, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, fund 728, Novgorod Sophia Library collection, ff. 220v–240r.

Sof. 1455 – in a Collection of vitae and orations, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, fund 728, Novgorod Sophia Library collection, ff. 123r–156r.

Egor. 167 – in a Reading Menaion for February, Russian State Library, Moscow, fund 98, Egorov collection, ff. 210r–258r.

Belokr. 13 – in a Collection, Russian Academy of Sciences Library, St. Petersburg, fund 75, Belaya Krinitsa collection, ff. 64r–125v.

16th–17th centuries

Sof. 1307 – in a Collection of vitae and orations, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, fund 728, Novgorod Sophia Library collection, ff. 150r–202r.

Arch. D.145 – in a Collection of vitae and legends, Russian Academy of Sciences Library, St. Petersburg, fund 1, Archangelsk collection, ff. 76r–123r.

17th century

Chud. 311(9) – in a Reading Menaion for February, State Historical Museum, Moscow, Chudov Monastery collection, ff. 368v–399r.

RAN 135 – in a Collection of vitae and orations, Romanian Academy of Sciences Library, Bucharest, ff. 125r–153v.

Vat.Sl.12 – in a Polemical-dogmatic collection, f Apostolic Library Vatican, ff. 82r–105r.

Stroev 25 – in a Collection, Russian State Library, Moscow, fund. 292, Stroev collection, ff. 194r–225v.

Hil. 444 – in a Reading Menaion, Hilandar Monastery, ff. 105b–139a.

TSL 674(411) – in a Reading Menaion, Russian State Library, Moscow, fund 304, Holy Trinity-St. Sergius Lavra collection, ff. 108v–140r.

Arch.D.236 – in Collection of vitae and orations, Russian Academy of Sciences Library, St. Petersburg, fund 1, Archangelsk collection, ff. 430r–464r.

Sol. 502/521 – in a Reading Menaion for October, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, fund 717, Solovetsky Monastery collection, ff. 222r–258v.

Arch.D.242 – in Collection of legends, epistles and orations, Russian Academy of Sciences Library, St. Petersburg, fund 1, Archangelsk collection, ff. 428r–449v.

Kir.-Bel. 14/1253 – in a Reading Menaion for October, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, fund 351, Kirilo-Belozersky Monastery Library collection, ff. 93v–122r.

Uvar. 429 – in a Reading Menaion for February, State Historical Museum, Moscow, Uvarov collection, ff. 426r–463r.

Tikhonr. 145 – in a Collection from RGB, Moscow, fund 299, collection of N.S. Tikhonravov, ff. 1r–51r.

MDA 63 – in a Collection containing "The Hexameron" by Severianus of Gavala, vitae and orations, Russian State Library, Moscow, fund 173, MDA collection, ff. 99r–120r.

Rogož. 636 – in a Collection, Russian State Library, Moscow, fund 247, Rogozh collection, ff. 137r–185r.

Sin.Tip. 420 – in "Calendar or the Vitae of the Saints" with many notes by Demetrius of Rostov, Russian State Archive for Antique Documents, Moscow, fund 381, Moscow Synodal Printing Press collection, ff. 182r–197r.

Egor. 1144 – in a Reading Menaion for February, Russian State Library, Moscow, fund 98, Egorov collection, ff. 268r–291r.

Viln. 80 – in a Reading Menaion for February, Lithuanian Academy of Sciences Library, Vilnius, ff. 487v–505v.

Und. 330 – in a manuscript that contains only the *VC* and the Eulogy of Cyril, Russian State Library, Moscow, fund 310, Undolsky collection, ff. 1r–28r.

17th–18th centuries

Petr. 9 – in a Russian manuscript containing only the *VC* and an addition to it, Vassilij Stefanik National Library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Lviv, Petrushevich collection, ff. 1r–34r.

Bars. 1647 – in a Collection, State Historical Museum, Moscow, Barsov collection, ff. 82v–99v.

18th century

Maz. 1397 + Maz. 1320 – in Collection, Russian State Archive for Antique Documents, Moscow, fund 196, Mazurin collection, 7 + 47 folios from the *VC*.

RNB Q.I.1135 – manuscript from the 16th century, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, fol. 440a–484a (included additionnally).

Recent copies of manuscripts from the 19th century made for research purposes:

IX.E.31 (Š) – National Museum in Prague, Šafarik collection.

Grig. 1/104 – Ukraine National Library, Odessa, Grigorovich collection.

IX.F.5 (Š) – National Museum in Prague, Šafarik collection.

IX.F.13 (Š) – National Museum in Prague, Šafarik collection.

IX.D.13 (Š) – National Museum in Prague, Šafarik collection.

IX.D.7 (Š) – National Museum in Prague, Šafarik collection.

IX.C.7 (Š) – National Museum in Prague, Šafarik collection.

Bod. II.25 – Russian State Library, Moscow, fund 36, Bodjansky archive.

Bod. II.15 – Russian State Library, Moscow, fund 36, Bodjansky archive.

Bod. II.10 – Russian State Library, Moscow, fund 36, Bodjansky archive.

Bod. II.11 – Russian State Library, Moscow, fund 36, Bodjansky archive.

NSB 6243 – National and University Library, Zagreb.

NSB 4586 – National and University Library, Zagreb.

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TOWARDS THE CRITICAL EDITION OF THE *VITA CONSTANTINI*

Mario Capaldo

1. Some Basic Criteria for Text-Critical Work on *VC*

The aim of these pages, as of those by Cristiano Diddi which follow, is to present in a uniform even if somewhat simplified framework the results of the work which we have undertaken to prepare the critical edition of *VC* (now in its final phase). Many of these results are already known from a series of eight papers (diverse in nature) held together by the common title *Materiali e ricerche per l'edizione critica di 'Vita Constantini'* (*Ricerche slavistiche* 2004–2011)[1].

It must be pointed out at once that our edition project already acquired its configuration – in almost every aspect – in a series of studies during the fifteen years preceding the *Materiali...* I–VIII[2]. In fact,

[1] M. Capaldo, "Materiali e ricerche per l'edizione critica di *Vita Constantini*. I. Testimoni e gruppi di testimoni", *Ricerche slavistiche*, n.s. 2 (48) (2004), pp. 49–66; M. Capaldo, "Materiali e ricerche per l'edizione critica di *Vita Constantini*. IV. Edizione della redazione vaticana", *Ricerche slavistiche,* n.s. 3 (49) (2005), pp. 63–151; M. Capaldo, "Materiali e ricerche per l'edizione critica di *VC*. VIII. A proposito di una recente tesi di dottorato sulla tradizione manoscritta di *VC*", *Ricerche slavistiche* n.s. 9 (55) (2011), pp. 301–316.

[2] M. Capaldo, "Sulla datazione di un'iscrizione salomonica ad opera di Constantino il Filosofo". In: *Filologia e letteratura nei paesi slavi. Studi in onore di Sante Graciotti.* A cura di Giovanna Brogi Bercoff, Mario Capaldo, Janja Jerkov Capaldo, Manuela Sgambati (Roma, 1990), pp. 945–960; M. Capaldo, "Rispetto del testo tràdito o avventura congetturale? Su di una recente interpretazione di *Vita Constantini* 13", *Europa Orientalis* 9 (1990), p. 541–644 (English version by W.R. Veder, "Respect of the textus traditus or venture into conjecture? On a recent interpretation of VC 13", *Полата книгописьная* 25–26 (1994), pp. 1–128); M. Capaldo, "Sulla Vita Constantini. Questioni minori di metodo, di esegesi, di critica testuale", *Europa Orientalis* 11 (1992), № 2, pp. 295–356; M. Capaldo, "Sul 'programma' di Costantino. Per la soluzione di un enigma salomonico. In risposta a Riccardo Picchio", *Europa Orientalis* 15 (1996), № 1, pp. 237–260; M. Capaldo, "Ancora sul Calice di Salo-

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these initial studies, concentrating on the *examinatio* of the manuscript tradition of *VC* and on the genesis of the most 'innovative' groups of witnesses (DE, H), had already led to the identification – from within the manuscript tradition of *VC* – of the ecdotic criteria best suited to it, and subsequently they became the guiding criteria of our enterprise[3].

(I) Firstly, digging below the surface of the *varia lectio* and finding that the manuscript tradition of *VC* can be defined as neither perfectly *closed* nor perfectly *open*, we became convinced that it was necessary in our work to apply both the analytical procedures of *textual criticism*, which aim essentially to rid the text of mechanical error and restitute the archetype, and those of *textology*, which rather highlight innovative facts and document the various stages of the text's evolution (up to the reproduction of the most significant witness for each of those stages).

(II) Secondly, we found it necessary to contrast the widespread tendency to have a clean slate of the work devoted to the *recensio* of *VC* and so decided (a) to bring to fruition the contributions of our illustrious predecessors (Šafařík, Miklosich, Bodjanskij, Lavrov, van Wijk, etc.); (b) to adopt as reliable starting points the groupings of witnesses proposed (on the basis of the twenty manuscripts then known) by Lavrov, van Wijk and Grivec, and (c) to verify their validity (as was, in fact, confirmed) on the thirty or so manuscripts introduced in later studies.

(III) Thirdly, we had (a) to collate *ex novo* the entire manuscript tradition, (b) to correlate the results of that work with the history of

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mone", *Ricerche slavistiche* 39–40, 2002–2003, № 1, pp. 105–125; C. Diddi, "La tradizione slavo-meridionale della *Vita Constantini*: il subarchetipo alfa" (PhD thesis, Università di Firenze, a.a. 1994–1995; C. Diddi, "Appunti sulla tradizione manoscrita della *Vita Constantini*", *Ricerche slavistiche* 44 (1997) (published in 1999), pp. 5–60.

[3] My work on *Vat. slav. 12,* which dates back to the second half of the 1980's, quickly developed from a diplomatic edition of one of the most mysterious witnesses of *VC* (considered erroneously by N. Radovich, "Le pericopi glagolitiche della Vita Constantini e la tradizione manoscritta cirillica", Napoli, 1968 to represent an independent branch of the tradition) into a critical edition of group H (comprising besides *Vat. slav. 12* the manuscripts *Viln.* 80, РНБ, Отдел редких книг I.1.29, РНБ, Пог. 957), which revealed itself to be not only 'innovative' but also gravely corrupt. The critical edition of DE by C. Diddi ("Materiali e ricerche per l'edizione critica di *Vita Constantini*. II. La tradizione del gruppo dei testimoni serbi. III. Edizione del gruppo dei testimoni serbi", *Ricerche slavistiche*, n.s. 2 (48) (2004), pp. 67–127; 129–189), too, substantially dates back to 1993–1995.

the manuscripts that transmit the various witnesses of *VC*, (c) deepen our insight into the genesis and the evolution of the text collections (hagiographic, doctrinal etc.) which hosted *VC* in the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, and finally (d) to try to breach *à rebours*, by well-founded hypothesis, the wall of the fourteenth century.

(IV) Finally, we were convinced that our edition should satisfy the following requirements: (a) to give scholars access to the archetype of *VC* (restituted *ope codicum*), (b) to provide evidence (following the norms of the textological practice) of the various stages in the evolution of the text and (c) to open a file of digital images (with the possibility of future enhancements) to document the *status praesens* of the direct tradition of *VC*. Only in this way would we succeed in putting our readers in a position to check every step of our work and, more generally, in establishing a reliable foundation for future research.

For IIIb,c (history of miscellanies that transmit witnesses of *VC*) and IVa,c (restitution of the archetype and digital reproduction of the witnesses) the reader has to wait for the complete edition of *VC*, but for all other points raised above he will find useful information on these pages (devoted to I and IIa) and on those of C. Diddi (devoted to IIb and IIIa, even if limited to the groups which he studies, viz. B, C, DE)[4].

2. On the First Two Guiding Criteria

I. *Between Textual Criticism and Textology*

In the textual tradition of *VC*, which oscillates between faithful reproduction of the antigraph and innovation and contamination (their combined effect is to obscure the family relationships between the witnesses), four issues clearly emerge: (a) the situations where more or less long sections of the text appear to be transmitted faithfully in all groups (even if degraded here and there by mechanical error), (b) the passages that are marked by high incidence of editorial intervention, (c) the possibility that the traditions is *open* in one branch of

[4] In the meantime, the edition of group A was published by C. Diddi, "Materiali e ricerche per l'edizione critica di *Vita Constantini*. X. I testimoni del menologio di ottobre (gruppo 'A'). XI. Edizione del gruppo 'A'", *Ricerche slavistiche* n.s. 11 (57) (2013), pp. 271–301, 303–355. Regarding group H, the reader will find some useful information in my edition (s. the note 1).

(either without interruption or only in one chronological segment) and *closed* in another, and finally (d) the situations where *textus traditus* and *innovations* are inextricably intertwined in one and the same section of the text.

These four issues require that textology and textual criticism join forces (a feat far from impossible!) rather than strive for primacy[5]. In fact, at least on the first three they must simply agree to collaborate and divide the field. More complicated is the fourth issue, where the two analytical procedures have to operate jointly in order to identify in a given passage the different chronological layers (of *closed* and of *open* tradition).

IIa. *The Main Stages of the* recensio of *VC*

In the long process which, between peaks of intense activity and doldrums, has little by little led to the discovery of the 58 witnesses of *VC* known to date[6], three different stages can be distinguished:

1. *From 1843 to 1967*

The first list of five witnesses was drawn up in 1851 by Šafařík[7] in the introduction to his *editio princeps* of the *Vita Constantini*, which had been discovered eight years before by Gorskij[8]. After him, Bodjanskij published in full, in two consecutive issues of the *Чтения в Императорском обществе истории и древностей российских при Московском университете* (1863, 1864), twelve other witnesses[9].

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[5] In a paper (in preparation), I worked out the points on which the proponents (at least those more tolerant) of either side could reach an agreement. It is prompted by the recent discussion between A.A. Alekseev and W.R. Veder ("Перспективы текстологии: от реконструкции архетипа к истории текста", *ТОДРЛ* 54 (2003), 50–57; В. Федер, "О методологии и перспективах текстологии", *Die Welt der Slaven* 53 (2008), № 2, 381–386).

[6] M. Ivanova (*Текстологически проблеми в Пространното житие на Константин-Кирил Философ* [PhD thesis, 2009]) prefers to exclude from the list of direct witnesses of *VC* our no. 42, which is an excerpt.

[7] P.J. Šafařík, *Život sv. Konstantina řečeného Cyrilla (Crhy). Z rukopisu XV. století* (V Praze, 1851).

[8] А.В. Горский, "О свв. Кирилле и Мефодии", *Москвитянин* 3 (1843), pp. 405–434.

[9] О. Бодянский, "Кирилл и Мефодий. Собрание памятников, до деятельности святых первоучителей и просветителей славянских племен относящихся", *ЧОИДР* (1863), № 2, pp. 1–224; 1864, № 2, pp. 225–398; 1873, № 1, pp. 399–543.

In 1870, a new and more comprehensive list of witnesses of *VC* was published by Miklosich in the introduction to his edition of *VC*[10]; it comprises seventeen items, viz. the twelve manuscripts of Bodjanskij, four of Šafařík's five[11], and one new manuscript (Zagreb, HAZU III a 47)[12]. Three years later, again in the *Чтения в ИОИДР*, Bodjanskij edited another four witnesses[13], among them the manuscript Rila 4/8 (no. 13), already edited by Šafařík, thus bringing the known witnesses of *VC* to a total of twenty. After 1873, for some sixty years the sixteen manuscripts of Bodjanskij became the standard of reference, their serial numbers eventually supplanting the shelf numbers.

1 Moskva, RGB, *MDA* 19	9 SPb., RNB, *Kir-Bel.* 14/1253
2 SPb., RNB, *Sof.* 1288	10 Moskva, RGB, *TSL* 674 (411)
3 Moskva, RGB, *MDA* 63	11 Moskva, GIM, *Sin.* 179 (801)
4 Moskva, GIM, *Sin.* 991 (789)	12 Moskva, GIM, *Čud.* 311 (9)
5 Moskva, GIM, *Sin.* 987 (785)	13 Rila, MAN. 4/8
6 Moskva, RGB, *Ios.-Vol.* 193 (591)	14 SPb., RNB, *Sol.* 509/528 (626)
7 Moskva, RGB, *Und*. 330	15 Moskva, RGB, *OIDR* 342
8 SPb., RNB, *Sof.* 1318	16 Moskva, RGADA, *Sin.Tip.* 57

The First 16 Witnesses (from 1843 to 1873)

It was only in the years 1930–1960 that the *recensio* of *VC* bore new fruit, thanks most of all to the work of Lavrov in the preceding decades. In the introduction to his posthumous *Materialy* (1930: xix–xxiii)[14], Lavrov introduces five new manuscripts (nos. 17–20 and 25) and reintroduces (pp. xix–xx) the four manuscripts (nos. 21–24) of Šafařík and Miklosich which had been left out of Bodjanskij's list.

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[10] E. Dümmler, Fr. Miklosich, "Die Legende vom heiligen Cyrillus", *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Phil.-hist. Classe* 19 (1870), pp. 203–248.

[11] One of the manuscripts of Šafařík, namely *Makar*, was identified by Miklosich with one of the "Macarian" manuscripts of Bodjanskij (no. 5 or no. 6) and therefore excluded.

[12] The manuscript had been introduced the previous year by Đ. Daničić, "Rukopis Vladislava gramatika pisan godine 1469", *Starine* 1 (1869), pp. 44–85.

[13] Бодянский, "Кирилл и Мефодий...", 1873, № 1, pp. 390–534.

[14] П. Лавров, *Материалы по истории возникновения древнейшей славянской письменности* (Ленинград, 1930), pp. xix–xxiii.

Afterwards, only one new manuscript was to be added in this period, no. 26 (*Hilandar* 444), by Grivec–Tomšič 1960[15].

17	RNB, *Vjaz.* Q. 10	(Lavrov)	22	Zagreb, HAZU, III.a.47	(Mikl.)
18	BAN, *Nikol'.* 264	(Lavrov)	23	L'vov, BN, *Petr.* 8	(Šafařík)
19	Moskva, RGB, *Olon.* 9	(Lavrov)	24	L'vov, BN, *Petr.* 9	(Šafařík)
20	RNB, *Sol.* 502 (521)	(Lavrov)	25	Moskva, GIM, *Bars.* 619	(Lavrov)
21	Roma, BAV, *Vat. sl.* 12	(Šafařík)	26	Hilandar, MAN. 444	(Grivec)

10 New Witnesses (from 1930 to 1960)

In the wake of the editions of Lavrov and Grivec–Tomšič, Večerka[16] in 1967 produced a working edition of *VC*, which reduced the apparatuses of his predecessors to the bare minimum, but which did not add any new manuscript.

2–3. *From Angelov, Kodov 1973 to the End of 20th c.*

Only six years after Večerka's edition, the *recensio* of *VC* took a remarkable step forward thanks to Angelov and Kodov who, in 1973, in the introduction to their edition of *VC* and *VM*[17], recorded twenty-one new manuscripts and proposed a unified listing of all the witnesses based on their dating.

During the twenty-three years following the edition of Angelov–Kodov, a further eleven witnesses were identified, either rediscovered

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[15] F. Grivec, F. Tomšič, "Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses. Fontes", *Radovi Staroslavenskog instituta* 4 (Zagreb, 1960). The Hilandar manuscript had already been indicated by Porfirij Uspenskij (Порфирий (Успенский) еп. "Отрывок из путешествия епископа Порфирия Успенского в Афонские монастыри и скиты в 1846 году", *Труды Киевской духовной академии* 4 (1877), pp. 79–110); its facsimile is published by Đ. Sp. Radojčić (Ђ. Радојичић, *Хиландарски рукописи о постанку словенске писмености* (Нови Сад, 1963).

[16] *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici.* II. *Textus biographici, hagiographici, liturgici*. Curaverunt R. Večerka etc. (Brno, 1967).

[17] Климент Охридски, *Събрани съчинения*. Т. 3. Подг. за печат Б. Ангелов и Хр. Кодов. (София, 1973). In the list of Angelov–Kodov figure, besides completely unknown manuscripts, also those which were recorded (a) in nineteenth-century descriptions of collections but had disappeared from the horizon of scholars, (b) in M. Popruženko and St. Romanski (eds.) (М. Попруженко, Ст. Романски, *Кирило-методиевска библиография за 1934–1940 год*. (София, 1942), and (c) in B. St. Angelov (Б. Ангелов, "Славянски извори за Кирил и Методий". *ИДБ „Васил Коларов" за 1956 г.* (София, 1958), pp. 179–215).

after being mentioned in earlier literature or as yet completely unknown and discovered in poorly studied collections of ancient manuscripts.

1978: SPb., BAN, Arch. *D.* № 236 [= N. 48][18],

1986: RGB, *Eg.* 167, 314, 1144, RGB, *Stroev* 25 [= N. 49–52][19],

1987: SPb., BAN, f. 75, Belokr. 13 [= N. 53][20],

1989: SPb., BAN, *Arch.D.* № 145 [= № 54][21],

1991: RNB, Q.I.1135 [= № 55][22],

1992: RNB, *Otdel redkich knig* I.1.29 [= № 56][23],

1996: RNB, F.I.891 [= № 57][24],

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[18] Л. Белова, М. Кукушкина, "К истории изучения и реконструкции рукописного собрания Антониево-Сийской библиотеки", in: *Материалы и сообщения по фондам отдела рукописной и редкой книги* (Ленинград, 1978), pp. 159–187.

[19] Св. Николова, "Проблемът за пълното издание на Кирило-Методиевските извори", in: *Кирило-Методиевски студии*. Кн. 3 (София, 1986), p. 14.

[20] Д. Кенанов, "Белокриницки сборник от XVI в. с Житието и Похвалното лово за Констнатин-Кирил Философ", in: *Кирило-Методиевски студии*. Кн. 4 (София, 1987), pp. 65–68; facsimile published by K. Mečev (К. Мечев, *Произход на славяно-българската писменост* (София, 1999), pp. 371–496).

[21] *Описание рукописного отдела БАН СССР*. Т. 8. Вып. 1. *Рукописи Архангельского собрания.* Сост. А. Амосов, Л. Белова, М. Кукушкина (Москва, 1989), p. 183.

[22] М.Д. Каган, "История библиотеки Ферапонтова монастыря", in: *Книжные центры Древней Руси. XI–XVI вв. Разные аспекты исследования* (Санкт-Петербург, 1991), pp. 99–135 (in particular, p. 126). C. Diddi ("Materiali e ricerche per ledizione critica di VC. VI. I testimoni delle collezioni di contenuto variabile (gruppo 'C')", *Ricerche slavistiche (Nuova serie)* 7(53) (2009), pp. 173–224; "VII. Edizione del gruppo 'C'", pp. 225–280) has pointed out that no. 5 is an apograph of no. 1.

[23] Ю.А. Лабынцев, "Супрасльский список Пространного жития Кирилла Философа 1580 г.", in: *Болгарская культура в веках: Тезисы докладов научной конференции (Москва 26–27 мая 1992)* (Москва, 1992) pp. 15–17. This manuscript, which had already been mentioned by A.N. Popov (А.Н. Попов, "Обличительные писания против жидов и латинян по рукописи Императорской публичной библиотеки 1580 года", *ЧОИДР* 1 (январь–март 1879), pp. IV–XII) but escaped the attention of scholars, was edited by Chr. Trendafilov (Хр. Трендафилов, Пространното житие на Константин-Кирил по Супрасълски сборник от 1580 г.", in: *Преславска книжовна школа*. Том. 3 (Шумен, 1997), pp. 211–242).

[24] M.Capaldo, "Sul "programma" di Costantino per la soluzione di un enigma salomonico. In risposta a Riccardo Picchio", *Europa Orientalis* 15 (1996), № 1, pp. 237–260 (p. 246, n. 14, p. 259, n. 46). This manuscript, mentioned in the *Otčet Imp.*

1986: RGADA, *Maz.* N°1397 + 1320 [= N° 58][25].

Appendix: List of Witnesses of *VC*

This is the fourth version (reviewed and corrected) of my *Elenco dei testimoni di VC*, of which the first three were published in "Europa orientalis" 11, 1992, 341–345 and in "Ricerche slavistiche" 2 (48), 2004, 56–64 and 9 (55), 2011, 307–314 (in this third version, the first block of twenty-six manuscripts was erroneously subdivided into subgroups 1–20 e 21–26, while the correct subdivision is 1–16, 17–26). The major differences between versions 1 and 2 consist in the elimination of nos. 30 and 49–50 (the first, because it is an old shelfmark of the present no. 36, the other two because they are nineteenth-century copies of nos. 56 and 24) and in the addition of nos 56–57. The only substantial difference of version 3 is in the addition of no. 58.

Legend to columns 1–12

(1) my sequential numbering,

(2) numbering of Ivanova 2009,

(3) identification of manuscripts,

(4) grouping of the witness in one of the five groups (the formula "(F >) C" indicates that the manuscript was initially considered to belong to group F but after analysis assigned to group C; the formula "A/B" indicates that the witness up to a certain point belongs to group A and from then on to group B),

(5) list of Šafarík 1851,

(6) list of Miklosich 1870,

(7) manuscripts edited by Bodjanskij (1863–1873),

(8–12) these columns indicate the numbers and/or the alphabetic sigla used by (8) Lavrov 1930, (9) Grivec-Tomšič 1960, (10) Večerka 1967, (11) Radovich 1968, (12) Angelov–Kodov 1973.

Publ. biblioteki za 1908 g. (Отчет Императорской публичной библиотеки за 1908 год. (Петроград, 1915), pp. 141–147, in particular, p. 143), had escaped the attention of scholars.

[25] Св. Николова, "Проблемът...", p. 1 (this witness was initially regarded as a fragment); М. Иванова, "Кирилските фрагменти от Пространното житие на Константин-Кирил – научна проблематика", in: *Кирило-Методиевски студии*. Кн. 20 (София, 2011), pp. 88–115.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
		List of witness of VC in order of discovery									*Serial number siglum (Kuev–Angelov)*
		(I) FIRST STAGE: FROM 1843 TO 1967									
		(a) *Central decades of the 19th c.*: *Discovery of the first 16 witnesses*									
1	2	Moskva, RGB, *MDA* 19 (F>) 15th c., ff. 365r-389v	C		•	1	1	1	1	1	5 *MDA 19*
2	12	SPb., RNB, *Sof.* 1288 (478) 15th c., ff. 25r-82v	C		•	2	2	2	2	2	8 *Sof 1288*
3	48	Moskva, RGB, *MDA* 63 16-17th c., ff. 99r-120r	A/B		•	3	3	3	3	3	40 *MDA 63*
4	18	Moskva, GIM, *Sin.* 991 (789) 16th c., ff. 455v-466 v, VMČ	B		•	4	4	4	4	4	35 *Sin. 991*
5	17	Moskva, GIM, *Sin.* 987 (785) 16th c., ff. 443r-457v, VMČ	A		•	5	5	5	5	5	34 *Sin. 987*
6	7	Moskva, RGB, *Ios.-Vol.* 193 (591) 15th c. *ex.*, ff. 307r-330v	A		•	6	6	6	6	6	6 *Volok. 591*
7	53	Moskva, RGB, *Und.* 330 17th c., ff. 1r-28r	C		•	7	7	7	7	7	42 *Und. 330*
8	16	SPb., RNB, *Sof.* 1318 16th c., ff. 292r-299r, VMČ	A		•	8	8	8	8	8	16 *Sof. 318*
9	45	SPb., RNB, *Kir-Bel.* 14/1253 17th c., VII s., ff. 93v-122r	A		•	9	9	9	9	9	36 *KirBeloz.*
10	41	Moskva, RGB, *TSL* 674 (411) 17th c., 108v-140r	B		•	10	10	10	10	10	41 *Troic. 674*
11	20	Moskva, GIM, *Sin.* 179 (801) 16th c., ff. 642v-658v, VMČ	B		•	11	11	11	11	11	17 *Čud. 179*
12	36	Moskva, GIM, *Čud.* Nº 311 (9) 17th c. (1600), ff. 368v-399r	B		•	12	12	12	12	12	20 *Čud. 311*
13	4	Rila, MAN. Nº 4/8, (E>) 15th c. (1479), ff. 571v-584r	D	•	•	13	13	13	13	13	2 *Ril.*
14	26	SPb., RNB, *Sol.* 509/528 (626) 16th c., ff. 107r-127v	A/B			14	14	14	14	14	23 *Sol. 509*
15	28	Moskva, RGB, *OIDR* 342 (L>) 16th c., ff. 1r-24r	C			15	15	15	15	15	25
16	50	Moskva, RGADA, *Sin.Tip.*57 (E>) (1603) 17th c., ff. 182r-198r	D			16	16	16	16	16	45

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
		(b) *Central decades of the 20th c.: 10 new witnesses*									
17	8	SPb., RNB, *Vjaz.* Q. 10 16th c., ff. 245r-264r	C				L		17		(4) *Vjaz.*
18	27	SPb., BAN, *Nikol'.* Nº 264 16th c., ff. 272r-318r	C				N		18		24
19	9	Moskva, RGB, *Olon.* 9 (*Rum.*1770), 16th c., ff. 77r-96v	A				R		19		10
20	43	SPb., RNB, *Sol.* 502 (521) 17th c. (1647), ff. 222r-258v	A				S		20		33
21	38	Roma, BAV, *Vat. sl.* 12 17th c., ff. 82r-105r	H	•	•		intr.	V	21	V	48
22	3	Zagreb, HAZU, III.a.47 15th c. (1469), ff. 722v-736v	(E>) D		•		ed.	G	22		1
23	10	L'vov, BN, *Petr.* Nº 8 16th c., ff. 173r-196v	D	•	•		intr.	O	24		12 *Lăv. 1*
24	54	L'vov, BN, *Petr.* 9 17-18th c., ff. 1r-34r	(L>) D	•	•		intr.				46
25	1	Moskva, GIM, *Bars.* 619 15th c. *in.*, ff. 250v-267r	C				intr.				(1)
26	40	Hilandar, MAN. Nº 444 17th c., (1625-26), ff. 105v-139r	D					ed.	23	C	44 *Hil.*
		(II) THE EDITION OF ANGELOV AND KODOV 1973: 21 NEW WITNESSES									
27	5	SPB., RNB, *Sof.* Nº 1385, 15th c. (1490), ff. 147v-174v	A								3 *Sof. 1385*
28	6	SPB., RNB, *Sol.* Nº 503 (522) 15th c. *ex.*, ff. 197r-237v	A								4 *Sol. 619*
29	37	BUCAREST, ACAD. Nº 135 17th c., ff. 125r-153v	D								9 *Buk. 135*
30	11	SPB., RNB, *Pog.* Nº 957 16th c., ff. 393r-410r	H								14
31	14	SPB., RNB, *Pog.* Nº 1131 16th c., ff. 296r-330r	A								15
32	23	Beograd, PB, Nº 282 16th c., (1589), ff. 305v-331v	D								18 *Chop.*
33	24	SPB., RNB, *Sof.* Nº 1356 16th c., ff. 520r-555r	C								19

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
34	25	SPB., RNB, *Kir.-Bel.* Nº 57/1134 16th c., ff. 27r-87r		C							21	
35	21	SPB., RNB, *Sol.* Nº 620 (501/520) 16th c., ff. 212r-244r		A							22	*Sol. 620*
36	29	SPB., RNB, F.I.738 (= *Arch.D.* 50) 16th c. (1554), ff. 415r-426r	(F>)	C							26	
37	19	Moskva, GIM, *Sin.* Nº 175 (797) 16th c., ff. 481r-495r, VMČ		A							27	
38	30	SPB., RNB, *Sof.* Nº 1335 16th c., ff. 220v-240r		A							28	*Sof. 1335*
39	31	SPB., RNB, *Sof.* Nº 1455 16th c., ff. 123r-156r		C							29	*Sof. 1455*
40	34	SPB., RNB, *Sof.* Nº 1307 16th c. *ex.*, ff. 150r-202r		C							30	*Sof. 1307*
41	44	SPB., BAN, *Arch.D.* Nº 242 17th c., ff. 428r-449v		C							31	
42	–	SPB., RNB, *Sol.* Nº 849 (959) 17th c., ff. 59r-73r (*VC* 1-7, 13)		C							32	
43	46	Moskva, GIM, *Uvar.* Nº 429 (1042) (*Carsk.* 702), 17th c., ff. 426r-463r		B							37	
44	52	Vilnius, CBAN, Nº 80 17th c., ff. 487v-505v		H							38	*Viln. 80*
45	47	Moskva, RGB, *Tichonr.* Nº 145 17th c., ff. 1r-51r		C							39	
46	49	Moskva, RGB, *Rogož.* Nº 636 17th c., ff. 137r-185r		C							43	
47	55	Moskva, GIM *Bars.* Nº 1647 17-18th c., ff. 82v-99v		B							47	*Bars.*

(III) LAST DECADES OF THE 20TH C.: 11 NEW WITNESSES

48	42	SPB., BAN, *Arch.D.* Nº 236 17th c., ff. 430r-464r		C						Belova-Kukuškina 1978	
49	32	Moskva, RGB, *Egor.* Nº 167 16th c., ff. 210r-258r		C	•					Nikolova 1986	
50	13	Moskva, RGB, *Egor.* Nº 314 16th c. (1519), ff. 334 v-361r		A						Nikolova 1986	
51	51	Moskva, RGB, *Egor.* Nº 1144 17th c., ff. 268r-291r		B						Nikolova 1986	
52	39	Moskva, RGB, *Stroev* Nº 25 17th c. (1625), ff. 194r-225v		C						Nikolova 1986	

53	33	SPB., BAN, f. 75, Belokr. Nº 13 16th c., ff. 64r-125v	C	Kenanov 1987
54	35	SPB., BAN, *Arch.D.* Nº 145 16th c., ff. 76r-123r	C	Amosov-Belova-Kuk. 1989
55	57	SPB., RNB, Q.I.1135 16th c., ff. 440r-484r	(F>) C	Kagan 1991
56	22	SPB., RNB, *Otdel redkich knig* I.1.29, 16th c. (1580), ff. 243r-261r	H	Labincev 1992
57	15	SPB., RNB, F.I.891 16th c., ff. 67 v-94v	(K>) B/C	Capaldo 1996
58	56	Moskva, RGADA, *Maz.* N º1397 + 1320, 18th c., ff. ± 50	C	Nikolova 1986, Ivanova 2011

TOWARDS A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE *VITA CONSTANTINI*: THE SOUTH SLAVONIC TRADITION, THE RUSSIAN COPIES OF THE MENOLOGIUM FOR FEBRUARY AND THE RUSSIAN MISCELLANIES

Cristiano Diddi

The study of the Cyrillo-Methodian sources is fraught with problems so varied and complex that over time one fact has become patently clear: none of the numerous questions which are still open – from those of the tradition of the texts down to those particular to historical and philological, i.e. literary and linguistic, studies – can be answered in any way until the manuscript sources have been analysed exhaustively and reliable critical editions established. Their lack is felt most acutely in works such as the *Vita Constantini* (VC), which together with the *Vita Methodii* (as well as the treatise *O pismeněch*)[1] represents an invaluable source on the dawn of the literary culture of the Slavs and on the initial phases of their conversion. The rich manuscript tradition of the VC and the lingering uncertainty as to the relationships between the (groups of) witnesses that transmit it (not to mention the issue of the unattested initial phase of the circulation of the text in the Balkans and in Rus') have led my colleague Mario Capaldo and me to prepare a critical edition of the text, preceded by a series of preliminary studies and editions of the individual groupings of manuscripts. The methodology and criteria applied in these studies are set forth in the preceding paper; this paper aims to present as concisely as possible the results of the analysis of the South Slavonic tradition (groups D and E) and the Russian copies of the Menologium for February (B) and those in miscellanies (*sborniki*) of variable content (C)[2].

[1] See W.R. Veder, *Utrum in alterum abiturum erat? A Study of the Beginnings of Text Transmission in Church Slavic* (Bloomington, 1999), with up-to-date bibliography.

[2] For the history of the text edition, the list of witnesses and the *sigla* of the manuscripts and their groupings see the preceding paper by M. Capaldo; for the

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The South Slavonic Tradition

The South Slavonic tradition (groups D and E) comprises eight full witnesses (nos. 23, 32, 26 29, 13 22, 16 24) from the second half of the fifteenth to the end of the seventeenth century, to which must be added seven *descripti*, copied in the mid nineteenth century[3]. The witnesses are transmitted in Festal Homiliaries (*panegiriki*), viz. the Hopovo codex and the two codices of Vladislav Gramatik, in a Menologium for February and in miscellanies.

Apparently independent of this tradition is a group of excerpts (ch. 14:2–15:4 and 18:7–13) transmitted by some Croatian Glagolitic breviaries of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (group G)[4]. Also uncertain is the stemmatic relationship of several Cyrillic fragments (more or less extensive excerpts from single episodes of the *Vita*), among them an early Middle Bulgarian one of the mid fourteenth century; almost of them are published, but still await systematic study[5].

Circulating for a long time in the Serbian dialect area, the text became adapted to the local usage of Church Slavonic. Nevertheless the witnesses retain ancient traces such as alternation of the original nasal vowels (ѫ/ѧ), which fits the hypothesis of their descent from older Bulgarian models (see e.g. 5:4 аще можеши оуношѫ сего прѣпрѣти ABCH → юноше сь DE, which can be explained by the Middle Bulgarian graphic substitution ѫ → ѧ and its subsequent Ser-

remaining groups of manuscripts (A and H) see there as well.

[3] See C. Diddi, "Materiali e ricerche per l'edizione critica di Vita Constantini, II. La tradizione del gruppo dei testimoni serbi", *Ricerche slavistiche* 2(48) (2004), pp. 71–72.

[4] These excerpts show no textual affinity either to the Serbian witnesses or the East Slavonic tradition; opinions as to their origin vary; see the study and edition by N. Radovich, *Le pericopi glagolitiche della Vita Constantini e la tradizione manoscritta cirillica* (Napoli, 1968); V. Tkadlčík, "K datování hlaholských Služeb o sv. Cyrilu a Metoději", *Slovo*, 17 (1977), pp. 85–128; V. Kyas, "Problém původního textu Života Konstantinova a Metodějova", *Slavia*, 54 (1985), pp. 174–176.

[5] See the editions in К. Радченко, *Отчет о занятиях рукописями в библиотеках и других научных учреждениях Москвы и Санкт-Петербурга в течении сентября и октября 1896 г.* (Киев, 1898), p. 48; П. А. Лавров, *Материалы по истории возникновения древнейшей славянской письменности* (Ленинград, 1930), pp. XXVIII–XXIX; Климент Охридски. *Събрани съчинения*. Т. 3. Съст. Б. Ангелов, Хр. Кодов (София, 1973), pp. 47–56; Diddi, "Materiali e ricerche" II, pp. 86–88.

bian denasalisation ѧ → ѥ)[6]. The sporadic vocalisation of the original *jers* (ъ → о, ь → ѥ), unknown in the Serbo-Croatian area but typical of Western Bulgarian dialects[7], may be interpreted to indicate an early circulation of VC in the Macedonian area, more precisely where it borders on the Serbian one[8].

All South Slavonic witnesses are descended from a common protograph, called α in our studies, which featured numerous errors, omissions and secondary readings (e.g. 3:25 пакы же отрокъ съ слезами кланѧа сѧ емоу : нае се *pro* кланѧа сѧ α; 10:97 си же всѧ каганъ казарескъ съ началными моужи... слышавше : си – съ *om.* α)[9]. The typology of the errors traceable to α and their sheer number mark a mainly mechanical transmission with scant editorial intervention by the copyists (except Vladislav Gramatik), even in those cases where the *textus traditus* is evidently corrupt. The interventions made in transmission are limited to isolated lexical substitutions and insignificant morpho-syntactic alterations, which reveal neither editorial intention nor consistency.

The existence of the protograph α is attested by the more conservative witnesses nos. 23 (*Petruš.* 8) and 32 (*Hopovo* 282), which are most faithful to the early Serbian tradition, even on the level of

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[6] Slavonic historical linguistics has customarily ascribed the alternation of the original nasal vowels to the Middle Bulgarian phase of text transmission, but in a recent paper, W.R. Veder, "East Slavic Confusion of Nasals", *Pegasus Oost–Europese Studies* 20 (2012), pp. 639–648, shows that the same alternation occurs in East Slavonic manuscripts of the *Scala Paradisi* (Slavic: *Lestvica*) and argues that its origin should not be sought in the dialect of the scribes but rather in the difficulty of visually distinguishing the two letters in antigraphs written in Glagolitic. Whatever the outcome of that debate, the very fact that the issue has been raised serves to show that some of the traditional criteria to determine the dialect areas of manuscript traditions (including that of *VC*) are open to reconsideration.

[7] See e.g. S. Kul'bakin, "Du classement des manuscrits dits moyen-bulgares: *manuscrits à* û vocalisé en o", *Revue des Études Slaves* 3 (1923), pp. 221–241; 4 (1924), pp. 24–52. Some examples are adduced in Diddi, "Materiali e ricerche" II, pp. 82–83, 105–106.

[8] This alternation of the *jers* marks in particular MSS nos. 23 (*Petruš.* 8) and 32 (*Hopovo* 282), which, as a rule, use a single *jer* (ь); the other manuscripts rather depend on a later protograph, perhaps to be related to the Athonite milieu, and show signs of orthographic revision to norms of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (see below).

[9] See in greater detail Diddi, "Materiali e ricerche" II, pp. 73–82.

spelling and language; this applies in particular to the manuscript from the monastery at Hopovo, which in spite of minor errors (among them the displacement of more or less sizeable portions of the text owing to the wrong ordering of quires in a copy preceding its antigraph)[10] offers in many respects the best evidence for the protograph α[11].

All other witnesses of α (nos. 26 29, 13 22, 16 24) can be related to a separate hyparchetype γ, which besides signs of some editorial activity (most prominently in spelling) shows later adaptations and errors (e.g. 8:21 обѣщавь се емоу на крьщенїе отиде никоеже пакости сътвори людемь тѣмь α : отиде - тѣмь *om.* γ; 11:20 пакы же w҃вѣща философь добрѣ рекосте α : *om.* γ)[12].

Close to γ is its junior hyparchetype ζ, with new errors and secondary readings, which are transmitted by its offspring μ (nos. 26, 29) and λ (nos. 16, 24)[13]. The latter offers an insight of particular interest into the development of the Serbian tradition of VC: by the end of the seventeenth century, it was transferred to the East Slavonic area, as demonstrated by the phonetic and morphological adaptation of the text and numerous changes made by a Russian copy-editor[14]. The innovations, of course, alienate the text from the Old Serbian tradition, but they do not go so far as to obscure the descent of λ from α: an addition to the title (списано з библїѡтеки хїландарскои лавры сербскои), retained in both nos. 16 and 24, betrays their dependence on a manuscript of the Hilandar Monastery. And at the bottom layer of the text-critical profile looms the intimate relationship of λ with μ, in particular with no. 26 (*Hilandar 444*), which allows us to locate the origin of hyparchetype ζ itself in the Athonite milieu.

A separate place in the South Slavonic tradition is reserved for the two copies no. 22 (Zagreb, HAZU III.a.47) and no. 13 (Rila, Man., no.

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[10] See C. Diddi, "Materiali e ricerche, III. Edizione del gruppo dei testimoni serbi", *Ricerche slavistiche* 2(48) (2004), pp. 129–130.

[11] Diddi, "Materiali e ricerche" II–III. As for MS no. 23, it is very close to the Hopovo manuscript, but since it lacks the last three chapters, it cannot be used fully for the restitution of α.

[12] See in greater detail Diddi, "Materiali e ricerche" II, pp. 96–100.

[13] For the relevant errors and secondary readings see ibid., pp. 108 ff.

[14] This is clear as early as the title, where an interpolation apostrophises Cyril as "оучитель и наставѣникъ родѹ россїискомѹ и всемѹ ꙗзыкѹ словенскомѹ", see ibid., p. 114 and note 134.

4/8), made by Vladislav Gramatik in 1469 and 1479 respectively. Both depend on an antigraph κ (descended from the junior hyparchetype γ independently of ζ) and feature several layers of innovations and reworkings of the *textus traditus*: while some of the errors and variants can be traced directly to κ, others are certainly to be ascribed to the initiative of Vladislav Gramatik himself, who frequently and freely interpolates, corrects and amplifies the original wording[15]. The language and orthography, too, are adapted to the 'Tărnovo-Resava' standard of the fifteenth century and set both copies well apart from the earlier tradition.

THE EAST SLAVONIC TRADITION

a. *The Copies of the Menologium for February*

The Russian menologia for February (group B) preserve nine witnesses of VC, dating from the mid sixteenth to the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century (nos. 4, 10, 11, 12, 43, 47, 51)[16]. Witnesses no. 4 and 11, transmitted in the Macarian *Menologium*, have been identified as the most authoritative witnesses of this group, and the second has been chosen as the basis for the recent critical edition of B[17].

In general, the witnesses of the menologium for February show fewer *lacunae* than those of the menologium for October (group A); however there are several instances of corruption, which have led to slight independent *ad hoc* emendations in the copies. Almost entirely absent are traces of archaizing spellings to South Slavonic norms of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries; despite linguistic modernisations introduced by the copyists, some early features of morphology and

[15] For the features of κ and the two copies of Vladislav, see ibid., pp. 116–120 and the apparatus to the critical text in Diddi, "Materiali e ricerche" III. This type of intervention by the Serbian author is well known in his work, see Г. Данчев, *Владислав Граматик. Книжовник и писател* (София, 1969).

[16] To the manuscripts listed must be added nos. 3 and 14, which preserve the text of B only in part: no. 3 begins with a B text (1:1 through 11:22) and then switches to an A text (from 11:23 to the end); no. 14 transmits even less of B (1:1 to the beginning of ch. 2). It should also be noted that no. 51, to fill a mechanical gap, has recourse to an A text (between 4:14 and the beginning of 5:21); and no. 47 has a large lacuna (from 9:17 to 10:69) which is left unfilled.

[17] See C. Diddi, "Materiali e ricerche, V. Edizione del gruppo dei testimoni del menologio di febbraio", *Ricerche slavistiche* 6(52) (2008), pp. 145–196.

syntax are retained (e.g. archaic dual and root aorist forms and relics of the supine).

To the numerous errors and *lacunae*, inherited from earlier phases of transmission and shared with the other East Slavonic groups (ACH), the witnesses of group B add a large quantity of new errors. Besides the frequent misunderstandings of single terms (e.g. 3:8 сїѣетъ : сплетъ; 9:24 свѣтилника : совѣтника; 15:1 ꙗстислављъ : ꙗодислављъ) there are many cases which involve larger contexts owing either to a *lacuna* or to misreading (e.g. 15:9 нарече ѥ трижꙁычникы : на четыре ѩꙁычники). Despite the many mistakes, the witnesses of B preserve genuine readings which other branches of the tradition have corrupted or interpolated: to give but one example of many, in 16:2 дїаллогъ грїгорїи, where дїаллогъ is the traditional epithet for St Gregory the Great (i.e. the author of the *Dialogue*, referred to here together with two other fathers of the Roman Church, SS. Augustine and Jerome), replaced elsewhere by ѳеологъ (CH, *om.* A) and богословъ (α)[18].

From the protograph of B sprang two branches of transmission, viz. B^1 with its offspring nos. 11, 47, 51[19], and B^2 with its offspring nos. 4, 10, 12, 43. In both subgroups the transmission is predominantly mechanical, emendatory interventions of the copyists being few and far between[20].

b. *The Tradition of VC in the Miscellanies*

The miscellanies (group C) with their twenty witnesses, many of them hailing from the Kirillo–Belozerskij, Antonievo–Sijskij and Ferapontovo monasteries, represent the largest single group.

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[18] For a discussion of this variant see Diddi, "Materiali e ricerche" II, pp. 78–79, which postulates an initial split дїаллогъ / ѳеологъ (an intermediate form диологъ is attested in the short *Vita* of Cyril and Methodius in the *Synaxarium*, see Лавров, "Материалы", p. 100), followed by a replacement of the loanword ѳеологъ/ѳеологъ with its Slavonic equivalent (богословъ).

[19] The attribution of no. 14 to B^1 is not entirely certain because it preserves so little of the text (ch. 1); we can only say that it has a conjunctive error with no. 51 (1:1 *om.* вси), but none with 4 10 12 43 (e.g. 1:4 подобни ми : ми *om.*).

[20] For the differentiation of B^1 and B^2 in detail see Diddi, "Materiali e ricerche" V, pp. 152–154; see also the stemma reproduced at the end of this paper.

In contrast to the menologia for October (A) and for February (B), where the discovery of new witnesses has not substantially altered the picture formed by the time of Lavrov and van Wijk, after more than a century group C remained known to scholars only by its most heavily interpolated representatives (nos. 2, 7 and 15 of the edition of Bodjanskij) and has led them to consider it a late and 'innovative' branch of transmission[21]. Only the considerable widening of the *recensio* – including the recent 'rediscovery' of the manuscript GIM *Barsov* 619 (along with RNB *Vjaz.* Q. 10, *Sof.* 1455 et al.) – and deepening of the philological analysis have made it possible to overcome this unfounded supposition[22].

In general, group C presents notably more complex and layered editorial activity than the other branches of the tradition, which manifests itself both in independent interventions of copyists and in contaminations, affecting both individual manuscripts and constellations of manuscripts. This does not, however, prevent us from isolating the earliest wording, particularly evident e.g. in no. 25 (*Barsov* 619), in linguistic and orthographic appearance close to the Russian scriptorial tradition of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and in addition by its context, the *Tolkovaja paleja*, which is isolated in the tradition of VC.

Recent research has proved that the representatives of C also include no. 36 (RNB, F.I.738) and the better known no. 1 (RGB, *MDA* 19)[23], until now kept apart from C as representatives of a separate branch of the tradition (F). In fact, both fit the tradition of C perfectly, offering precious evidence of the early history of the entire group[24].

The protograph of C features, in the first place, many mistakes by comparison with ABH and α (e.g. 6:54 показаша имоу вертоградъ

[21] See e.g. Kyas, "Problém", p. 176, who labels group C a "novatorská ruská skupina".

[22] Of the twenty manuscripts of C, or twenty-two if the two *descripti* of the fifteenth century are included (nos. 34 and 55, see C. Diddi, "Materiali e ricerche, VI. I testimoni delle collezioni di contenuto variabile (gruppo 'C')", *Ricerche slavistiche* 7(53) (2009), pp. 173–224, pp. 180, 207), as yet only six have been edited, while for the others the variants in the edition of Angelov–Kodov have been used.

[23] The latter witness is available in the classical editions of Bodjanskij (1863) and Lavrov (1930), and most recently in Д.С. Лихачев и др. (ред.), *Жития Кирилла и Мефодия* (Москва–София, 1986).

[24] For practical reasons we continue to use the *siglum* F for the junior hyparchetype of C, from which nos. 1 and 36 are descended.

насаженъ : виноградъ *pro* вертоградъ; 16:8 оуґдии : еоуґдии); these are compounded by conjectural emendations of earlier errors, which it largely shares with ABH.

In some cases, the restoration in C emended corruptions of great antiquity transmitted by the other groups, and this has led some scholars to postulate for C in the stemma of VC a place independent of the rest of the tradition (Radovich, Ziffer). Such a claim rests, in fact, on the interpretation of no more than a single reading, which deserves to be examined in some detail. It is in the famous passage in ch. 14, in which the emperor charges Constantine with the mission to Morava. When the Philosopher voices his doubts of being able to accomplish it (философъ же рече˙ то кто можеть на водоу бесѣдоу писати или еретичьско има себѣ обрѣсти, *The Philosopher then said, 'Who can write a discourse on water and acquire for himself a heretic's name?'*), in the original, the reply of the emperor must have been introduced as follows: 14:12 *и wтъвѣща ємоу пакы цѣсарь˙ и съ вардоиѫ оуемь своимь... *And the emperor answered him again and together with Bardas, his uncle...* (at the time co-regent with Michael III). A large part of the tradition is known to read оумомь for *оуемь, and this mistake must indeed be old, because it is shared by both the East and the South Slavonic traditions (ABHαG; H: со҆ми со҆ми, съ ими съ ими, своими словы). C is singular in transmitting the correct reading оуимъ/оуемъ (or secondary дадею), but as its early development can in no way be separated from the rest of the East Slavonic tradition[25] we cannot assume that it took this reading from the original and cannot assign it a higher position in the stemma than the other Russian groups. The homogeneous diffusion of оумомь in both the Serbian and the Russian Cyrillic tradition (as well as in G) must lead us to consider it a mistake of the archetype which was emended in C by conjecture, in keeping with the plethora of 'improving' interventions that are noticeable over the entire length of the text. The antiquity of the error is, on the other hand, supported by the fact that it must have occurred

[25] To the conjunctive errors of C and ABH, largely acquired in the common phase of their transmission, see Diddi "Materiali e ricerche" II, pp. 89 ff. and the concluding paragraph of this paper.

when the text was still transmitted in Glagolitic script (confusion Ⱁⰵ/Ⱁⰹ, combined with tautography of ⰔⰔ: *ⰰⰑⰵⰔⰔⰵ → ⰰⰑ[ⰔⰔ]ⰵⰔⰔⰵ). Part of the manuscripts (groups ABH) make matters worse by a further emendation (*Verschlimmbesserung*) ⰲⰰⰓⰔⰵⰾⰞⰻⰾⰞ → ⰏⰓⰰⰲⰔⰵⰾⰞⰻⰾⰞ, surely prompted by the prior error *ⱁⱆⰵⰿⱐ → ⱁⱆⰿⰾⱁⰿⱐ: this yields a reading ⰏⰓⰰⰲⰔⰵⰾⰞⰻⰾⰞ ⰻ ⱁⱆⰿⰾⱁⰿⱐ 'truthfully and wisely' which makes more sense, even if it is doubly corrupt[26].

From the hyparchetype C also stems the division of *VC*, faithfully preserved in all junior hyparchetypes, into five thematic sections or *lessons* (ⰵⱐⰵⱐⰻⰑ), viz. ch. 1–5 (youth and education in Constantinople), 6–7 (mission to the Saracens), 8–13 (mission to the Khazars), 14–15 (mission to Morava) and 16–18 (activity and death in Italy).

Hyparchetype C subsequently developed in four main branches, viz. no. 25, F, C^1 and C^2.[27]

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[26] For a detailed analysis of the entire passage see Diddi, "Materiali e ricerche" VI, pp. 185–187. The emendation ⱁⱆⰿⱁⰿⱐ → ⱁⱆⰵⰿⱐ has raised the objection that it cannot be considered a matter of principle, beyond the touch of an expert editor, i.e. endowed with sensibility to the language and the text, especially in 'pre-philological' times. Yet this very conjecture was later independently made by Dmitrij Rostovskij, copyist of ms no. 16 and by Šafařík, editor of ms no. 13 (*Rila*). It should also be noted that the correction could rely on the mention of Bardas as co-regent in the many lists of emperors which depend on the *Chronography* of Patriarch Nicephorus and circulated in Slavonic since early times (see e.g. the so-called *Letopisec vkratce*, included in the *Izbornik Svjatoslava of 1073* ff. 264–266 and Б. Ангелов, *Из старата българска, руска и сръбска литература.* Т. 2 (София, 1967), p. 88 пг҃. Ⰴⰵⱁⰴⱳⱃⰰ [...] ⰻⰆⰳⱏⰽⰰⰾⰰ ⰱⱏⰹ ⱕ̂ ⱄⱀ҃ⰰ ⱄⰲⱁⰵⰳⱁ ⰻ Ⰲⰰⱃⰴⱏ, ⰱⱃⰰⱅⰰ ⱄⰲⱁⰵⰳⱁ. ⱂⰴ҃. Ⰿⰻⱈⰰⰻⰾⱏ ⰵⰴⰻⰽⱏ, ⰽⱁⱆⰿⱂⱐⰽⱁ ⱄⱏ Ⰲⰰⱃⰴⱁⰽⱏ ⰽⰵⱄⰰⱃⱐⰿⱐ. ⰾⱋ҃ ⰻⰲ҃. ⰻ ⱁⱆⰱⰻⰵⰽⰰ ⰱⱏⱄⱅⰰ ⱁⰱⰰ). Barda as 'uj' and co-regent with Michael III is also mentioned (more than once) in the *Vita* of Nicholas from Studion [BHG 1365], which is found in the Menaion (Čet'i Minei) for February (4 Feb.), i.e. in the same volume where the VC usually occurs (14 Feb.): see e.g. Ⰿⰻⱈⰰⰻⰾⱏ ⱌⰰⱃⱐ Ⰶⰿⰾⱏ ⱄⰲⱋⱅⱏ ⱂⱃⰻⰽⰿⱏ ⱕ̂ ⱁⱆⰻⰰ ⱄⰲⱁⰵⰳⱁ Ⰲⰰⱃⰴⱏ (И.И. Срезневский, *Материалы для словаря древнерусского языка по письменным памятникам*. Т. 3 (Санкт-Петербург, 1908), col. 1175). Thus it is also possible that the emendation ⱁⱆⰿⱁⰿⱐ → ⱁⱆⰵⰿⱐ in group C is not conjectural, and that it had been suggested by a previous reading (or copying) of the *Vita* of Nicholas in the same menological context (see: C. Diddi, "Materiali e ricerche per l'edizione critica di Vita Constantini. Occorrono migliori argomenti. Questioni vecchie e nuove in due recenti note su VC", *Ricerche slavistiche* 10 (56), (2012), pp. 355–397, see pp. 360–368).

[27] Nos. 17, 39, 41, 42, 46, 48, 49, 52, 53, 54 depend on C^1, nos. 2, 7, 15, 18, 33, 40, 45 on C^2; C^1 and C^2 are descended in turn from a junior hyparchetype ν; nos. 1 and 36 depend on F.

The first of these to separate from the hyparchetype was no. 25 (*Barsov* 619), which is the oldest of the witnesses and particularly conservative in text[28].

F, C^1 and C^2 depend on a junior hyparchetype ε, marked by a series of corrections and slight interpolations (e.g. 9:15 пиѥмъ → пїю; 10:65 сказавъ же имъ ѳ семь → *post* имъ *add.* философъ; 10:96 *post* мефодии → *add.* бр҃а константина философа). These interpolations are part of the text in all witnesses save no. 17 (RNB, *Vjaz* Q.10), where they figure as *glosses* (marginal or supralinear). As no. 17 cannot possibly belong to a phase of development prior to ε, the conclusion must be that these variants originally circulated as glosses and that no. 17 is the only surviving witness to that state.

This conclusion can be confirmed by a second series of interventions, posterior to ε and shared by no. 17, in a junior hyparchetype which we call ν. In all of them, ν varies from no. 25 and F, which preserve the genuine reading (= ABHα), e.g. 1:1 праведными моужи и оучители → праведныхъ мѫжеи и ѫчителеи ν; 1:2 именемь вѫзываю → именемь моимь вѫзываю ν; 10:4 скажи же намъ → скажи же намъ философе ν[29].

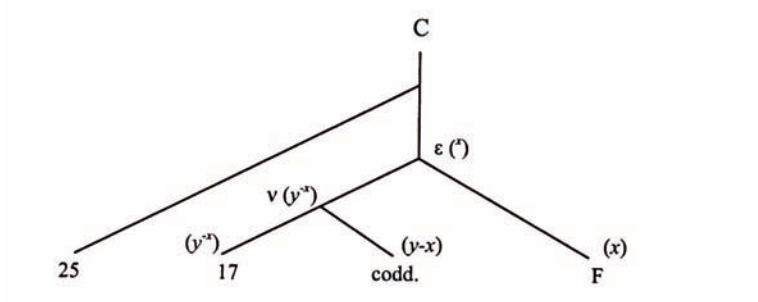

Diagram of the two layers of innovations in C
Legend: ^{x} = gloss; y = text; y^{-x} = text and gloss; y-x = text

[28] This is the reason why I have chosen it as the base text for C (C. Diddi, "Materiali e ricerche, VII. Edizione del gruppo C", *Ricerche slavistiche* 7(53) (2009), pp. 225–280), despite the confusion of some folia and the mechanical *lacuna* in ch. 3:17–6:25, which do not compromise such a use.

[29] These innovative readings are all in the texts of the descendants of ν, including no. 17; see for details Diddi, "Materiali e ricerche" VI, pp. 193–194.

Hyparchetypes ε and ν show sets of interpolations, but even no. 25 is not free of them: they comprise corrections over erasures which feature older readings (inherited from C and always present in F), as well as numerous glosses (marginal or interlinear) over the entire length of the text, written in different ink and more often than not agreeing with the witnesses of ν[30]. All of these interventions, to which the previous editors of the *Barsov* manuscript have not given due consideration[31], are decisive for the placement of no. 25 in group (and of C in the complete tradition of the *Vita*) and must be considered the result of a secondary collation against an exemplar of ν, or rather a source shared with ν, given that they are never present in F.

In the past similar complexities appeared to be involved in the genesis of group F, commonly treated as the result of a poorly defined collation of different exemplars of A, B and C[32]. Such a conclusion, based on an inadequate text-critical analysis of no. 1 (RGB, *MDA* 19) joined with the long-standing inadequate knowledge of the other groups, must now be rejected, given that F is solidly incorporated in C, of which it reflects the earliest state, as a rule, together with no. 25[33].

The degree of contamination in F, too, has been greatly overestimated by scholars, its innovations being largely due to interventions internal to this subgroup[34]. Only some readings, few and far between, are suggestive of convergence with a text of type B. From the tradition of B (or a source that had contact with it) the editor of F draws, at times erroneously, some proper names (e.g. 6:55 армениино → амаврїино, 7:5 въ Олигъ → въ єлим, 17:5 фатань →

[30] For a discussion of these variants see ibid., pp. 195–203.

[31] See e.g. the codicologial description and the commentary of the variants in *Žitija Kirilla i Mefodija*.

[32] See e.g. N. van Wijk, "Zur Rekonstruktion des Urtextes der altkirchenslavischen Vita Constantini", *Zeitschrift fur slavische Philologie* 17 (1941), № 2, pp. 272–284; *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses. Fontes*, edd. F. Grivec, F. Tomšič (Zagreb, 1960), p. 84, and more recently G. Ziffer, "Appunti sul problema della contaminazione nella letteratura slava ecclesiastica", in: *Contributi italiani al XII Congresso internazionale degli slavisti*, a cura di F. Esvan (Napoli, 1998), pp. 131–146.

[33] This also refutes the idea of Kyas, according to whom no. 1 "mají jen význam doplňující a pomocný, protože obsahují mladší zásahy do textu ve veliké míře" (V. Kyas, "Zásady rekonstrukce textu Života Konstantinova", in: *Studia palaeoslovenica* (Praha, 1971), pp. 195–200).

[34] See Diddi, "Materiali e ricerche" VI, pp. 206–207.

фантъ), terms (e.g. 4:2 хѫдожьствѡ̑ → ѫченїемъ, 4:8 скоро̑ → хитры̑, 15:10 вельглави → велегливи) or syntagms (e.g. 3:21 въ оумыніє велико в'паде → въ ѫченїе велико възниде)[35]. These interventions are far from frequent and some of them may be no more than coincidental, independent in B and F. A collation of F with an A text, often postulated, must be excluded[36]; in comparison to no. 1, no. 36 attests a number of better readings[37].

Of all the branches of C, the junior hyparchetype ν is both the best attested (17 witnesses) and textually the most diverse. At an early stage, it split into two branches C^1 and C^2, the former more faithful to the wording of C, the latter subject to more intensive copy-editing, leading to frequent and repeated interventions[38].

C^1 is the hyparchetype of nos. 7, 39, 41, 42, 46, 48, 49, 52–54, which are united by a fair number of errors, even if subsequently corrected independently in one or more witnesses (particularly no. 39)[39]. Among the first to separate from the prototype of C^1 was no. 17, which retains a more conservative text than the others (see above). After this split, a new junior hyparchetype emerges (ρ), which in turn splits into ρ^1 (comprising nos. 46 48 54) and ρ^2 (comprising nos. 49, 52, 53)[40].

Branch C^2 is headed by a protograph which exhibits consistent copy-editing, as the result of which a number of errors inherited from ν (and C) have been eliminated in various ways[41]. The active copy-editing also yields frequent interpolations and lexical substitutions (e.g. 8:15 молитвоу̑ держа → молитвѫ̀ твора; 8:24 кирїе елеисонъ (*et var.*) →

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[35] Inexplicably, the copyist of F prefers the secondary ѫченїе to the genuine оумыніє (αC), but finding the expression въ ѫченїе впаде of his collation source (=ABH) inappropriate, he adapts the verb by conjecture.

[36] The few (doubtful) readings shared with A are examined in Diddi, "Materiali e ricerche" VI, p. 206.

[37] Ibid., p. 208.

[38] Scholarship was long aware of only 3 manuscripts of C (nos. 2 7 15), which belong precisely to the latter branch. This explains why the entire group was long considered 'innovative' and of little value for the *restitutio textus* (Kyas).

[39] See Diddi, "Materiali e ricerche" VI, pp. 208–209.

[40] Ibid., pp. 210–212.

[41] Ibid., pp. 212–213.

господи помилоуи), clearly not motivated by previous mistakes and at times coinciding with the tradition of B[42]. These innovations are not uniformly represented in the manuscripts: some are entered in the text, others remain in the margin, yet others are not copied at all (e.g. 2:2 другарескъ → другарескъ + *gloss* сотническыи nos. 18, 39, дроугаремъ) + *gloss* дроугарескыи no. 15, сотническыи no. 2, 7, 33, 40)[43]; apparently copies of C^2 retained some of these readings as marginal glosses, which were treated differently from one witness to the next.

Finally, it should be noted that the two branches of ν converge in the late manuscript no. 39 which, although dependent from C^1, contains some two hundred variants and glosses (marginal and interlinear) from C^2 (the most recent from the junior hyparchetype σ, the ancestor of nos. 2, 33, 40) and is thus deeply contaminated[44].

The Relationship of the South and East Slavonic Traditions

The existence of two main branches of the tradition, one localised in the Balkans (α = DE), the other in the East Slavonic area (ABCH), has in time raised the question whether there is a corresponding ancient text-critical split and, if so, what their relationship is (filiation of one from the other or dependence on a common archetype)? A full discussion of these and other issues in the early history of *VC* will, of course, be provided by the forthcoming critical edition and commentary to the text. Nevertheless, the results of the present philological analysis permit us to state some general considerations on the relationship of the Serbian and Russian tradition, which can also serve to refute a stemmatic hypothesis launched in some recent studies, according to which the South Slavonic tradition would depend on a vaguely defined East Slavonic protograph[45].

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[42] Ibid., pp. 214–215.

[43] Ibid., pp. 215–218.

[44] On the complex editing of no. 39, in which it is possible to identify different layers of innovations, see ibid., pp. 217–220.

[45] It should be pointed out that the following considerations, discussed at length with the co-editor, M. Capaldo, and in general shared by him (but cautiously not subscribed to in this preliminary phase of the investigation), remain the responsibility of the present author and are, of necessity, provisional. Still, they should be voiced here because they are intimately connected to what has been stated so far and because they clarify the interpretations of some variants given above.

In the profile of α, mention was made of numerous errors and secondary readings, hailing from the South Slavonic protograph. These errors, as we have seen, are absent from the Russian witnesses (ABCH), with which α shares only a few errors presumably inherited from a common archetype[46]. On the other hand, the witnesses of ABCH are linked by a number of errors and secondary variants which go back to a common protograph, which we shall call β; these variants, it should be noted, are proper to the East Slavonic, but not to the South Slavonic tradition[47].

Having thus disposed of the errors of α, we shall now turn to a pair of corruptions in the East Slavonic protograph β and examine them in greater detail in order to refute the hypothesis of filiation β → α.

15:8–9 бѣхоу же се г҃люще [*var.* сьпричестници, фражестїи] архиереи, иереи и оученици. и брав же се сь ними ꙗко дв҃ь сь иноплѣмен҃никы, книжними словеси побѣ҃жь ѥ, нарече ѥ триєзыч҃никы α : събравше сѧ съ ними... BC, собраша сѧ *vel* събра же с ними... H, *om.* A

The dispute of Costantine and the Latin hierarchs is here likened to that of David and the Philistines (1–2 Sam). After the introduction (*'Saying this then were the Latin and Frankish bishops, priests and [their] disciples...'*), the Serbian manuscripts give the correct verb бьрати сѧ 'fight', referring to the Philosopher and preceded by the conjunction и, and we translate *'and having fought with them as David with the foreigners, having defeated them with the words of Scripture, he called them trilinguists'*. The Russian manuscripts have an erroneous reading: instead of и бьрати they give a participle of събрати 'gather' with a

[46] The existence of a single archetype before ABCH DE G (and other Cyrillic excerpts) should, generally speaking, be taken for granted, but the hypothesis has never been seriously tested. Even if we must postpone this specific discussion, we can still assign to the origin of the tradition (ω) an error cited in the profile of group C (14:12 *оумемь → оумомь); another error common to all witnesses and ascribable to ω is e.g. 15:10 аще чл҃ка оубиѥть кто, три месаца да пиѥть въ древанѣ чашѣ, where чл҃ка is an evident corruption, variously emended by commentators (чл҃къ ← *ѭ҃-ѧ ← **ꙗ҃-ѧ [i.e. ъь-ѣ-ѧ] – Hamm; чл҃къ ← *члькъ – Mareš).

[47] See the discussion of these readings in Diddi, "Materiali e ricerche" II, pp. 89 sgg.

secondary adaptation *singular* → *plural*, referring no longer to Constantine but to the Latins. It is interesting to note that the change of subject created a logico–syntactic *non sequitur*, събравше сѧ съ ними... нарече ѥ [?!], but it provoked no substantial correction in any of the East Slavonic groups[48].

The error of the Russian witnesses is certainly old and can be related to a copy written in Glagolitic, where – *scriptio continua* complicating matters – initial *i* was mirrored ⱘ → ⱙ and complemented with metathesis ⱗⰰ- → -ⰰⱗ-: ⱘⱗⰰⱐⱍⱏⱍⰰⰾⰰⱙⰵ → ⱙⰰⱗⱐⱍⱏⱍⰰⰾⰰⱙⰵ. In a second round, the verb was adapted to the preceding context (бѣхоу же се гл҃ющε…) in number събравъ же сѧ → събравше сѧ, in comparison to which the reading of H (совраша сѧ → събра же) seems to reflect yet another adaptation[49].

16:49 можете бо по ѥдїномꙋ пророчьствовати в҃си. да вси (†...†) оучѣшет҃ се. и дс҃и пр҃рчьсцїи пр҃ркомъ повиноуют҃ се α : можете бо по ѥдиномоу вси пр҃рчьствовати. да вси оучать сѧ и вси пророчьстїи пророкомъ повинують сѧ β [cf. I Cor 14:32: Δύνασθε γὰρ καθ’ ἕνα πάντες προφητεύειν, ἵνα πάντες μανθάνωσιν καὶ πάντες παρακαλῶνται. καὶ πνεύματα προφητῶν προφῆταις ὑποτάσσεται].

The different groups exhibit an interesting degradation of the Pauline quotation due to the anaphoric use of вьси (gr. πάντες) with different results in α and β. In α the repetition of вьси leads to a classic *saut du même au même*: да вси <оучать сѧ и вси> оучѣшет҃ се – ἵνα πάντες <μανθάνωσιν καὶ πάντες> παρακαλῶνται. In β it leads to the levelling дс҃и → вси (mirroring Glagolitic ѣ → ⱏ seems here more unlikely), yielding nonsensical вси пр҃рчьсцїи, subsequently corrected in C *ope ingenii* to вси пр҃рци.

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[48] Group A here has a lengthy *lacuna* and cannot be used; however its kinship with BCH, with which it shares many other errors, is beyond doubt.

[49] The apparatus to the critical edition of H (M. Capaldo, “Materiali e ricerche, IV. Edizione della redazione vaticana”, *Ricerche slavistiche* 3(49), (2005), pp. 63–151) restitutes 15:9 събра же, not совраша. The dynamics of the error reconstructed here do not contradict the hypothesis, as both forms can be derived from the prototype of H. In any case, any adaptation in H is *posterior* to the error и вь- → съв-, inherited from β and attested everywhere in H.

> Although the passage reproduces an easily recognizable Biblical quotation and should be readily emendable by an attentive copyist, the mechanical nature of the textual transmission both in the Serbian and the Russian area preserves inherited wording (no wonder a conjectural (mis)emendation is found only in C, marked as it is by more intensive copy-editing than elsewhere). This is confirmed by the fact that both branches transmit two different types of errors, which arose independently and went unnoticed afterwards: on the one hand an omission caused by an error of reading or memory (α), on the other a mechanical substitution (β).

The analysis of these variants, to which many more can be added, thus suggests a bipartition of the early textual tradition of *VC*, coinciding with the geographical diffusion of the text (Balkans and Rus'). This excludes in our opinion the dependence of one of the two branches on the other, in particular dependence of the South Slavonic tradition on an East Slavonic protograph[50]. Such hypothesis would, in fact, require the errors of β to be older than those of α (i.e. to be errors of the archetype) and to have been emended (*ope codicum* or *ope ingenii*) in the protograph of the South Slavonic tradition: given the absence of any linguistic or philological corroborating evidence, such reasoning (which is fully reversible, i.e. α → β) must be considered unjustified, unmethodical and, consequently, unacceptable.

The degree of differentiation of the various groups suggests that the separation of the Serbian and Russian ancestors took place at a very early date and that this separation was maintained even after. The antiquity of the separation is also confirmed by a series of errors of α against β (and β against α) which belong either to the Glagolitic phase of transmission, or to the transcription of the text from Glagolitic into Cyrillic. This question, so far neglected in research, will be treated in detail in a forthcoming study. The recognition of a Glagolitic substratum in the transmission of the text, however, should not lead us to jump to conclusions as to the time or place of origin of the archetype (or the original) of *VC*; better-founded hypotheses must wait until our work is concluded.

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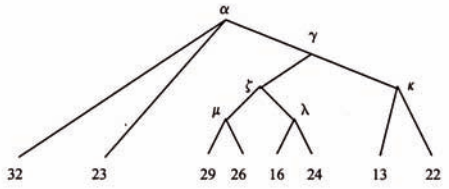
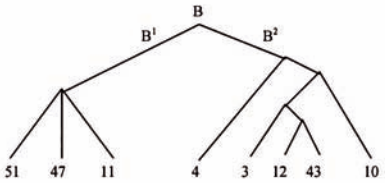
[50] See Дж. Дзиффер, "Рукописная традиция пространного жития Константина", *Советское славяноведение* 3 (1991), pp. 59–63, p. 61; Dž. Dziffer, "La tradizione russa sud-occidentale della Vita Constantini", in: *Studi slavistici offerti a Alessandro Ivanov* (Udine, 1992), pp. 370–397, p. 371.

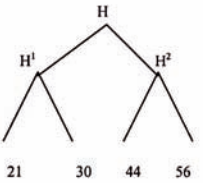
APPENDIX: STEMMA CODICUM



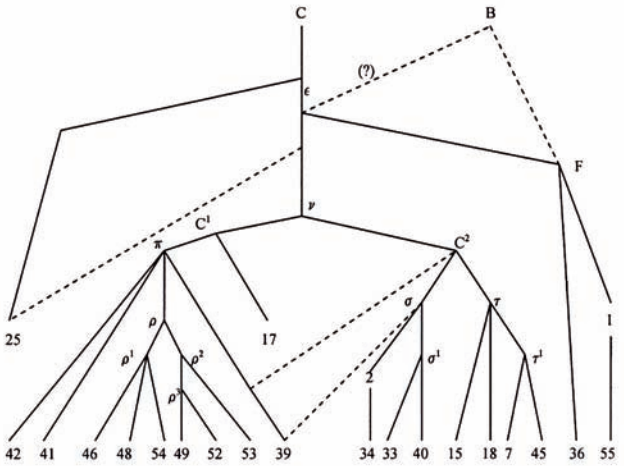
South Slavonic Tradition (α)



Menologium for February (B)



'Vatican Redaction' (H)



Miscellanies (C)

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF THE *VC*

1 Moskva, RGB, *MDA* (f. 173) Nº 19 15th c., ff. 365r-389v	16Prorok.-Tolk	C (F)
2 SPb., RNB, *Sof.* Nº 1288 (478) 15th c., ff. 25r-82v	Sbornik	C
3 Moskva, RGB, *MDA* (f. 173) Nº 63 17th c., ff. 99r-120r	MenFeb	A/B
4 Moskva, GIM, *Sin.* Nº 789 (991) 16th c., ff. 455v-466v	VMČ-Feb	B
5 Moskva, GIM, *Sin.* Nº 785 (987) 16th c., ff. 443r-457v	VMČ-Oct	A
6 Moskva, RGB, *Ios.-Vol.* (f. 113) Nº 193 (591) 15th c., ff. 307r-330v	Men-Oct	A
7 Moskva, RGB, *Und.* (f. 310) Nº 330 17th c., ff. 1r-28r	–	C
8 SPb., RNB, *Novg.-Sof.* Nº 1318 16th c. (1541), ff. 292r-299r	MenOct	A
9 SPb., RNB, *Kir.-Bel.* N° 14/1253 17th c., ff. 93v-122r	MenOct	A
10 Moskva, RGB, *TSL* (f. 304) Nº 674 (411) 17th c., ff. 108v-140r	MenFeb	B
11 Moskva, GIM, *Čud.* Nº 801 (179) 16th c., ff. 642v-658v	VMČFeb	B
12 Moskva, GIM, *Čud.* Nº 311 (9) 17th c. (1600), ff. 368v-399r	MenFeb	B
13 Rila Man., Nº 4/8 15th c. (1479), ff. 571v-584r	Panegirik	D (E)
14 SPb., RNB, *Sol.* Nº 509/528 (626) 16th c., ff. 107r-127v	MenFeb	A/B
15 Moskva, RGB, *OIDR* (f. 205) Nº 342 16th c., ff. 1r-24r	–	C
16 Moskva, RGADA, *Sin. Tip.* (f. 381) Nº 57 (420) 17th c., ff. 182r-198r	ČM-Dm.Rostovskij	D
17 SPb., RNB, *Vjaz.* Q. 10 16th c., ff. 245r-264r	Sbornik	C
18 SPb., BAN, *Nikol'skij* Nº 264 16th c., ff. 272r-318r	Sbornik	C
19 Moskva, RGB, *Olon.* (f. 212) Nº 9 15-16th c., ff. 77r-96v	Men-Oct	A
20 SPb., RNB, *Sol.* Nº 502/521 (olim 621) 17th c., ff. 222r-258v	Men-Oct	A
21 Roma, BAV, *Vat. sl.* Nº 12 17th c., ff. 82r-105r	Sbornik	H
22 Zagreb, HAZU, III.a.47 15th c. (1469), ff. 722v-736v	Panegirik	D (E)
23 L'vov, BN, *Petr.* Nº 8 16th c., ff. 173r-196v	Sbornik	D
24 L'vov, BN, *Petr.* Nº 9 17-18th c., ff. 1r-34r	–	D

25 Moskva, GIM, *Bars.* Nº 619 15th c., ff. 250v-267r	TolkPal	C
26 Hilandar Man., Nº 444 17th c. (1625-26), ff. 105v-139r	MenFeb	D
27 SPb., RNB, *Sof.* Nº 1385 15th c. (1490), ff. 147v-174v	MenOct	A
28 SPb., RNB, *Sol.* Nº 503/522 (olim 619) 15th c. (1494), ff. 197r-237v	MenOct	A
29 Bucureşt, Acad., Nº 135 17th c., ff. 125r-153v	Sbornik	D
30 SPb., RNB, *Pog.* Nº 957 15-16th c., ff. 393r-410r	Sbornik	H
31 SPb., RNB, *Pog.* Nº 1131 16th c., ff. 296r-330r	Sbornik	A
32 Beograd, Patr. Bibl., Nº. 282 16th c. (1598), ff. 305v-331v	Panegirik	D
33 SPb., RNB, *Sof.* Nº 1356 16th c., ff. 520r-555r	Sbornik	C
* 34 SPb., RNB, *Kir.-Bel.* Nº 57/1134 16th c., ff. 27r-87r (*descriptus*)	Sbornik	C
35 SPb., RNB, *Sol.* Nº 501/520 (620) 16th c., ff. 212r-244r	MenOct	A
36 SPb., RNB, F.I. Nº 738 16th c., ff. 415r-426r	Sbornik	C (F)
37 Moskva, GIM, *Sin.* Nº 795 (175) 16th c., ff. 481r-495r	VMČ-Oct	A
38 SPb., RNB, *Sof.* Nº 1335 16th c., ff. 220v-240r	Men-Oct	A
39 SPb., RNB, *Sof.* Nº 1455 16th c., ff. 123r-156r	Sbornik	C
40 SPb., RNB, *Sof.* Nº 1307 16th-17th c., ff. 150r-202r	Sbornik	C
41 SPb., BAN, *Arch. D.* Nº 242 17th c., ff. 428r-449v	Sbornik	C
42 SPb., RNB, *Sol.* Nº 849 (959) 17th c., ff. 59r-73r	Sbornik	C
43 Moskva, GIM, *Uvar.* Nº 1042 (Car 702) 17th c., ff. 426r-463r	MenFeb	B
44 Vilnius, CBAN, Nº 80 17th c., ff. 487v-505v	Sbornik	H
45 Moskva, RGB, *Tichonr.* (f. 299) Nº 145 17th c., ff. 1r-51r + Moskva, RGADA, *Maz.* 1397 + *Maz.* 1320, 17th c., ff. 1r-3r, 1r-47v	Sbornik	C
46 Moskva, RGB, *Rogož.* (f. 247) Nº 636 17th c., ff. 137r-185r	Sbornik	C
47 Moskva, GIM, *Bars.* Nº 1647 17th-18th c., ff. 82v-99v	MenFeb	B
48 SPb., BAN, *Arch.* (f. 1) D. Nº 236 17th c., ff. 430r-464r	Sbornik	C
49 Moskva, RGB, *Egor.* N° 167 16th c., ff. 210r-258r	Sbornik	C
50 Moskva, RGB, *Egor.* Nº 314 16th c., ff. 334v-361r	Sbornik	A
51 Moskva, RGB, *Egor.* Nº1144 17th c., ff. 268r-291r	MenFeb	B
52 Moskva, RGB, *Stroev* Nº 25 17th c. (1625), ff. 194r-225v	MenFeb	C

53 SPb., BAN, f. 75 Belokr. Nº 13, 16th c., ff. 64r-125v	Sbornik	C
54 SPb., BAN, *Arch.* (f. 1) D. Nº 145 16th c., ff. 76r-123r	Sbornik	C
*55 SPb., RNB, Q.I.1135 16th c., ff. 440r-484r (*descriptus*)	Sbornik	C (F)
56 SPb., RNB, *Otdel redkich knig*, I.1.29, 16th c. (1580), ff. 243r-261r	Sbornik	H
57 SPb., RNB, F.I.891, 16th c., ff. 67v-94v	Sbornik	B/C

ON THE 'SECOND' SERVICE FOR ST. CYRIL THE PHILOSOPHER

Boyka Mircheva

In the medieval Slavic literatures there is a service for St. Cyril the Philosopher, the text of which is nearly identical in all existing manuscript copies. This service will be referred to here as the 'first service'. Over the past few decades, however, two more hymnographic works dedicated to St. Cyril have been discovered which contain completely different texts from that of the first service. The first of these is another service for St. Cyril, found in two manuscript copies. One of the copies is part of a fifteenth-century festal menaion in the collection of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (BAS 23), the text of which was published by Bonyu Angelov in 1957 (Ангелов 1957: 283–289). The second copy, which was reported first by Klimentina Ivanova (Иванова 1991: 14), is in another fifteenth-century festal menaion, from St. Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai (Sinai 25). The manuscript is unpublished; a microfilm copy is kept in the State Archives Agency in Sofia and in the Library of the BAS. The service for St. Cyril that appears in these two copies will be referred to here as the 'second service'.

The second recently discovered hymnographic work, the text of which differs from both the first and the second service for St. Cyril, is Cod. slav. 32 (1025/34), a seventeenth-century Slavic manuscript in the collection of the Bavarian National Library (Munich) that was discovered and later published by Klimentina Ivanova (Иванова 1992 (I): 16–32; (II): 37–40). This manuscript will be referred to here as 'Bavarian'.

This study focuses on the main textual differences between the first and second services, and on the textual variations between the two manuscripts containing the second service, BAS 23 and Sinai 25.

Sinai 25 contains the following title for the service: Вь· д҃і· дн҃ь· ст҃го· кнр҃нла· фнл҆ософа· w҃ца н҃ше (sic!) константнна· н ст҃го мр҃тнна н ст҃го кнр҃нла Вь лѣ҃· а҃·т҃·о҃·ѕ҃· (6377/869) w҃ съ҆ѕ҆анна вьсего мр҃а· вѣ҃· на г҃н вьѕв҆а҃· w҃· а҃· н по҃є҃· стр҃ы· г҃· по в҃· гла҃· д҃· (f. 214r). The mention

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in the title of the precise year of St. Cyril's death (869) shows that the author of the second service was well aware of both the historical facts about Cyril, and the text of the *Vita Constantini*. However, BAS 23, the other copy of the second service, includes a reading (the so-called "Dormition of St. Cyril"), containing the formula Почи же констан-тинь (sic!) нарꙋ́нꙗнн кꙋрилъ лѣтомь сн· мв· лѣ̂ въ дї дн̑ь мц̂а фр̑фра(sic!)· ннь дн̑ка· в̑· ѿ тꙗ̀рн в̀сего мнр̀а· е̑·т̑·о̑·ѕ̑· (6377/869) (f.175v; see also Снегаров 1954: 162) The occurrence of the "Dormition of St. Cyril" in BAS 23 suggests that this same reading originally appeared in the protograph to Sinai 25. This would explain the text of the title of the service in Sinai 25.

Both copies of the second service contain the three evening stichera on "Господи въꙁꙁвахъ", which also occur in the first service. These are followed by troparion No 41a, according to the numbering system used by Bozhidar Raykov (Райков 1969: 203–218), which I have adopted in my research (Мирчева 2001). In BAS 23 and Sinai 25, this text is the first troparion of the third ode. In the copy of the service of St. Cyril in the thirteenth-century Zograph (Draganov) Menaion this troparion takes the place of the photagogikon (Александров 1893: 11):

Sinai 25 (f. 215r-215v), BAS 23 (f.174r), third ode, first troparion:	Zograph (Draganov) Menaion, photagogikon:
41a. Пр̑ѣ̂ бг̑омь с̑т̑е сѷ́онꙉа жнтнє̂ сн̑̀· к̀ꙉнгы̀ вьнѷ́ма́ıе фнлософьсѷ́нıє̂· т̀ꙉмь просвѣ́тн д̑ш̑е· ѷ́ днвн̂ се ѷ́сп̀льнь̂ бж̑нѣ́ ꙁакона̂· кꙋ̈рнлѣ́ д̑о̂слав̀ꙉє ·:~	41a. Пр̑ѣ̂ бг̑омь с̑т̑е сконꙋа жнтнꙉе своꙉе· кннгамь вънимаꙉѫ фнлософьскы· тѣмъ просвѣтн сѧ д̑ша твоꙉѧ· н ѩвї сѧ въ ѷ́сплънєннꙉе бн̑ѧго раꙁоꙋма· кнрнлє достоχвалнє·:·

The next chant in the vespers, the verse sticheron (the term used in the services of the Stoudite Typikon), appears in both Sinai 25 and BAS 23. Its text differs from the well-known verse sticheron of the first Service for St. Cyril, which is found in three manuscript copies of the service and which, as Konstantinos Nichoritis notes, had been borrowed from the service for St. Auxentios (Нихоритис 1991: 76). This text is part of a 'second set' of vespers stichera for the same feast. We find them also in Khludov 164 (Мирчева 2001: 250), at the beginning

of the service, as the second vespers stichera of Господи въззвахъ. In this manuscript, the ‘second set’ of vespers stichera precedes the usual vespers stichera of the first service, which are referred to in the manuscript as “stichera for comline”. The same stichera are found in a seventeenth-century copy in the collection of the Romanian Academy of Sciences, RAS 717 (Стойкова 2000: 229, f. 85v), followed, as in Khludov 164, by the kanon from the first service. In BAS 23 and Sinai 25, however, the ‘second set’ of vespers stichera are followed by the kanon from the second service.

It could be that this sticheron was borrowed and revised from the 2 December service for St. Akindynos and companions, where the following text appears (fifteenth-century service menaion for December, Troitsko-Sergievskaja Lavra 493, kept at the Russian State Library in Moscow, at f. 12v):

BAS 23 (f.173v), Sinai 25 (f. 214v) verse sticheron:	Khludov 164 (f.131r), second vespers sticheron:	Service of St. Akyindynos (2 Dec.) second vespers sticheron:
Гл҃а· д҃· Нн гладь нн напасть· нн стр҃ть нн дроугаꙗ моука прпо҃бне тебе w҃лоуунть w҃ хс҃ бс҃ нашего не вьзможе· ꙗко храберь сйн· ѣретнги низложн· жзыкомь бл҃жене· бг҃одх҃новене w҃врьзь книгамн дв҃рн ц҃ртвнꙗ прѣмоудре:~	(гл҃а· д҃·) Ннї гладьь, ннї напасть ннї наготѫ нн страсть· ннї стрьганнѧ мѫ҃кнї прѣпо҃бне· тебе не разлоуун w҃ любвє бж҃ие ѣрет҃н низложивь· ѣзыкы варварьскыѥ· н странамь бл҃женѣне, н бг҃одх҃овне w҃врьзы книгамн дьврн ц҃рт҃выѧ бл҃жене Кѵ̈рле:~	стр҃ы гл҃а д҃· по҃· ꙗко д҃о҃ Нн гл҃а нѣ бѣда· нѣ животъ нн же см҃рть нн коноблаꙗ врѧнїа· нѣ земленнѧ ѩропастн· нѣ же звѣрина оуста·разлоуунтн възмогоша любвє х҃вы· ваша терпѣнномѫ дреныа доблестн· к нему бо непрѣстанно взнрающеѧ, враждоующїї нх побѣдисте:~

This argument is supported by a study of a vespers hymn following the short doxology that appears only in RAS 717, which Ana Stoykova has identified with the second vespers sticheron for St. Onesimus (15 February) in NBKM 895, a late thirteenth-century service menaion for December–February kept at the SS. Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia (Стойкова 2000: 228):

RAS 717 (f.85v):	NBKM 895 (f.82v):
Свободнѫ волеѫ· дш҃е самоволнаѫ· доброродневь вѣрн просвѣтнмь· земннѫ те прѣмѫдре Кнрнле· работн ѿложн· нбо дх҃овно внѫ своѫ прѣклонн· тѣмь прѣтеуе оумнѣ· нз работн ук҃н нзбавлѣѫ· н прѣводѧ свобо҃женнѧ бго҃ть:~	Свободные воле дш҃е самовольное· доброродьства вѣры просвѣщаѥмь· земальные работы прѣмоудре ѿложн· н кь ѣрмоу хр҃воу выю свою поклонн· тѣмь прнтеуе оумно нз работы ук҃кы нзабвлѣые· н проводе свобожденніемь бл҃тнн:~

At the end of the vespers, Sinai 25 includes the apolysis ѿ пелень прнлежно прѣмѫдро҃· сестрѫ себе сьтворн (ff. 214r–215v), which is well known from other copies, but which is not included in BAS 23.

Troparion No 41b (Мирчева 2001: 164), which is written as a photagogikon in two copies of the 'first' service, is also part of the second 'set' of vespers stichera found in Khludov 164 and RAS 717. In the 'second' service of Sinai 25 and BAS 23, this troparion occurs after the three main stichera as a vespers glory:

Sinai 25 (f. 214v), BAS 23 (f. 173v), vespers glory:	Khludov 166 (f. 102r), NBKM 895 (f. 82v) photagogikon; Khludov 164 (f. 131r), RAS 717 (f. 85v) first vespers sticheron:
41b. Вьснѣ ѣко слн҃це лоуѵамн прѣ҃ѵннмн· ѣко дроугн wбрѣте се павель прѣмоудре· wбьходе вьсоу вьселенноую бж҃нємь словомь просвѣтн wмраченныѫ ѫзыкн кннгамн· нстое прѣ҃лагаѫ бл҃жен'не бж҃нємь оуученнємь· ст҃ыѫ кннгн· ѥзыкн гл҃ѧ ѣко а҃пль:~	41b. Вьснѣавь ѣко сл҃нце лоуѵамн прнтьѵнамн· ѣко дроугын обрѣте се, прѣмоудре· прѣнде бо вселеноую б҃жнємь словомь просвѣтн омраченне ѥзыѵное кннгамн· вь сто (sic!) прѣдлагае с҃пные блажене б҃жнемь оуученніемь· ст҃ые кннгы ѥзыкы г҃ле ѣко а҃пль ⁘

Troparion No 41c is a photagogikon for both services, and is found in the ‘first’ service in Khludov 164 (Мирчева 2001: 257). In essence, this troparion is a glory for the Holy Mother, and thus it is doubtful that it was part of the original contents (also Стойкова 2000: 222–223):

Sinai 25 (f. 216r), BAS 23 (f. 176v) photagogikon:	Khludov 164 (f. 132v) photagogikon:
41c. Оўчещоу бжѐствьно ѡ҃ гн̀· прѣславно вь цр̀кви до҃нно· ѡ́троцн іеврен̀сцн гла҃а҆хоу· како сн̀ книгн оу҆мѣю́ть не наоучивь са҃· како прѣмд҃рость бжнѣ҃ і҆е҃ на немь· вь вѣкы̀ нераzлоучнма:~	41c. Вь цр̀кви бжѐствьнѣн· н іеврѣнстн ѿроун дв̀ѣ҃· како сьн книгн· вѣсть неоучивні гла҃хоу, како прѣмоудр҃ѡ҃ бжн і҆е҃ соуща· ѿ ба҃ в вкы нераzлоучи҃мь і҆е҃·:·

Here it should be mentioned that the ‘second’ set of vespers stichera includes an additional sticheron that appears in Khludov 164 (Мирчева 2001: 250) and RAS 717 (Стойкова 2000: 229):

Khludov 164 (f. 131r), third vespers sticheron:	RAS 717 (f. 85v), third vespers sticheron:
Сладо҃ вѣрою бжіхь словесь н жнтніе паче словесе· н радѡстнаѧ҃ свѣтлость· ѹ҆ѡ҃весь ты оучнтелю҃· оумекн҃ун многнмь· вьсѣмь вьzлюбл҃ен҃не· любв҃е ты шнротоу к҃то нсповѣсть· с҃мѣренніѧ҃ бо высотꙑ̀· прѣмо҃д҃рѡ҃ бе҃zну:~	Радостнт҃ н красотот҃· бжнхь словесь жнтніе паче ѡблчун· н радостнт҃ н свѣтлостн· ючдесн тн оучнтелю· оумѣкьун мноѫ҃ н въсѣмь въzлюблена ѥвнль та҃ е҃· любнв҃ шнротѧ҃· н прѣмд҃рос҃тн бе҃zнт҃:~

Only Khludov 164 also contains a vespers glory in the sixth tone. The glory precedes the vespers verse stichera of the ‘first’ set: Сла҃ гл҃ ·е҃:~ Ѥзыкомь новй҃ а҃пль бы҃· пнсмене оукрашаю҃· ѩко же небо zвѣzамні· н вь раzоумь вьведе вьсь мꙋ́рь· н Павлу ѩвы се реѣнн

пⷪбнникь· и крⷭтостью Мѡ́сеѡвы· законодавьць такоⷢе ꙗвн ꙗзыкьꙑ новоⷥванемь на свⷮ· Кѵ́риле прⷮмⷪдре· ѿблиста оучениⷦмь· ѡ́мрачена́на сⷪца грⷯхмꙑ· тⷮ же нї прилежно́ пⷪлн се:~ (Мирчева 2001: 250–251). The reference to ‘newly enlightened people’ in this sticheron raises the question whether it was originally part of the service for St. Cyril.

In the matins there are specific compositional differences between the two copies of the ‘second’ service. In Sinai 25, the kanon, which is written in the eighth tone (cf. the ‘first’ kanon for St. Cyril, which is in the fourth tone), also contains the second ode. In Ivanova’s opinion (Ivanova 1985), it is possible that the second ode was added later for a more major feast and in connection with the Great Lent cycle.

In general, it can be argued that there are two variants of the service to St. Cyril, which differ in both the evening and the morning portions. Stoykova has written:

“Borrowing certain chants from one service into the other is evidence of the long-term interrelation of the two works from early on. The inclusion of the evening stichera in the text of the ‘second’ service, (in Sinai 25 and BAS 23); the compilation of the service in RAS 717 from the evening stichera of the ‘second’ service and the kanon of the’ first’ service; the use of the first evening stichera from the ‘second’ service as a photagogikon in NBKM 895; the inclusion of a troparion from the ‘second’ service as a photagogikon in the ‘first’ service from the thirteenth-century Draganov Menaion; and the borrowing of one theotokion from the ‘second’ service into the ‘first’ one, as reflected in the newly-discovered copy from the Church Historical and Archival Institute (№ 113, 17th c.) are phenomena that should draw scholars’ attention to the study of the cult of Constantine-Cyril... That both services belong to the distant past is beyond doubt and raises the question of their authorship and the chronology of their respective origins.” (Стойкова 2000: 219).

The more important question is whether the second text of the service of St. Cyril is original. Unfortunately, I am still not in a position to give a definitive answer to this question; I can only share some of my observations that give rise to certain doubts about its originality.

First, I would like to draw attention to the borrowing of stichera from other works. The title text of the kanon in RAS 717 gives evidence of a different kanon, since it contains the note ‘Kosmas’. As Stoykova points out, this is the usual way in which the authors of the kanons (or of the *heirmoi*) are mentioned in later copies of the Slavonic translations (Стойкова 2000: 227). How this name is related

to the text is still not clear. It is possible that the name of the author was written in the antigraph from which the 'second' set of evening stichera was borrowed into RAS 717.

Doubt as to the originality of the 'second' service is also confirmed by the existence of the third text of a service for St. Cyril, which I have found to be a revised translation of the Greek service according to the Jerusalem Typikon. This is the Service for St. Cyril the Philosopher, in a manuscript from the third quarter of the seventeenth century, at the fund of the Bavarian National Library (Cod. Slav. 32 (1025/34), published by K. Ivanova (Иванова 1992 (I): 21–32). Its heading is: Мц҃а фєв҃ра҃ïа (sic!) д҃і с҃т҃го Кѵ̈р҃ïла фнлософа. As Ivanova points out, this service is 'composed according to the requirements of the Jerusalem Typikon, and is an example of a hymnographic work, intended for a holiday solemn liturgy. Its author has excellent knowledge of this type of liturgical poetry, which was introduced into Church practice in the fourteenth century through both translated and original services of Patriarch Euthymios and his disciples and followers' (Иванова 1992 (II): 37). Ivanova mentions also that throughout the long history of St. Cyril's fame there is only one parallel service, text No. 323 from the Pogodin collection at the Russian National Library, which was published by Shlyakov, based on a seventeenth-century manuscript (Шляков 1910: 151–187; Иванова 1992 (II): 37).

The Bavarian service contains Small vespers, Great vespers and Matins (orthros). In the vespers, the only chant which is known to us from the other copies of the Service for St. Cyril is the apolysis. The liturgy containes a group of poetic kathismata and litany stichera. As Ivanova claims, 'The headings of the kanon are of great interest, since they indicate the presence of an acrostic: Канѡ҃ с҃т҃м҃ ір҃мо҃· н трр҃е же на в҃і· нмы краєгранесїе снцево в д҃ховнаго пою те Кѵ̈р҃нле.' (Иванова 1992 (I): 26). Ivanova's unsuccessful attempts to find this phrase and the beginning of the troparia lead her to this conclusion:

"Probably the author includes the information about the kanon without keeping to it in the odes. Such cases are not rare in Old Slavonic hymnography. But on the other hand, the unclear indication на в҃і, 'at 12' or 'with 12' does not exclude the hypothesis that the acrostic might be structured in a more complex 'code', involving also some of the initial letters within the verse as a whole. There is another hypothetical explanation, which would be satisfying if we accept that в҃і means not the numeral 12, but в҃жды ('twice'). As I mentioned at the

beginning, most of the troparia have the letters ѿ҃ opposite them, so that it seems the place for the second kanon (which is not obligatory, but is often to be found in services based on the Jerusalem Typikon…) is filled by a repetition of a large part of the single kanon for the service. Thus the use of the preposition 'at' is not very appropriate, nor is the abbreviation к҃г҃ instead ѿ҃... To the specific features of the structure I would add the troparion only for the fourth hymn and the unconventional marking ҁ҃ (*glory?*) next to the last troparia about St. Cyril in the fourth, fifth, and eighth odes" (Иванова 1992 (II): 38).

My comparison of the text from the Bavarian Library with the Slavonic translation of the Service for St. John Chrysostom on 13 November shows that the two texts are identical. In fact, only the apolysis following the third ode and the kontakion after the sixth ode are from the original service of St. Cyril. The oikos is from the Service of St. John Chrysostom. The entire Jerusalem Typikon service has been revised, and St. John's name has been replaced by the name of St. Cyril. The instruction for the Gospel reading for matins on 13 November is preserved from the original text: Стєпе҃ анꙗтнфо҃ ·д҃·го гла҃. про҃ гла҃ д҃· у҃тна прѣ҃ гмь сьмрьть. ҁ҃ блаженъ мѫжь боен се г҃а. єу҃лїе. рс҃ гь своимь оученикѡ҃ азъ есмь двєрь мною аще кто вьнидє҃. ноє҃ г҃і. (Io 10:9) (f. 198v).

The revision of the Service for St. John Chrysostom includes a change in the Old Testament readings, with the exception that the third reading (which, in the monthly services of the Khludov Parimejnik, is a 13 September reference to the reading from Wisdom of Solomon 4:7–15 for 1 September) appears as the third reading in the Service of St. Cyril. The other two readings are, respectively, Wisdom of Solomon 5:15–23; 6:1–3 (for the Saturday before Pentecost) and 3:1–9 (an additional reading for 1 September).

Bavarian Service of St. Cyril (first reading, ff. 194v–195r, Wisdom of Solomon 3:1–9)	Grigorovichev Parimejnik (Рибарова, Хауптова 1998: 407–409, f. 100r-v):
тѫ҃ прѣ҃ дн҃ю и паремїе прѣмѫдрости Соло҃монѣ оучтенїе·	1st September: Wть прѣмѫдрости соломонѫ· у҃тє҃·:
1. Праведн҃їихъ д҃ше вь рѹцѣ бж҃їи· и҆ не прикосотнет се и҆хъ мука҃· 2. непщеванїи бы҃ше вь ѳу҃їю	1. Праведныхъ д҃шѫ вь рѫцѣ бж҃ии и҆ прикоснетъ сѧ имъ мѫка·: 2. непщеванн бъишѫ въ ѹ҃ню

безѕ҃мны҃ оу҃мрѣтн· и҆ вьмѣнн се зл҃оба и҆сх҃о́дь и҃хь·	безоумныхъ оумрѣтн·: и въмѣнн сѧ зл҃оба исходы нхъ·:
3. и҆ е҆́же ѿ на҃ шь҃ствїє ськроу́ше́нїе· о҆нѝ же соуть вь сьмнре́нїн·	3. и ѿ насъ съкроушенне шествне·: ѿнн же сѫтъ въ мнрѣ·:
4. и҆́бо пр҃ѣ̀ ли҃це҃ѣ̀ ѵл҃ѵьскѡ҃ а҃ще и҆ м҃ѕк҃ѕ҃ прїи́мо҃у҃ оу҃пова́нїе и҃хь бесьмрьтїа и҆спль́нь·	4. ибо прѣдъ ѿѵнма ѵл҃вѵъскама·: аще мѫкѫ прнемѧтъ·: оупованне нхъ бесъмрът-и-сплънъ·:
5. и҆ ма́ло҃ нака҃за́нн бы҃ше вели́ка вьспрїи́мо҃у҃·	5. и маломъ каѕанн великаа прнемлѧтъ себѣ·:
6. а҃́ко бь҃ и҆скоусить и҃хь и҆ ѡ҆бре́тѐ и҃хь досто́нны себѣ̀· а҃́ко зла́то вь грьни́ле и҆скоу́сн и҃хь· и҆ а҃́ко вьсесьжже́нїа жрьтвоу прїе́ть и҃хь·	6. ѣко злато въ грънѣїлн·: иск҃ѕ ѣко бъ҃ и҆ск҃ѕсн а·: и ѿбрѣте а достоннъї снлъ а естъ·: и ѣко млокавътомѫ жрътвѫ прнатнѫ·:
7. и҆ вь вре́мѐ посѣще́нїа и҃хь вьсїа́ють· и҆ а҃́ко и҆скрїн по стьбла́їю пото́ко҃у҃·	7. и въ врѣмѧ посѣщенїѣ нхъ въснѣѧтъ·: ѣко нскры по стѣблню прѣтекѫтъ·:
8. соу́дѣть ѣ҆зы́ко҃ѵ҃· и҆ ѡ҆бладаѣть лю́дьмн, и҆ вьщр҃нт се вь ны҃ гь҃ вь вѣ́кы·	8. сѫдятъ ѧзъїкомъ и ѿбладаѣтъ людъмн·: въщр҃нтъ сѧ г҃ь надъ нмн въ вѣкъї·:
9. надѣю́щен се на́ нь ра҃зѕмѣ́ють и҆сти́нѕ· и҆ вѣр҃ны вь лю́бвы пождо́у҃ть ѣ҆го҃· а҃́ко бл҃ть и҆ мл҃ть на прѣподо́бныхь ѣ҆го҃· и҆ посѣще́нїе вь вь и҃збран҃нних ѣ҆го҃ :~	9. надѣѩвъше сѧ на нъ·: разоумѣѧтъ истннѫ·: и вѣрнн любовна прѣбѫдѫтъ въ немъ·: ѣко бл҃годѣть и мостъ на избранъїхъ его·:
Bavarian Service of St. Cyril, 2nd reading: Wisdom of Solomon 5:15–23; 6: 1–3, ff. 195r–195v)	Khludov Parimejnik, Wisdom of Solomon 5:15–23; 6:1–3 (f. 146v–147r)[1]:
	(f. 145v) В нѣ: н҃· Бываѥ҃· Памл҃ стымь мкомь· Нже въ всемъ мнрѣ: Вь сѫ҃· Вѣ҃: ...
Прѣмѕдростн Солѡмонѣ уьте(нїе):	(f. 146v) Ѡтъ прѣмѫдро҃: Соломонѫ· Ѵтѣ҃:·в҃·:~
15. Праведнницы вь вѣ́кы жнвоу́ть· и҆ ѿ г҃а мьз҃а и҃хь· и҆	15. Праведнницы въ вѣкы жывѫть· ѿ г҃а мьздa имъ· и строенне имь ѿ вышьнѣго·

[1] This reading is missing in Grigorovichev Parimejnik.

попечєнїє ѝхъ ѿ вы́шняго·	16. сєго ра́ди прнѝмѫ́ть цр҃твнє красотѣ н҃ вѣнєць доброты ѿ рѫ́кы гн҃а· ꙗ҆ко десны́нцєѫ покры́єть ѫ́ ·н҃ мыш҆цєѫ́ защнтнть ѫ́·
16. се́го ра́ди прїѝмоу́ть ц҃р҃твїе бл҃гол҃е́пїа· и҆ вѣн҆ць добро́тн ѿ рою́кы г҃не· ꙗ҆́ко десни́цею покры́еть ѝхъ· и҆ мы́ш҆цею защи́тнть ѝхъ·	17. н҃ прнмѣть рьвєннємь wр҃ѫ́жыє сво́є· и҆ wр҃ѫ́жыємь wс҃ѫ́днть тва́рь· вь мьсть врагомь·
17. прїѝмѣть вьсе́ о҆рою́жїе рьве́нїе є҆го́· и҆ о҆рою́жїе сътво́рнть тва́рь вь мы́сть вра́гѡ́·	18. wблѣчєт с҃а въ брънa правдѣ· и҆ вьзложы шл҃ѣмь сѫ́дъ нелнцемѣрєнь·
18. ѡ҆блѣчє́т҆ се вь бры́нніе пра́вды· и҆ наложе́нть шлие́мь соу́дь нелнцемѣр҆́нь·	19. н҃ прнѝмєть цнть непобѣднмь·
19. прїѝмѣть цни́ть непобѣдни́мь	20. прѣпо҃бнє поѡ҃стрнт҆ же лють гн҃ѣвъ въ wр҃ѫ́жыє· и҆ поборєть с ѝнмь весь мнръ· на безоумн҃нкы·
20. пр҃ѣпо҃бїе поѡ҃стрнт҆ же непостоа҃ гнѣвь· вь о҆рою́жїе побори́ть сь ни́мь мнрь· на безѕмные·	21. н҃ пои́дѫ́ть праволоучн҃ыѫ́ стрѣлы мѫ́ынын· ꙗ҆́ко ѿ wкрѫ́жена лѫ́ка ѿбладн҃а на намєрєннє пер҃е́·
21. понде́ть добролѣ́ные стре́лы мале́нїи́, и҆ ꙗ҆́ко ѿ добра́ кре́га лѣ́на о҆бла́кь· на намѣре́нїе перою́ть·	22. н҃ ѿ каменнѣ праш҆ъ ѣ҆ростн· плънь падє́ гра҃· и҆ вьз҃негоднть же на на вода морьсїа· рѣкы же потопать напрасно·
22. и҆ ѿ каме́нн пра́ш҆ь ѣ҆ро́стн нс҃пльнь па́дѣть гра́ды· и҆ вьзнегоде́ть на́ ны҆ вода҃ мо́р҆ска, рѣ́кы же пои́дою҆ напра́сно·	Wisdom of Solomon 6:1–3:
23. про́тнвѣ станє́ть не҆мь дх҃ь сн́лы· и҆ ꙗ҆́ко мльнїн ражене́ть ѝхъ·	1. слы́шнте оу҆бо́ ц҃рїе и҆ разѣмѣ́нте· навн́кнете соу́дїемь ко́нцѣ҆ зе́мле·
24. и҆ ѿпоу́стнть вьсѣ зе́млю безако́нїе· и҆ зло҆дѣанїе о҆поврьже н҃ пр҃ѣврати́ть пр҃ѣстоль сн́ланы҆·	2. вьноу́шнте дрьжещѣ҆н мнwжьства· и҆ грьде́шен се ѡ҆ народѣ҆ є҆зы́кь·
	3. ꙗ҆́ко дана бы҆ ѿ г҃а дрьжа́ва и҆ сила ѿ вышня҃·⁘
	16. сєго ради прнѝмѫ́ть ц҃р҃твнє красотѣ н҃ вѣнєць доброты ѿ рѫ́кы гн҃а· ꙗ҆́ко десны́нцєѫ покры́єть ѫ́· н҃ мыш҆цєѫ́ зашнтнть ѫ́·
	17. н҃ прнмєть рьвєннємь wр҃ѫ́жыє сво́є· и҆ wр҃ѫ́жыємь wс҃ѫ́днть тва́рь· вь мьсть врагомь·
	18. wблѣчєт с҃а въ брънa правдѣ· и҆ вьзложы шл҃ѣмь сѫ́дъ нелнцемѣрєнь·
	19. н҃ прни́мєть цнть непобѣднмь·
	20. прѣпо҃бнє поѡ҃стрнть же лють гн҃ѣвъ въ wр҃ѫ́жыє· и҆ поборєть с ѝнмь весь мнръ· на безоумн҃нкы·
	21. н҃ пои́дѫ́ть праволоучн҃ыѫ́ стрѣлы мѫ́ынын· ꙗ҆́ко ѿ wкрѫ́жена лѫ́ка ѿбладн҃а на намєрєннє пер҃е́·
	22. н҃ ѿ каменнѣ праш҆ъ ѣ҆ростн· плънь падє́ гра҃· и҆ вьз҃негоднть же на на вода морьсїа· рѣкы же потопать напрасно·
	23. протнвѫ́ станєть и҆мь дх҃ъ снлы҆· ꙗ҆́ко внхорь вьз҃вы́єть ѫ́·
	24. и҆ wпоусты́нть вса зємлѣ· безаконнє снлныхъ· и҆ злодѣянне пр҃ѣврати́ть пр҃ѣстолы снлны́хь·
	Wisdom of Solomon 6:1–3 (Khludov Parimejnik, f. 147r-v)
	1. слышнте ц҃р҃нє и҆ разоумѣи́нте· и҆ навынте са сѫ́дыѫ́ концы землы·
	2. н҃ вноушнте дрьжѫ́щее народы· нбо и҆ грьдящен са ѡ҆

	народѣхъ странѣ҆кыхъ· 3. ꙗ҆ко дано бы҃ ѿ г҃а· ѡ҆дръжанын҆ вамъ· и҆ сила ѿ вышнѣа҆го б҃а:~
Bavarian Service of St. Cyril, third reading:	Khludov Parimejnik, f. 156rv: Ѡ҃ть прѣмр҃дрости соломо҃· ѵ҃тѣ҃· г҃ :~ Правєдн҃ын а҆ще съпостнгнє҃· Пнса҃· Сєк҃та҃· а҃·⁘
Wisdom of Solomon 4:7–15, f. 195v.	Khludov Parimejnik, f. 148v–149r (1 September)
Прѣмѵдро҃тн Соломо҃нѣ. 7. Пра҃вєдникь а҆ще постн҃гнєть сконча҃тн се вь покои҆ѣ҃ бѵдєть҃· 8. старо҃сть бо҃ ѵ҃тна немнѡголѣ҃тнаа· нн҃ вь ѵнслѣ҃ лѣ҃ть н҆҃зьѵє҃тена і҃е· 9. сѣдннн҃ же соѵть мо҃ѵдро҃ ѵ҃лко҃· и҆ вьзра҃сть старо҃стн жнтїе нескврн҃но 10. бл҃гоѵго҃днь б҃вы бы҃вь, вьзлюбли҃єнь бы҃· и҆ жнвїн посрѣ҃ грѣш҃нникь прѣставли҃єнь бы҃· вьсхы҃щєнь бы҃· 11. да не злоба и҆҃змѣнн҃ть разѵ́ма є҆го҃ и҆ла҃ лы́сть прѣльс҃тнть д҃ш8 є҆го҃· 12. рє҃нїе бо҃ зло҃е г8бы́ть добра҆а· и҆ паре҃нїе похо҃тн прѣмѣнлєть ѵ҃мь нєзло҃бнвь· 13. скон҆ча҃в҆ се вь ма҃лѣ и҆спльнн҃т се врѣме҃на дльгаа, 14. ѵ҃годна бо҃ бѣ҃ г҃вн д҃ша є҆го· се҃го ра҆дн потѣ҃ща се ѿ сре҃дн л8ка҃вс҆твїа· лю҆дїе же внд҃вше и҆ не разѵ́мѣв҆ше· нн положи́ше вь помышли҃єнїн тако҃ваго· 15. ꙗ҆́ко бл҃ть и҆ мт҃ь на прѣпо҃бны҆ є҆го҃· и҆ посѣщє҃нїе вь и҆҃збра҃ны҆ є҆го:~	Ѡ҃ прѣмр҃дро҃ соло҃на· ѵ҃тѣ҃ ·д҃·:~ 7. Правєдєнь а҆ще постнгнєть сѩ҃конча҃єт ѿ҃ь· и҆ въ покон б҃р҃дє҃· 8. старость ѵ҃є҃на нь неѩ҃ноголѣтн҃а· н҃р҃ вь ѵнсло лѣ҃· н҆҃зьѵ҃тєна є҃сть· 9. сѣдны же с҃ть мр҃дро҃сть ѵ҃лкѡ҃ѵ· и҆ дѣло старостн жытнїе бескв҃рнѩ҃о· 10. ѡ҃годєнь бго҃вы бы҃· вьзлюбєнъ бы҃ и҆ жывын межѡ҃ѵ грѣш҃нникы· н҆ прѣставл҃єнь бы҃ вьсхыщєнь бы҃· 11. да не злоба н҆҃змѣннть разѡ҃ума є҃го· и҆ла҃ лысть прѣльсн҃ть д҃ша є҃го· 12. рє҃ннє бо злогоѵбнть добр҃аа· и҆ глоѵмєннє похотн прѣлагаїѣть ѵ҃мь· нєзлобывь 13. сконч҃ѣв ѿ҃ь вь малѣ· и҆спльнь лѣта мн҃га· 14. ѡ҃годн҃а бо бѣ д҃ша ёго бг҃вы· Сего ради потьща сѧ ѿ Сръды злобѣ· и҆́ны же внд҃вш҃є и҆ не разѡ҃мѣшѧ· не положышѧ въ помышл҃єннє таковаго· 15. ꙗ҆ко бл҃ть и҆́ мт҃ь вь прѣпо҃бн҃ыхъ є҃го· и҆ посѣщєннє въ н҆҃збра҃нныхъ є҆́го:~

The date 13 November is not mentioned in the Grigorovichev Parimejnik, but is mentioned in the Khludov and Zakhariinski parimejniks from 1271.

In the comparative table of the menologion of the Khludov and Zakhariinski Parimejnik in the edition of the Grigorovichev Parimejnik (Рибарова, Хауптова 1998: 438), the readings for 13 September in the Khludov and Zakhariinski parimejniks are respectively:

1. Proverbs 10:7–6; 3:13–16; 8:6, 34–35, 4, 12, 17, 5–9; 1:23; 15:4 (Khludov Parimejnik, ff. 154v–155r);

2. Proverbs 29: 2; Wisdom of Solomon 4:1–14; 6:11, 17+18, 21–23; 7:15–16, 21–22, 26–27, 29; 10:9–10, 12; 7:30; 2:1, 10–17, 19–22; 15:1; 16:13; Proverbs 3:34 (Khludov Parimejnik (ff. 154r–155v): Wть прѣмдр҃о· Соломонѧ· Ѵтс҃ё·⁘ Похвала праведнико҇ веселне людє҃ь бесьмрьтьн... (This reading is included in the Service for the Translation of the Holy Relics of St. John Chrysostom on 27 January; cf. Troitsko-Sergievskaja Lavra 520 (Service Menaion for January, late 17th c., ff. 504r–506v);

3. Wisdom 4:7, with reference to 1 September (Khludov Parimejnik, ff. 153r–155v). On the feast day for St. John Chrysostom in the Zakhariinski Parimejnik, the readings are respectively:

1. The first reading is identical with the one in the Khludov Parimejnik;

2. The second reading consists of the following pericopes: Proverbs 10:31 (missing in the Grigorovichev and Khludov parimejniks); Wisdom of Solomon 8:7–9, 17–18, 21; 9:1–5, 10–11, 14 (missing in Grigorovichev and Khludov parimejnrks).

3. The third reading is identical to the second reading in the Khludov Parimejnik (Рибарова, Хауптова 1998: 438).

The readings for 13 November in the Khludov Parimejnik can also be found in the original service for St. Aleksej, Bishop of Kiev and All Russia (12 February) by Metropolitan Jonas (compare Troitsko-Sergievskaja Lavra 531, a seventeenth-century service menaion for February, ff. 113r–115r), and in the service for St. Sergej of Radonezh (5 July, service menaion for June and July, Troitsko-Sergievskaja Lavra 568, dated 1514, ff. 259v–260r). Perhaps this is a corpus of Old Testament readings in the composing a service for a spiritual leader and man of letters, composed according to the kanon of the Jerusalem Typikon, which was also used later by authors of original Slavonic services.

On the other hand, the same position of the readings which the compiler of the Bavarian service for St. Cyril has used to replace the paremoi readings for Chrysostom are also found in the service for St. Theodosios (11 January; cf. Troitsko-Sergievskaja Lavra 522, 17th-century service menaion for January, ff. 180v–183r), and in the copy of the service for St. Petka (14 October) in the same menaion at the Bavarian Library (Cod. Slav. 32, ff. 34v–35v).

I am not in a position to answer why the author of the Service for St. Cyril has substituted the paremoi readings for John Chrysostom's service. Perhaps this was one of the changes the author made in connection to the stichera of the Small Vespers, the tone of the Kanon and, in part, the texts of some of the stichera for the Great Vespers, the troparia for the kanon, and the stichera of the Praise.

The service contains the entire kanon for St. John Chrysostom, which is attributed to Theophanes: in some later service menaia, such as Troitsko-Sergievskaja Lavra 492, dated 1469, for November, the text of the acrostic and the author's name are given: Канѡ̃ стмоу ѫмыи краєгранєснѣ· сѣ Дховна пою та ѕлата оуста· Творєннѣ ѳеѡфаново (f. 150r). The Greek text of the acrostic is given in the edition of Analecta Hymnica Graeca: Δύχου τὸν ὕμνον, χρυσορῆμον (sic!) παμμάκαρ (AHG 1972: 392). As it is clear from the text above, the copy (or, more accurately, the revision) of the service for St. John Chrysostom at the Bavarian National Library also gives the acrostic, but not the name of the author of the kanon: Канѡ̃ стмѫ їрмо· н трое же на вї· нмы краегранєсїе снцево в Дховнаго пою те Кѵ̈рнле also, one reads the ambiguous notation: вї· (Иванова 1992 (II): 38).

The Kanon of Theophanes, written in the eighth tone, is widespread in the Slavonic hymnographical literature. It is found also in the service menaion for November, dated from 1097, that was published by Jagić (Ягич 1886: 365–370). It is obvious that in this earliest Slavonic copy, some of the stichera are preserved in accordance to the Stoudite Typikon. The kanon is found in almost all Slavonic service and festal menaia. In the revised copy at the Bavarian Library, the first tone is specified for the same kanon. Since the heirmoi of both works are identical (the only exception being the heirmos of the seventh ode, which repeats the heirmoi of Theophanes's kanon to The Holy Mother of God, also in the eighth tone and placed before the John Chrysostom kanon), it could be claimed that

the author of the revised version probably specified the tone for the kanon incorrectly. (As Stoykova points out, the same heirmoi are also characteristic of the above-described kanon in the eighth tone in BAS 23 and Sinai 25; an exception is the heirmos of the sixth ode (Стойкова 2000: 218).

How was the kanon revised? Lexical differences in the reading are insignificant and can be viewed as editorial variants typical of the original text of the Slavonic translation of Theophanes' kanon, which was available to the scribe of the Bavarian menaion. Keeping in mind that the original Slavonic translation of Theophanes' kanon is intact, it could certainly be argued that St. John Chrysostom's name was simply substituted with the name of St. Cyril's. Here are several examples of the relationship between the two texts (for the service for St. John Chrysostom, I use the Slavonic translation of the Greek text of Troitsko-Sergievskaja Lavra 492, dated 1496, at the Russian State Library, Moscow):

Service for St. Cyril, Bavarian Library, first ode, first troparion (f. 198v):	Service for St. John Chrysostom, Troitsko-Sergievskaja Lavra 492, first ode, first troparion (f. 150r):
Покаанїа бы̃ топлы проповедатель Кӱрле· покаатн мн се о҃ч҃е бвы мл҃нм се ѿ вьсего с҃рца· н дрⷱвны̑ прⷱгрⷱшенїн нсцⷱлнтн мн ѿстрⷭплюнїа, твои̯ мл҃рдїемь оум҃лн·⁘	Покаⷱннѧ бывъ топлыи̯· проповⷱ̑ннкъ злат҃оусте· по҃каѧт҃н ѡ҃ч҃е бвн мѧ молн̑ ѡ̈ всего с҃рца моєго· н дрⷱвннїхъ прегрⷱшеннї̈ н̀сцⷱлнтн ѡ́строупрлєннѧ· твоимъ мл҃рднёмъ оумолн:~
first ode, third troparion (f. 199r):	first ode, third troparion (f. 150v):
ѿ҃ Бм҃ь поставлюнь оучнтель· бж҃їа наоучєнїа свⷱтоѡбразны̑ єзыко̑· волюю бг҃омⷭдрою бг҃атно ты нстоун бж҃їа рⷱка водь нспльнь дх҃овны̑ нвн се бг҃оглы̑ве Кӱрле·⁘	Бо҃мъ поставленъ оучнт҃ль· бж҃твна повⷱлⷱннѧ· златоѡ̈бразны̑ нзыкомъ· волею бг҃омдрою бг҃атнє тн їстаѵаѧ· бж҃нѧ рⷱка во̑ їсполнєнъ дх҃вн̑· нвн сѧ бог҃лсє златоусте
third ode, first troparion (f. 199r):	third ode, first troparion (f. 151r–151v):
ѿ҃ Оумь тн дх҃омь обг҃ащь се	Оумъ ты х҃мъ ѡ̀бг҃ащь сѧ·

твоѝ жительствѡ̀ оученїѧ· ѹ҃ко҃мь сп҃сенію бы҃ поспѣшьнь повѣстнтель· и сѣдѣнствнь Кѵ̈рле оучителства нстаѵае сп҃на бг҃одьхновене	твоѝмъ ѹ҃тымъ жнтн (sic!)· ѹ҃ко҃мъ сп҃ннѣ бы҃· поспѣшенъ повѣстнтель· сѣдѣнствнъ зла҃оусте· оучителства ѝстаѵаѣ бг҃одх҃новне сп҃сенаѣ̈·⁘

In the second troparion the author has replaced the nameless address ѿ҃ц҃е ‘father’ with the name St. Cyril:

third ode, second troparion (f. 199r):	third ode, second troparion (f. 151v):
в҃ Ѡледнѣв҆шее д҃шев҆ные Кѵ̈рле бразды прѣмѫдры҃ дѣланїемь словесь оучстнль есн мѫдро· и плодоносны ѩвн· нб҃ным тѫѵамн сїа напаѣае бг҃опрїѣтне·⁘	Ѳледенѣвшеѣ̂ д҃шевнъныѣ ѿ҃ц҃е бразды· прем҃дрымъ дѣланнѣ̂мъ словесъ· ѿучстнлъ є́сн м҃дро· ѝ по̂доносны ѩвнлъ є̂· нб҃ным тоуѵамн сѭ напоѣ бг҃опрнѣтнє·⁘
first poetic kathisma (f. 199v):	first poetic kathisma (f. 151v–152r):
Сѣ̂ глаго̂ ѝ по̂ прем҃дрѡ̂· Ненздр҃енные прѣмѫдрост бг҃овндно поуръпь бг҃атьство танное· вьсѣмь сьнискаль есн православные воды· вѣрны҃й ѳбо ср̂ца веселеща прѣпо̂бне· невѣрны҃й же повелѣна достонно погрѫжающаа· тѣ҃ по достоанїю въз̂анїа твоѝ болѣзнѣн прїѣть пр҃нопаметне тр҃нцн пропоовѣдниуе ст҃лю Кѵ̈рле· мл҃н хс҃ ба҃ грѣх҃о оставлюнїе дароватн· ѹьтѫщѝ любовїю пам҃е̂ твою·⁘	Сѣ̂ Глаго̂ ѝ· По̂ Прѣмд҃ртн·⁘ Неѝзр҃еныѣ прємд҃ртн бг҃овндно· поуерплъ бг҃атьство таѝноє́ всѣмъ снискалъ є́сн православныѣ воды вѣр҃ны же оубо веселѧща ср̂ца пр̂пбне невѣрных же повелѣннѣ достоѝно погроужаю҆ще· тѣ҃ по достоѣннѭ въз̂аннє́ твоѝ болѣзнѣѝ· прнѣтъ пр҃нопамѧтнє· тр҃цн поборннує їѿ̂анє златоусте· молн хс҃ бг҃а· прєгрѣшєннє́мъ ѿставленнє́ дароватн· празн̂ноую҆щѝ любоню с҃тоую памѧть твою҆:~

In the second poetic kathisma, the text differs characteristically:

second poetic kathisma (л. 199v)	second poetic kathisma (f. 152r):
Дрⷭ глас тьже· Ѡ вышние прѣмоудростн навыкь· н блгодѣть словесь ѡ ба вьсѣ въсїа ꙗко злато вь грьннлн· н стоую трнцѣ єдннцѣ проповѣдаль есн· расѣꙗль есн бжїе сло на западѣ н северѣ н юзѣ· вьсѣ вѣрны напонль есн срца· бжтвны словесь блгтн стлю Кўрнле· млн ха ба грѣхомь wставленїе дароватн· уьтѣщн любовїю паметь тво·	Дроу Пѡ тотъ Нже свыше прємдрть навыкъ· н блть словесъ ѡ ба всѣмъ въснѣаль є ꙗко злато въ горннлѣ· н стоую трцоу єдннцоу проповѣлъ єсн· сребролюбноую люсть (sic!)· оусътърѣлнвъ (sic!) словесы своймн· тѣмже н ревностню црцоу ѡблнунлъ є ннопламѧнноє оученнє· нѡѧнне златоусте (sic!)· молн ха бга грѣхомъ ѡставленнє дароватн:·

The text of the revised version is quite reminiscent of the kontakion of the 'first' service for St. Cyril: расѣвае бжїе слово на сѣверѣ н западѣ н юзѣ (in the Bavarian menaion, f. 201r).

The name of St. John Chrysostom is replaced also in the fourth and all remaining odes:

fourth ode, first troparion (f. 200r):	fourth ode, first troparion (f. 153r):
Мнwго нн ꙗко апл wн єдннwбразна· нже промыш'лієнїемь вьсѣ промышлѧе ꙗко блгь хс дс· те нбнаго таннооучнтела н проповѣдннка· н бжтвнаго прка вышны таннъ Кўрнле вьсеблжене	Дроугааго нн аплмъ єдннwѡбразна· йже промышлѧйѧ· всѣ промышленнкъ ꙗко блгъ дасть хъ тѧ нбнаго таѩнооучнтела ѩ проповѣкѧ· ѩ бжтвнго прка вышннѧ ѩwѧ всеблжнє златоусте:~

How did the author revise the stichera? Generally speaking, the Bavarian revised version preserves text of the Service for John Chrysostom according to the Jerusalem Typikon, except the stichera

of the Small Vespers, which have been changed.

In the remainder of the stichera there are greater differences in those which Ivanova points out as being influenced by the so-called ‘Legend of Thessaloniki’ (Иванова 1992 (II): 39–40). Here, for example, are the parallel texts of one stichera:

poetic kathisma (f. 198r):	poetic kathisma (f. 148v):
Свѣтилника словеснаго· бг҃одьхновенныи писанїи҃н· наставлѧющаго на̑ кь истиннѣи҃ вѣрѣ· мнѡга искѹшенїа прѣтрьпель есн ст҃лю Кѵ̈рнле· ѿ солѹнѧны ненависть· како забыль есн еѕника грьчьскаго· ѿ словесны̑ бльгаре̑ бл҃годареніе· тѣмь҆же по дльгѹ молн се г҃ви· помл҃оватн д҃ша̑ нашн̑:~	Свѣтилника словесънаго· бг҃одх҃вныи̑ писанни̑· наставлѧю̑щаго на̑ къ покаѧнню· многаѧ̑ ѡ̑скоуше҆ениѧ̑ претерпѣвша· златоустаго вѣрныи̑· ѩко наоучеше̑ ѿ него· поутемъ по долъгоу· молнт бо сѧ г҃ви сп̑тн сѧ д҃шамъ нашн̑

I discuss the expression of national identity in this and other hymnographical texts in another study.

A special peculiarity of the copy is the instruction for singing the Beatitudes troparia from the third and sixth odes, which are placed at the end of the service (f. 204r): Тѫ̑ славословїе велнко н ѿп̑ѣ̑· Ла ѹ̑ бл҃женн ѿ канѡ̑ пѣ̑ г҃· н ѕ҃· прн̑· Вь памѣ̑ веуню· (f. 204r) (Иванова 1992 (I): 32). The instruction for singing the Beatitudes is a sign that the text is archaic. The practice of singing together with the Gospel Beatitudes troparia from the third and sixth odes of the kanon, rather than festal beatitude troparia, is a characteristic of the tradition of the Stoudite Monastery (Пентковский, Йовчева 2001: 42), which had also been adopted into the practice at Mt. Athos (Пентковский, Йовчева 2001: 43).

This fact probably proves that the Service for St. Cyril was revised on the basis of an archaic manuscript of the John Chrysostom service associated with some of the monasteries on Mt. Athos, or with western Bulgarian monasteries associated with them.

In conclusion, in the history of the veneration of St. Cyril the Philosopher in Slavonic hymnography, the following hymnographic works appear:

1. One kanon and stichera based on the Stoudite Typikon, the most widespread variant in the Slavonic medieval literature. In my opinion, the original authenticity of this text is beyond doubt.

2. One kanon and stichera (also based on the Stoudite Typikon), extant in two copies, Sinai 25 and BAS 23. In my opinion, the authenticity of this text has not been completely proven. There is unquestionably a connection between the two texts, as evidenced by copies such as RAS 717, Khludov 164, and the others mentioned above. The Dormition of St. Cyril is included as a reading in BAS 23.

3. One service for St. Cyril from the Bavarian National Library (Cod. Slav. 32), which obviously was a revision of the service according the Jerusalem Typikon for St. John Chrysostom, including Theophanes' Kanon together with paremoi readings that differ from those in the original service for St. John Chrysostom.

4. One revised version of the service for St. Cyril in the seventeenth-century manuscript No. 323 in the Pogodin collection, publicshed by Shlyakov (Шляков 1910: 151–187), in which the kanon from the 'first' service for Cyril appears, but which also includes a large number of the stichera from both services for St. John Chrysostom, i.e., the 13 November service and the 27 January service for the Translation of his Holy Relics. Like BAS 23, the revised service includes a reading on the Dormition of St. Cyril. The composition of the revised copy, which is quite complex, will be the subject of a separate study.

Out of all the works listed above, only the services in BAS 23 and Sinai 25 can be considered the 'second' service for St. Cyril the Philosopher. If the authenticity of the 'second' service can be proven, it should be included in the corpus of Slavonic sources for St. Cyril and Methodius.

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Khludov 166 – Khludov No. 166, State Historical Museum, Moscow, festal menaion, first half of 14th c.

Khludov parimejnik – Khludov No. 142, State Historical Museum, Moscow, parimejnik, 1294–1320.

NBKM 895 – No. 895, Ss. Cyril and Methodius National Library, Sofia, service menaion for December–February, late 13th – early 14th c.

Pogodin 323 – Pogodin No. 323, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, miscellany, 17th c.

RAS 717 – No. 717, Romanian Academy of Sciences, festal menaion for full year, 17th c.

Sinai 25 – No. 25, St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, festal menaion, 14th c.

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CANONICAL AND APOCRYPHAL TEXTS FROM THE BIBLE IN BALKAN CALENDRICAL MISCELLANIES
(Based on Material from *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavica*)

Klimentina Ivanova

The reference work *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavica*, which has systematized the hagiographic and homiletic works in Balkan menology collections[1], enables one to analyse the different aspects of the choice of works for every feast, as well as to see the common characteristics of texts that are usually discussed in isolation from each other. Although the narratives and the homiletic works dedicated to feasts are not linked directly with biblical subjects and personages both with respect to genre and for practical reasons, still the calendrical miscellanies contain readings from both the Bible and some Old and New Testament apocrypha[2]. Most of these readings taken separately are now known to experts, but there is no study that has analysed a text or a group of works from the biblical canonical or apocryphal corpus as a part of the typikon readings included in the mediaeval repertory of Eastern Orthodox literature. I shall try to fill this gap to a certain extent.

The present preliminary study is limited to several selected texts. At this stage I have not included, for instance, the non-canonical Acts

[1] Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavica is the result of my studies of the content of the calendar collections for the fixed feasts of the annual cycle. The Book includes 209 MSS and about 600 hagiographic and panegyric works, chiefly translated ones, have been arranged there in accordance with the date of the church calendar and their systematization has noted the different translations and/or redactions of each work. The first part of the book has a catalogue of the MSS that have been used and refers to their descriptions. Here I do not give these data as they can be found in the Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavica.

[2] Of course, there are other aspects of similar studies – for example, following the frequency in using biblical quotations that mark the beginning and the end of the works from the collections with typikon readings and finding which are the popular ones and what is the link between them. This, however, is a subject for an entirely different research work.

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of the Apostles, which, as far as their function is concerned, belong to the group of quasi-apocryphal works (Наумов 1980). Nominally these texts belong to the New Testament apocrypha[3], but with respect to genre they belong to the early martyrologies and vitae, to which they are close in both structure and style. The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles are included in the pre-Metaphrastes miscellanies, and in Palaeoslavonic studies they evoke interest chiefly as specimens of the early Old Bulgarian translations from the Greek, from the tenth century on. In the South Slavonic repertory the stories of acts and martyrdoms of the apostles are rarely found. One or two copies have been preserved. In most cases they are called "Martyrdoms" ("the Martyrdom of Mark the Evangelist", "the Martyrdom of Matthew the Evangelist", "the Martyrdom of Andrew the Apostle", etc.), but some are called "Vita", "Act", "Vita and Martyrdom", "Dormition", and so on. I can cite as examples some of the texts appearing in miscellanies from the old redaction[4], texts whose headings show the variability in genre naming among individual copies of this type of narratives dedicated to (a) Luke the Evangelist[5] Житїе стго апла і еѵ҃ліста лоукы; Покои стаго апла Лоуки; Оуспение... (Иванова 2008: 252–253; Halkin 1957: 992; CANT: 182); (b) Thomas the Apostle[6] – Житїе и дѣанїе... and Моученїе... (Иванова 2008: 238–239; Halkin 1957, № 1800; Santos-Otero 1978: 84–96); (c) Philip the Apostle[7] – Стрть (Мч҃ченїе) стго апла филипа (Иванова 2008: 303–304; Halkin 1957, № 1525; Santos-Otero 1978: 124–129), and others. Such headings can be seen even in authorial works, for instance in the Vita of James the Apostle[8] by Andrew of Crete – Житие и мние стаго апла Їакова (Иванова 2008: 262–263; Halkin 1957, № 766: CPG: 8220).

Now I shall turn to the other narratives with biblical subjects and personages included in the Иванова 2008.

[3] Clavis Apocryphorum 1992. For similar texts in the earliest fragments from collections see Ehrhard 1937–1952: 55–58; 67–70.

[4] Under the term old redaction collections I understand collections that contain texts structured after the Studite typikon and its versions and that were translated in the Balkans from the 9th c. to the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th cc.

[5] Feast on 18.10.

[6] Feast on 6.10.

[7] Feast on 14.11.

[8] Feast on 23.10.

Among the typikon readings only one text has been borrowed directly from the Old Testament. The practice of using an Old Testament text as a reading is rare, and that is why observations on it will be the main theme of this study. I am referring to chapter 13 of Book of the Prophet Daniel, the story of Susanna and the elders, and the wise judgement of the prophet. As is known, chapters 13 and 14 are missing in the Hebrew tradition and have been translated from the Greek.

Chapter 13 has been included in the Slavonic repertory under the influence of the Byzantine calendrical miscellanies. In them it is always read on December 17. The text has been noted in Halkin 1957, under № 1870x[9].

The Balkan Slavonic copies of chapter 13 with which I am familiar derive from a translation from the Greek Hesychius Version, a translation which emerged in Bulgaria in the tenth century under Tsar Simeon, according to the Russian scholar Ivan Evseev's fundamental work on the Slavonic translations of the Book of the Prophet Daniel (Евсеев 1905) and according to the prevailing opinion of later research scholars. Evseev defines it as a third redaction of the Book of Daniel and calls it "the Simeonic redaction" (hereafter *SR*)[10]. Evseev considers the basis of that redaction to be the text of Daniel taken from a Russian manuscript containing commentaries on the Sixteen Prophets. The manuscript is from the late fifteenth century, but is a copy of an eleventh-century text that has preserved the Old Bulgarian features of its source (Евсеев 1905: LX–LXI) very well. The manuscript is kept in the collection of the Chudov Monastery in Moscow as № 182 (Протасьева 1980: 97). The Book of the Prophet Daniel is on folia 312v–332v and chapter 13 appears at the beginning. Evseev refers to the codex as *Ch*. In the edition, he also includes the Greek text, with variants from selected Greek copies. To the basic text of *Ch*

[9] For some Greek copies see Ehrhard 1937–1952, who noted them in MSS since the 10th–11th cc: in panegyrics and panegyric-martyrologies for the whole year (Ehrhard 1937–1952: 180–181, 288, 303, 309); in pre-Metaphrastes menologia for the whole year (Ehrhard 1937–1952: 342); in pre-Metaphrastes menologia for two months (Ehrhard 1937–1952: 412), and so on.

[10] About this redaction and about the MSS belonging to it, see Евсеев 1905: XXXII–XL; LXX.

Evseev also adds the Slavonic variants, in full and in part, from eleven other copies from the same group[11].

Chapter 13 joins the South Slavonic repertory rather late, in the new redaction panegyrics and reading menaia[12], which date from the fourteenth century. The Balkan copies with which I am familiar form a group with common peculiarities[13]; these copies indicated in Иванова 2008: 362–363. There are five Balkan copies: two Bulgarian and three Moldavian ones, written in Tărnovo orthography. The Bulgarian ones are (a) a copy with *jusy* in a reading menaion listed as № 94 in the library of the Zographou Monastery in Athos and dating from the 1380s (Райков, Кожухаров, Миклас, Кодов 1994: 70; Иванова 2008: 73–74, № 36), and (b) a copy without *jusy* written in the Rila Monastery in Bulgaria by the monk Mardary in 1483 (Спространов 1902: 84–94; Иванова 2008: 129–130, № 130). The oldest of the Moldavian codices is from the first quarter of the fifteenth century and is kept in the Dragomirna Monastery in Romania as № 706 (Юфу 1970: 317–323; Иванова 2008: 68–69, № 29). From the second half of the fifteenth century are a second Moldavian reading menaion (or panegyric), № 65 from the Putna Monastery in Romania (Тодоров 1981: 78–81; Иванова 2008: 112, № 103), and a miscellany kept in the library of the Romanian Academy of Sciences in Bucharest as № 358 (Panaitescu 2003: 142–144; Иванова 2008: 125–126, № 124).

I must note that in the Russian tradition chapter 13 of the Book of Daniel can also be found as a separate reading for December 17[14].

The texts included in Иванова 2008 are very similar and exhibit few differences[15], but, as we shall see, they all differ considerably

[11] The variants of the copies used by Evseev are few. The biggest differences are those between the basic copy and MS № 486 from the Iossifo-Volokolamsk Monastery in Moscow 1519 marked by Evseev with **A**.

[12] With the term "new redaction collections" I refer to calendar collections that have followed the requirements of the Jerusalem typikon and contain texts translated or redacted in the Balkans in the 14th c.

[13] Through preliminary investigations I have determined that the copies belong to one group, with the exception of copy 358 from the Romanian Academy of Sciences in Bucharest of which I have studied only the beginning and the end, but these data are sufficient indication that the entire text is the same as the rest.

[14] This is best illustrated by the positioning of the text from Daniel in Makary's reading menaia. In the December volume under 17.12 ch. 13 has been included twice – once separately (МЧМ 1904: columns 1089–1093) and then once again together with the entire Book of Daniel (MRM 1904: cols. 1115–1120), where ch. 13 has been put before the rest of the text.

from the text of chapter 13 as we know it from Evseev's edition. I define this group as "the calendrical redaction of chapter 13 of the Book of the Prophet Daniel" (*CDan*). It can be recognized easily by the presence of a date, a title without an indication as to the sequence number of the prophesy (Ѡ старцѣ и ѡ сосанѣ пр҃рчьство даніилево. бл҃ви ѡ҃), and the doxological formula added to verse 64, the last verse (съ нимже и мы коупно прославлѣемь о҃ца и с҃на и стго д҃ха, нн҃ѣ и пр҃но. и въ вѣкы вѣкѡ҃, аминь). From here on the quotations are from the copy in the Zographou Monastery MS № 94 (*Z*).

A comparison between *CDan*[16] and the Simeonic redaction of this chapter, taken from Evseev's edition (*SR*)[17] yields the following results:

1. No doubt the author of *CDan* was familiar with *SR*[18], but he showed considerable independence in shaping the text of his version.

2. The author probably also used a Greek text that has readings different from the one from which the *SR* derives. There is little likelihood that some of the changes are due to editing by some Slavonic bookman, but this possibility should not be ruled out categorically. There are no significant differences between the *SR* and *CDan* versions of the Greek text. On the textual level there are divergences both in *Ch* and in *Z*, but *Z* more often shows variants that are independent of the Greek text as published by Evseev: individual words in *Z* have been translated more freely and some expressions have been paraphrased. In this respect *Ch* proves to be closer to the original, although it too has some divergences. The relationship

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[15] I shall note for instance that between *Z* and Mardariy's copy from the Rila Monastery (call number 4/5) there are only two lexical variant readings: in verse 25 – wградны instead of градныѫ in *Z* and in verse 26 – wградѣ instead of градѣ in *Z*.

[16] As the variants within group *CDan* have no textological significance, I shall quote only after the Zograph copy (*Z*). The text is conveyed such as it is in the annex.

[17] Ch. 13 of the *Ch* copy reflects without change the non-interpretative Simeon text (Евсеев 1905: XXXVIII). The *SR* text in parallel with the Greek text and both together with the variant readings chosen by Evseev, can be seen in Evseev (Евсеев 1905: 166–176).

[18] About 30% of the text of ch. 13 attest that the translation is identical with that of *SR*, including some cases in which *Z* and *Ch* are in agreement in opposition to the Greek text, for instance: *30*. и ꙗко приведошѫ ѧ ближикы еи. Z; и приде та. и вьса ѫжикы еѧ. *Ch* against καὶ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτῆς, καὶ τα τέκνα αὐτῆς, καὶ πάντες οἱ συγγενεῖς αὐτῆς; *41*. съмр҃ть *Z* вм҃ьтие *Ch*// ἀποθανεῖν (in both cases the infinitive has been translated by using a noun, in the case of *Ch* – a verbal noun).

between the two redactions (*CDan* and *SR*) and the Greek text can be illustrated with the help of the following examples[19]:

5. in the case of (*Z*) ѿ старець сѫдїи, *Ch* reads in accordance with the Greek text: отъ старьць сѫдии. иже мьнѣахѫсѧ строаще люди // οἳ ἐδόκουν κυβερνᾶν τὸν λαόν;

15. Z И бы̑ вънегда блюдѣста єѫ да ѥкоже прїиде по wбычаю тъчиѫ съ двѣма wтроковицама. In *Z* this phrase has been abbreviated, while in *Ch* it corresponds to the Greek: И бысть вънегда блюдѣста ю дьнь покосьнъ[20]. въниде тъгда аки въчера и третиимь дьне. съ дъвѣма тъчиѫ wтроковицама. и въсхотѣ мытиса въ градѣ. ѥкоже знои бѣаше // καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ παρατηρεῖν αὐτοὺς ἡμέραν εὔθετον, εἰσῆλθέ ποτε καθὼς ἐχθὲς καὶ τρίτης ἡμέρας μετὰ δύο μόνων κορασίων, καὶ ἐπεθύμησε λούσασθαι ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, ὅτι καῦμα ἦν;

22. Z то̑ не вбѣжѫ ѿ рѫкоу ваю vs. не оубѣжоу отъ ваѫ; *Ch* lacks τὰς χεῖρας // οὐκ ἐκφεύξομαι τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν;

35. Z ...възирааше къ бгу. ѥкоже бѣ ср̑це є̑ѥ вповаѫ на ба, *Ch* ...възьрѣ на нбо. ѥкоже бѣаше ср̑це єѧ оупъваѧ къ гоу *Ch* here follows correctly the Greek text // ...εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν... ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ;

39. Z и не могохwмь ати єго..., *Ch* и видѣвъша и. и подвигнѫховѣса и не моговѣ ати его..., in which case *Ch* is closer to the original // καὶ ἰδόντες συγγινομένους αὐτούς, ἐκείνου μέν οὐκ ἠδυνήθημεν ἐγκρατεῖς γενέσθαι...;

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[19] *Z* is the text that here represents *CDan*, while *Ch* represents *SR*. The Greek text has been quoted after the edition made by Evseev. When comparing I had in mind also its variants that have been referred to by Evseev; they are isolated cases and here they are given in brackets without a specification as to where they have come from. For the sake of convenience, everywhere the examples are marked only with the numbers of the verses in the way they have been noted in the edition made by Evseev. When quotations are made from the Slavonic text of *Ch*, the signs that are above the lines are not reproduced.

[20] It is possible that the Old Bulgarian word покосьнъ (favourable, εὔθετος) may have been foreign to the redactor of *CDan* and may have been omitted together with the entire expression. In the copy marked by Evseev with A (№ 486 from the Iossifo-Volokolamsk Monastery), which presents a rather different text, покосьнъ has been replaced with времене добра.

40. *Z* ...ѡ семъ послоушаите, *Ch* о семъ послоухѕевѣ // ταῦτα μαρτυροῦμεν. *Z* not only has a different choice of verb, but also replaces the first person form with a second person form; *Ch* also has a meaning differing from that of the Greek original;

44. *Z* и оуслыша гь̄ бь̄ моленїе еѫ, *Ch* и посл҃ша ѓь гласа еѧ, // καὶ εἰσήκουσε κύριος (+ ὁ θέος) τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῆς;

48. *Z* не испытавше истинѫ..., *Ch* не изъоупрошавъше. ни истины разѫмѣвъше... // οὐκ ἀνακρίναντες, οὐδὲ τὸ σαφὲς ἐπιγνόντες...;

52. *Z* и ꙗко разведошѫ х̑..., *Ch* и ꙗко разведоша ꙗ. къижедо отъ коегожьдо... // ὡς δὲ διεχωρίσθησαν εἷς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνός...;

55. *Z* ...на своѫ главѫ ... се бо аг̏гль бж̏ïи растрьгнетъ та, *Ch* ...на с҃вою дш̄ѫ... се бо аг̏гль бж̏ии приимъ отъвѣтъ отъ ба. растрьгнетъ та // ...εἰς τὴν σεαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν... ἤδη γαρ ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ λαβὼν φάσιν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, σχίσει σε μέσον. In this case, in the first part of the verse *Z* follows the Greek original, translating σεαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν as на своѫ главѫ, while *Ch* changes the expression to "for his soul". In the second part of the verse *Z* omits λαβὼν φάσιν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, while *Ch* translates it correctly.

61. *Z* и въставша на wба ста́рца, ꙗко видѣвь х̑ данїиль ѿ оусть х̑ льжа изъшѐшѫ, *Ch* и въставъше въсташе на оба старьца ꙗко въстави а даниилъ. отъ оусть еѫ лъжѫ послоушевавъшема. In the first part of the verse in *Ch* there is a repetition of въставъше, which is missing in the Greek text (καὶ ἀνέστησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς δύο πρεσβύτας), while in the second part *Ch* is closer to the Greek text, rendering συνέστησεν as въстави, and ψευδομαρτυρήσαντας as лъжѫ послоушевавъшема;

62. *Z* и сътвориша има, ꙗкоже wни съ лѫкавьствомь хотѣхѫ сътворити..., *Ch* и сътвориша има, ꙗкоже сълѫковаста... Here too *Ch* translates correctly ἐπονηρεύσαντο, while in *Z* the word has been conveyed freely;

64. *Z* данїиль же бы̑ великыи прославлень бгомь и въсѣмь народомъ... *Z* inserts прославлень бгомь и, while *Ch* conveys correctly ἐνώπιον // даниилъ же бысть великъ прѣдъ людьми // καὶ δανιὴλ ἐγένετο μέγας ἐνώπιον τοῦ λαοῦ...

Independently of the differences that stem from the Greek text, the version presented in *CDan* has been edited, in contrast to *SR*. The changes consist of omitting or adding individual words, chiefly auxiliaries, and, rarely, other words, such as the introduction of habitual collocations (*60*. *Z* блгаго прослави ба̀ vs. ѥ̂вви ба̀ *Ch* // εὐλόγησαν τῷ θεῷ). These variants are distributed over the entire text, which is not large, and they do not affect all levels of language to the same extent[21].

As only the earliest copy *Z* has been investigated so far, my observations on the specific linguistic peculiarities in the *CDan* group are not comprehensive. Here I shall present in most general terms my conclusions from the comparison of *Z* and *Ch*.

With regard to orthography, *Z* is a typical representative of Middle Bulgarian texts from the fourteenth century, and it reflects their fundamental peculiarities: *inconsistency* in orthographic standards, chiefly in the use of the two *jer* vowel letters and of the two *jusy*, although some tendencies typical of the so-called Tărnovo (Euthymian) orthography have already become visible, e.g. writing ъ̀ where the outcome of a jer was pronounced as a vowel, and ь where it did not correspond to a vowel, but was required by orthographical convention, and ѧ preponderantly in initial and post-vocal position. In *Z*, however, ъ̀ is written in place of ь not only in middle position within the word, but also at the ends of certain words, although ь predominates in this position; ѫ is used more widely than ѧ, including in the aorist ending -шѫ and not infrequently to represent etymological ѧ.

On the morphological level the changes in *Z* vis-à-vis *Ch* can also be defined as non-systematic. The common peculiarities of both texts attest to the influence of the protograph, although *Z* does not retain in a consistent manner either the dual number, or, in all cases, the participle forms. Inconsistencies in the dual include a change from the dual *5*. *Z* ѡ нїи̑же, *Ch* ѻ неюже; *13*. *Z* поидѣмь, *Ch* идѣвѣ; *18*. *Z* поне̑ съкрывени бѣхѫ, *Ch* ꙗко бѣаста съкрꙑвена; *20*. *Z* мы же похотѣнїа твоего хощемь, *Ch* ѧ похотѣниꙗ твоего есвѣ; *16*. *Z* рꙁвѣ два̀ старъца

[21] Here I shall not dwell on the orthographic peculiaritied of these texts, peculiarities that reflect their life in different linguistic environments, especially the use in *Ch* of ѫ, ѩ in place of etymological ѹ, ю and of ѧ, ꙗ in place of etymological ꙗ and other consistently or inconsistently introduced borrowings from the Russian.

wнѧ съкрꙑвена, *Ch* рaзвѣ дꙋвою старыцѫ съкровенoу; *39. Z* не могохwмь; *Ch* не могоховѣ; *63. Z* дъщери своеи, *Ch* дъщери ѭ). With regard to the pronouns, there is an inconsistent replacement of accusative forms by genitive forms (*56. Z* w̃пѕти єго, *Ch* и). There is variability also in the use of the forms of verbs (for instance *35. Z* възираaше, *Ch* възрѣ. In some places in *Z* the finite verb form is preferred to the participle form, and in fact, in *Z* participles are three times less frequent than finite verb forms: e.g. *38. Z* и видѣхw̑ беззаконїе и̑ текохwвѣ, *Ch* видѣвъша беззаконие текоховѣ; *56. Z* w̃пѕти, *Ch* отъпоустивъ. One can encounter opposite examples, however: *7. Z* въходѧщи, *Ch* възлажаше; *36. Z* въше̂, *Ch* възлезе; *47. Z* гл҃ѧще, *Ch* рѣша; *50. Z* ше̂ сѣди, *Ch* ходи и сѧди.). *Z* and *Ch* correspond in their use of the perfect tense forms: є̂ даль; єси видѣль; видѣль єси; *57. Z* сътворили есте, *Ch* творили есте, etc.

As far as syntax is concerned, in Z we notice more freedom in rendering the Greek phrases, which can be seen also in the examples quoted above. The Russian copy, although it is from the fifteenth century, has preserved more correctly the characteristics and the constructions of the Old Bulgarian protograph. In the retention of the infinitive constructions in *Z* there are several examples of replacing of the infinitive with a subordinate да-clause: *17* ѩко да измыѭ сѧ; *32* ѩко да насытат сѧ; *59* ѩко да потрѣбит вы. In most instances *Z* and *Ch* use the same prepositions, but there are cases of opposition, including the selection of a word that requires a different preposition: for instance, *5. Ch* изыдеть беззаконїе w̃ вавy̑лwна has been replaced with *Z* из̾ вавy̑лwна; *36. Z* по градинѣ, *Ch* въ градѣ; *43. Z* w мнѣ, *Ch* на ма; *6.0 Z* вповаѭщи̑ на́ нь, *Ch* надѣающаѧсѧ къ немѭ. In some places instead of *Ch*'s preposition-free constructions, *Z* uses a preposition: for instance *13. Z* въ домь свои, *Ch* домови; *26. Z* w̃ странны̑й двереи, *Ch* страньныими дв҃рьми. There are, however, also cases of the opposite tendency: e.g. *52. Z* рe̋ємоу, *Ch* рече къ немоу. In one instance (*29*), instead of the preposition ἐπὶ, which is translated in *Ch* as по plus the Accusative (поустите по сѫсаноу), *Z* uses за (поусти́ти за сосанѭ). There are also considerable word order differences between the two texts.

The editor has been no doubt most consistent regarding *CDan* vocabulary. It is natural for some archaisms to be replaced by words

that have become firmly established in the standard language (for instance, emblematic variants such as *24*, *42*, *46*, *60*. *Z* гласꙑ, *Ch* жрѣлъмъ // φωνῆ; *4*, *7*, *36*, *38*. *Z* градина, *Ch* градъ // παράδεισος; *4*, *39*. *Z* понеже, *Ch* имьже // διὰ τὸ and in one instance (*18*) *Z* понѫ , *Ch* ꙗко // ὅτι). In most cases, however, the choice depends on the linguistic habits or preferences of the redactor, especially in the case of related words (cf., for example, *2*, *3*. *Z* красна, *Ch* добра // καλή; *32*, *56*. *Z* красоты, *Ch* доброты // τοῦ κάλλοῦς; *7 Z* въ полоу̯дне, *Ch* въ пладьниꙗ // μέσον ἡμέρας, etc.). I shall now point to some more vocabulary doublets that characterize *Z*'s redaction in comparison with *Ch*. With regard to nouns, note *26*. *Z* кли́чь, *Ch* кричание // τὴν κραυγὴν; *30*. *Z* ближикы, *Ch* ѫжикы // οἱ γονεῖς; *50*. *Z* старѣишиньство, *Ch* старьчьство // τὸ πρεσβυτήριον. Verbal doublets include *26*. *Z* въниꙁошѫ, *Ch* въмъкнѫшасѧ// εἰςεπήδησαν; *27*. *Z* слыша сѧ, *Ch* изꙁѣщасѧ // ἐῤῥήθη; *39*. *Z* изꙁѣже, *Ch* искочи // ἐκπεπηδηκέναι; *49*. *Z* свѣтельствоваста, *Ch* послоу̯шевасте // κατεμαρτύρησαν. Examples of differing conjunctions and adverbs include *7*. *Z* єгда, *Ch* вънегда //ἡνίκα; *14*. *Z* и, *Ch* ти // καὶ; *21*. *Z* ради, *Ch* дѣла // διὰ; *23*. *Z* нежели, *Ch* негли // ἢ; and *48*. *Z* посрѣ̑, *Ch* срѣдѣ // ἐν μέσῳ .

With regard to nouns, there are only isolated cases of differences resulting from prefixation (e.g. *8*. *Z* въ похотѣнїи, *Ch* въ хотѣние // ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ; *50*. *Z* съ тьманїемъ, *Ch* съ потъмаииемъ // μετὰ σπουδῆς). These are more frequent among verbs: *5*. *Z* изврашѫ, *Ch* отъбьраша // ἀπεδείχθησαν; *34*. *Z* положиста, възложисте *Ch*// ἔθηκαν; *36*. *Z* пѫсти, *Ch* испѫсти // ἀπέλυσε; *50*. *Z* извѣсти, *Ch* съвѣсти // ἀπάγγειλον; *59*. *Z* ожидаєт, *Ch* жидеть // μένει). Variants resulting from suffixation are fewer in number, e.g. *3*, *9*, *53*. *Z* праведна, *Ch* правьдива // δίκαιον; *63*. *Z* неправда, *Ch* неправьдание; *24, 42, 46, 60*. *Z* велїемь, *Ch* великъмъ // μεγαλῆ.

I should note also that *Z* replaces some *nomina sancta* with others, while *Ch* follows the Greek: *5*. *Z* гь̄, *Ch* вл̂ка //ὁ δεσπότης; *35*. *Z* къ бо̄у̯... на ба̄, *Ch* на нб̄о... къ г̂оу // εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν... ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ; *Z 59*. агг̄ль г̄нь, *Ch* агг̄лъ бии // ...τοῦ θεοῦ.

In some cases one can see how the choice of vocabulary imparts a different semantic or stylistic nuance to the text in *Z*, e.g.:

10. Z и бѣста wба пожеланїє имаща на на҃. и не исповѣдаста дроугъ къ дроугѹ болѣзни своѭ., *Ch* и бѣста wба wслабилаѧ на нѭ. и не съвѣстиста сама себѣ болѣзни своеѩ.[22];

12. Z желаѭща, *Ch* жадаѭща // φιλοτίμως;

13. Z врѣма є҆ wвѣдоу, *Ch* wвѣдьнъи часъ есть // ἀρίστου ὥρα ἐστί;

28. Z плъна безаконїа и помышленїа, *Ch* плъна безаконьнааго мышлениа // πλήρεις τῆς ἀνόμου ἐννοίας;

23. Z болшее ми є҆, *Ch* изволенѣе есть ми // αἱρετόν μοι ἐστὶ;

37. Z бы҆ съ нею, *Ch* възлеже съ неѭ // ἦλθε. The same kind of translation decision is reflected by the choice in *Z* of the commonplace verb рещи in opposition to the less common synonyms in *Ch* corresponding to the Greek words: for instance,

21. Z хощемь рещи, *Ch* послоушивѣ на тѧ// καταμαρτυρήσομέν σου;

32. Z безаконнїи же рѣшѭ, *Ch* безаконьнии же повелѣша// οἱ δὲ παράνομοι ἐκέλευσαν.

The comparisons drawn here convince us once again that independently of its fragmentary character in relation to the entire text of the Book of Daniel, *CDan* is part of the textual history of that book. That is why we have reproduced its entire text following *Z*, as a supplement to this article[23].

From the New Testament the menology collections attest only the text of the Apocalypse, which in the Byzantine pre-Metaphrastes calendrical miscellanies is also read on the day of the Dormition of St John the Theologian[24] (see, for example, Ehrhard 1937–1952: 204). In South Slavonic panegyrics and reading menaia the translation of the Apocalypse is found only in the new redaction that was composed in the fourteenth century and disseminated among the Southern Slavs and in the Romanian lands. That text, however, is read on 8 May and not on 26 September. The first date is linked with a miracle at the grave of the Evangelist at Ephesus: on that day, according to evidence

[22] In *A* – и wна хотѧста є, и дрѭгъ дрѭга своеѩ бѣды не повѣдоваше.

[23] I express profound thanks to the fathers from the Zograph Monastery thanks to whom I was given the opportunity to work on this text and on other texts from MS № 94, an exceptionally interesting manuscript.

[24] Feast on 26.09.

first recorded in the third century, chrism or dust (ashes) with healing properties exuded from the coffin[25].

The Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavica includes copies of the Apocalypse from six South Slavonic and Moldavian calendar collections. The earliest copy is in a Bulgarian manuscript created in about the mid 1360s. Today this codex is kept in the Museum of the Orthodox Church of Serbia in Belgrade under № 43 (MSOCh 43); it was first mentioned in Petkovič's catalogue (Петковић 1914: 212–213, № 79), and afterwards by other research scholars. According to the Serbian archaeographic tradition it is designated as "Macedonian" (Богдановић 1982: 32, № 260). When I worked with the codex *de visu* in 1971, I was convinced that it is most likely to be from Eastern Bulgaria. I shall quote part of the orthographic characterization and give the reasons for my opinion on the origin and content of this miscellany. The manuscript "dates from the 1360s (the water-mark is a pear drawn with very broad lines), and is very interesting from both linguistic and palaeographic viewpoints. It is the work of several bookmen, each with different schooling. The main hand uses *skoropis*, but an reless majuscule can also be found. Outwardly and in content this miscellany should be assigned to the manuscripts that emerged in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, in the time of Tsar Ivan Alexander, either in Tărnovo or in one of the Bulgarian monasteries on Mount Athos. The separate copyists use different orthographic systems, but all write the two *jer* vowels and the nasal vowels in an inconsistent manner. In some hands one sees an endeavour to retain the Tărnovo orthography: "one of the copyists regularly uses Ѫ together with Ѧ…" (Иванова 1972: 52). Later (Иванова 2008: 83, № 56) I narrowed the dating of the manuscript to the 1350-60s. The correct description of its content is "A miscellany containing selected vitae for January-July, with a disrupted sequence and with additional articles not included in the calendar".

I am familiar also with four more Moldavian copies written in Tărnovo orthography. The first copy is a miscellany containing selected articles from new-redaction reading menaia for December–July. It was written in 1441 by Gavril Urik, the well-known Romanian bookman, and is now kept in the library of the Romanian Academy of Sciences in Bucharest under call number № 165 (Panaitescu 1959:

[25] Cf., Сергий 1997, III: 171–172. According to Sergij in a number of Greek MSS this feast is called ῥοδισμός.

245–248; Иванова 2008: 118–119, № 113). The second copy is a new-redaction reading menaion containing selected readings for April–June, which was written in 1474 at the order of ruler Stefan cel Mare by hieromonk Jacob for the Putna Monastery and is now kept at that monastery as № 31 (Тодоров 1981: 76–78; Иванова 2008: 111, № 102). The third copy is in a sixteenth-century manuscript copied from the Putna codex and now kept at the Dragomirna Monastery under call number № 739 (Юфу 1970: 326–329; Иванова 2008: 69–70, № 30). The fourth copy is in a panegyric for February-May, from the new redaction, which was written in the first quarter of the seventeenth century for Anastasius Crimca (c. 1560–1629), Metropolitan of Moldavia (1608–1617, 1619–1629), who donated it to the Suceava Monastery, and which is now kept in the Vassiliy Stefanik Library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Lviv (Lvov) in the Petruševič collection as № 2 (Свенцїцький 1906: 108–112; Иванова 2008: 55–56, № 7).

The Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavica deals also with two Serbian manuscripts. The first is a miscellany of polemical works, chiefly of an anti-Latin and Hesychast character, and articles taken from a menaion panegyric or reading menaion with a disrupted calendar sequence. This manuscript was written in the 1380-90s and is kept in the Hilandar Monastery in Mount Athos under call number № 474 (Богдановић 1978: 181; Иванова 2008: 150, № 164). Its heading reads Мц҃а маиа и҃ ѿкрьвение с҃тго їѡа҃ бгослова.

The Hilandar Monastery library also keeps a copy of the Apocalypse located in a reading menaion for May-June, under call number № 445 (Богдановић 1978: 172; Иванова 2008: 145–146, № 155). This manuscript belongs to a group of reading menaia that contain selected readings from both old-redaction and new-redaction manucripts. The menaia are indended for the whole year and were written by monk Averkije and his collaborators.

In the first brief description of the miscellany from MSOCh 43 I defined the Apocalypse text which it contains as a new translation (Иванова 1972: 53). In the process of systematizing the material in the Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavica I combined the abovementioned copies of the Apocalypse into one group on the basis of partial observations, according to their location at 8 May in the calendar miscellanies (Иванова 2008: 529) without, however, making a thorough study of the Apocalypse text or collating all the copies in

full. These partial observations gave me reason to group the texts together as "a calendrical redaction of the Apocalypse" (*CRev*).

My initial general observations on MSOCh 43 were expanded and deepened in recent years, when the Apocalypse in the Cyrillo-Methodian literary tradition became the theme of a dissertation by my colleague I. Trifonova[26], which was defended successfully in 2007. Trifonova wrote an archaeographic review and a lexical analysis of the texts of twenty-four copies of the commentated Apocalypse version[27], pecifying the place of the South Slavonic copies in the textual tradition of the Bible, a tradition that had been studied previously. Trifonova has corrected some of my preliminary notes. Her comparisons show that although they are part of calendar miscellanies, the two Hilandar copies, № 474 and № 445, belong to a protograph that differs from the *CRev*[28].Her conclusion is important because it shows that *CRev* was disseminated only in manuscripts of Bulgarian and Moldavian origin, whereas for the same calendar date the Serbian Hilandar codices preferred a different redaction. This in itself shows a certain heterogeneity among the new-redaction miscellanies, especially when they come from different areas. I must note also that the copies of *CRev* in Moldavia were disseminated with minimal variant readings; however they are not copies of the Bulgarian MS MSOCh 43, but derive instead from an unknown protograph, with the exception of copy № 739 from Dragomirna, which, as I have found, is a copy of manuscript № 31 from Putna.

Trifonova's observations on the lexicon of MSOCh 43 have expanded Grünberg's 1999 investigation, and have been presented in an article (Trifonova 2006), in her dissertation, and in the dissertation abstract (Трифонова 2007). On the basis of a collation of the lexicon of the different redactions (Трифонова 2007: 293–298), Trifonova draws the conclusion that *CRev* is not a new translation, but a version derived from the Preslav translation of the Apocalypse. Yet she does not arrive at a categorical decision: "Because of the lack of more detailed studies on the translating activities during the first century

[26] I shall point to Trifonova 2006 and the abstract to its doctoral dissertation – Трифонова 2007.

[27] From the preliminary list attached to Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavica. of the abovementioned copies I. Trifonova has used in her dissertation and her publications those of them with whose texts she has been able to work with de visu (Trifonova 2006: 286, note 5).

[28] In Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavica her conclusions have been taken into account only with regard to Hil. 445.

after the restoration of the Kingdom of Bulgaria in the thirteenth century, it is difficult for the time being to specify whether its creation is the result of the activity or the Bulgarian bookmen in the tenth or the thirteenth century. The considerable number of Preslav Literary School peculiarities, the lack of clear Athonite treatments, and also the cases already mentioned where Greek lexemes are translated freely make it possible for one only to voice the speculation that, though unknown in earlier literary activities, this version of the Apocalypse can be assigned to the old redaction layer of texts in the Tărnovo reading menaia miscellanies" (Трифонова, in press; *my translation – K.I.*) Trifonova does not exclude even the likelihood that the translation may have been made later, pointing out that the large amount of Preslav vocabulary in copy № 43 from MSOCh "is still not proof as to the early origin of the redaction. It is quite probable that it may be from the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries" (Trifonova 2006).

Thus the study of the two biblical texts that have been included in the calendar menaion miscellanies (chapter 13 of the Book of the Prophet Daniel and the Apocalypse) shows that there is a correspondence between the locations of these texts in the panegyrics and the reading menaia and the textual changes made to them. The problem is how to define these changes. With regard to *CDan* it is clear that they are consistent and affect all language levels, and also that most probably they are due to collation with a Greek original that differs from the one used for the Simeon translation of the Book of the Prophet Daniel. In that case we have grounds to use Lunt's definition of a "secondary translation" (1985: 290)[29]. As far as *CRev* is concerned, the degree of revision cannot be determined as yet, as the lexical variant readings are only one of the factors that we use to ascertain the extent of the changes. But in both cases an important element of the analysis has not been taken into account: that is, no collation has been made between the texts of these works in the Byzantine and Slavonic calendar miscellanies, respectively. And as long as we do not also have the results from such a comparison, it is impossible to state with certainty to what extent the variants in *CDan* and *CRev* are due to the work of the bookman or bookmen who composed and redacted the South Slavonic new-redaction calendrical miscellanies in the four-

[29] For a more precise definition of this term see also in the study made by Margaret Dimitrova (Димитрова 2009). I extend thanks to M. Dimitrova, who has directed my attention to the possible use of the term within a wider context.

teenth century and how accurately they reflect or do not reflect the Greek texts from the Byzantine calendrical miscellanies.

A few words about two Old Testament apocrypha (more precisely, quasi-canonical works, in Naumov's terminology) that are included in calendar miscellanies[30]: these are part of the old-redaction panegyrics and reading menaia alone, that is, we suppose that they joined the calendar repertory no later than the eleventh century and have functioned as official readings for the feast ever since that time, and that their distribution is limited. The prophet Jeremiah is commemorated on 1 May. The South Slavonic old-redaction miscellanies contain for this date the anonymous narrative known as the "Paralipomena of Jeremiah (Иванова 2008: 525; Greek text Halkin 1957, № 777; CAVT: 181–185, № 225)". The work is known both in its Greek versions and also in the Slavonic manuscript traditions (Яцимирский 1921: 221–225; Петканова 1981: 77–85, 354–355). I shall mention here the so-called Extended Original Version, the term used in Emile Turdeanu's classification (1977: 348–363, 442), the text of which is attested in a very early incomplete copy in the Russian literary tradition[31], in the Russian Uspensky Sbornik from the late twelfth to early thirteenth centuries[32]. Research has shown that although they are heterogeneous as to Sbornik derive from Old Bulgarian protographs of the ninth and tenth centuries[33] that have not come down to us, so that the relationship between the Russian Uspensky Sbornik and South

[30] The Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavica has registered two more Old Testament quasi-canonical texts that are know thanks to isolated copies. Their presence in the calendar collections however is in question and that is why I shall not comment on them here. It is possible that the old redaction menaion panegyrics for the Sunday of the Holy Forefathers before the Nativity of Christ included the so-called „Testament of Abraham" (Halkin 1957, № 2002; Иванова 2008: 380) and Слово правѣ̂наго Ииѡвь, a narrative about the testament and death of Job (Halkin 1957, № 938; Иванова 2008: 526–527), which usually is linked with the date 6th May.

[31] An edition of the entire MS: the Uspenski Collection 1971. The text of this edition is on pp. 31–37.

[32] Without touching upon the Russian tradition of the work, I shall note that it is included in Makary's reading menaia for May. Cf. the edition Lesemenäen 2007: 14–20 (7d–10c).

[33] According to I. Dobrev „the martyrological part of the Uspenski Collection in comparison with the martyrological part of Codex Suprasliensis reflects an earlier stage of the history of Old Bulgarian…written culture", created „with the efforts of at least two generations of Old Bulgarian men of letters" (Добрев 1981: 36–38). On the comparison between the panegyric texts in the Codex Suprasliensis and those in the Uspenski Collection see also Blahova (Благова 1966).

Slavonic copies is of essential importance to the textual history of that work.

The two copies of "Paralipomena of Jeremiah" included in the Иванова 2008 for 1 May are from two manuscripts without ѫ, ѧ are closely related as to the time of their creation and that were written for the needs of the Serbian Church. The first manuscript is a reading menaion with selected readings for December–January and with additions for February up to and including June. This codex is kept at the State Historical Museum in Moscow (Khludov Collection, № 195), and was written most probably in Mark's Monastery in Skopje or in the Lesnovo Monastery, in the third quarter of the fourteenth century (Попов 1872: 384–419; Каталог 1999: 83–84; Иванова 2008: 156–158).

The second copy, containing the heading Печаль Иєремиина, is in a reading menaion for December–August and is also from the third quarter of the fourteenth century. It was made at the order of the Archbishop of Liplja for the Serbian monastery of Gračanica. Originally the codex was kept in that monastery, but in the eighteenth century it was transferred to the Lesnovo Monastery. It was then taken from there by A.Mihanović for his collection. Now this miscellany is kept in the Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts under the call number IIIc22 (Mošin 1955: 170–175; Иванова 2008: 172–173).

When the two copies are compared together with each other and with the earliest Russian copy from the Uspenskij Sbornik, one sees that they derive from one and the same translation. Independently of the fact that the two copies are Serbian and of later date, their variant readings do not attest any consistent and considerable redactional changes in the text in comparison with the Uspenskij Sbornik. All three copies retain the features of the early language of the translation. If we exclude the phonetic changes, the other variants are not consistent, nor do they predominate. The three copies have common texts for reading – for instance, the length of the dream of Abimelech as 66 years, while the non-calendrical copies give the figure as 86; or the Hebrew name of нисѧ for the twelfth month of the year, which has been retained, while the word August has been added in some non-calendrical copies, since according to the church calendar that is indeed the last month. Here too we may speak of an independent variant of „Paralipomena of Jeremiah", the translation of which most

probably has been made within the framework of the translational activities on the menaion calendar repertoires in tenth-century Bulgaria.

In the Serbian old-redaction reading menaia mentioned above, and in the Russian Uspensky Sbornik[34], for 9 May (Prophet Isaiah's day) one can also find the well-known apocryphal text "Isaiah's Vision" (CAVT: 175–180): in the copy from the Khludov codex № 195, it is on ff. 348r–352r, and in the copy from Mihanović's reading menaion in Zagreb, it is on ff. 257r–260v. The same text has been included also in a miscellany containing excerpts from a menaion panegyric from the collection of the Hilandar Monastery (№ 474, ff. 380r–384r; Иванова 2008: 531).

As is well known, the Greek original of the Slavonic translation has not been found; only fragments and a revision from the twelfth century have been preserved from the full Greek text.

The three copies have retained in the main the linguistic features of the Old Bulgarian protograph from which they derive. According to the generally accepted opinion of Palaeoslavonic scholars the Slavonic text of "Isaiah's Vision" emerged much earlier[35]. For a long time its translation was linked with the interest shown by the Bogomils in such themes. But the fact that that work is an integral part of the early menaion calendrical miscellanies and therefore was meant for reading in monasteries, gives us ground to assign "Isaiah's Vision" to the official translating activities of the Preslav literary school in the tenth century (Ivanova 2006: 68). Probably the Bulgarian heretics did show interest in it, but that was after the text had been translated and after its reception had already begun.

Finally, I shall mention a compilatory apocryphal narrative, "A Story about the Tree of the Cross", the work of presbyter Jeremiah, a Bulgarian author from the second half of the tenth century[36]. The earliest Bulgarian copy is in the well-known early fourteenth-century Berlin Miscellany[37], while the earliest Russian copy is kept in the

[34] The Успенский сборник 1971: 169–177 (ff. 90r–95r).

[35] From the extensive literature on the work I shall note: Иванов 1970: 131–164; Vailant 1968, I: 87–98; II: 72–82. On the textological problems see Джамбелука Коссова 1983: 66–79.

[36] About Presbyter Jeremiah (together with extensive bibliography) see Грашева 1995: 146–150.

[37] The Berlin Collection has had a phototype edition (Berlinski sbornik 1988). "A Story about the Tree of the Gross" is on ff. 78r–94r and the folia from the text that are missing between ff. 88r and 89r have also been published by phototype method after a

Khludov collection in the National Museum of History in Moscow and is dated as being from the 1330s or 1340s[38]. Although it has been listed in the indexes of prohibited books[39], this apocryphal text has not always been considered non-canonical. Its content, which links the Old and New Testament motifs of the origin of the Tree of the Cross, has been partially influenced by similar stories ascribed to Gregory the Theologian of Nazianzus, Severian of Gabala, and others. In isolated cases the Story has not been perceived as alien to canonicity and has been used for two important feasts in the Eastern calendar, the Third Sunday of Great Lent (the Sunday of the Veneration of the Cross) and the Elevation of the Cross[40]. So far the transferral of "A Story about the Tree of the Cross" from the prohibited books into the group of typikon readings has been recorded only in Serbian manuscripts[41]. The earliest copy in the South Slavonic calendar repertory is in an old-redaction Serbian reading menaion for September, which dates from the 1370s or 1380s (Иванова 2008: 160–161, № 178). This manuscript is from the library of the Cetinje Monastery in Montenegro (№ 64). The copy it contains (in ff. 84r–99v) was originally meant for the Third Sunday of Great Lent, as indicated in its heading: В нед҃елю. г҃. поста сло҃ w тн҃ѣмь дрѣвѣ. и w изв҃ѣщении с҃тыѣ тр҃це. и вь паметь Мwусеови. и прочимь пр҃ркомь (in the Berlin Collection, Слово похваление моисеwво. w избытыи дрѣва. пеугы и кенд҃рѣ и куписѣ). The text of "The Story of the Tree of the Cross" in the Cetinje manuscript is complete; in fact this is the second fourteenth-century South Slavonic copy, which differs very considerably from the version in the Berlin Miscellany. Analysing them requires serious work, which will

Serbian MS from the collection of Gilferding № 42 from the end of the 16th c., ff. 14r–24r. In the type-set edition (Берлински сборник 2006) the Story is on pp. 231–279.

[38] Каталог 1999: 79, № 73. This copy has been published – Попов 1875: 31–44.

[39] About the indexes of prohibited books with a bibliography of the editions and the studies on them see Кожухаров 1995: 114–115.

[40] Feast on 14.09.

[41] I know of one more case, when a part of "A Story about the Tree of the Gross" was included as a text for a calendar feast in the service for the Elevation of the Cross as a prologue reading after the kontakion and the ikos (oikos). This is in a Serbian liturgical collection from the third quarter of the 17th c., which is kept under № 34 in the collection of M. P. Pogodin now in the Russian National Library in Saint Petersburg (Иванова 1981: 158–160).

be carried out additionally and will be presented in a separate study. Immediately on collating the two texts the scholar sees that entire passages have been added or omitted. The phrases have been expanded or abbreviated and the result is changes of meaning or new connotations in the meaning. The texts differ in vocabulary and in syntax. In short we face two rather different versions deriving from protographs that have been influenced by different Greek texts.

At this stage I cannot determine the relationship between the two texts. In the Cetinje copy the end of the text on f. 99v has been expanded with a eulogy for the Cross, and ends with a doxological formula[42], which is one more proof that this copy was used as a reading for the Elevation of the Cross (as well as for the Third Sunday of Great Lent).

In conclusion I shall say by way of a summary that unlike the two first two texts discussed here (chapter 13 of the Book of the Prophet Daniel and the Apocalypse), which, as we have seen, emerged secondarily, as calendrical redactions of canonical biblical texts, the inclusion in the South Slavonic repertory of the apocrypha "Jeremiah's Laments" and "Isaiah's Vision" may have taken place "in the opposite sequence", i.e. they may have been translated first as part of the calendrical miscellanies, and after that may have been disseminated also into non-calendrical miscellanies.

"A Story about the Tree of the Cross" obviously was never an integral part of the early translations from Preslav, as it is not found in the other menaion or triodion calendar miscellanies. It is more likely that the work was included supplementarily, probably in Serbia, but for the time being we do not have enough evidence that it existed in Serbian written culture.

The integral analysis of all works that derive from the biblical canonical and apocryphal corpus and that have been included in calendar miscellanies is still at an initial stage. No doubt this less familiar part of the Slavonic literary repertory will evoke the interest of Palaeoslavonic scholars.

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[42] Ѥи братиѥ пⷭ̂овигнѣмъ се и мы тєци кь Хоⷭ̂ бо҃. и оубѣжимь кьзнi вражиѥ. вл̂ка бо гⷭ̄ дасть нами помощь. тѣмь избавл҃ꙗѥмь се и весел҃им҃ се надѣюще на нь. покланꙗюще се тристⷭ̄ѣи троици и wц̄оу и сн̄оу и стⷭ̄моу дх̄оу нн̄ꙗ... аминь.

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Supplement

Calendrical version of Chapter 13 of the Book of the Prophet Daniel, from a copy in a reading menaion at the Library of the Zograph Monastery, № 94[43]

F. 365r: Ѡ старцѣ и ѡ сосанѣ прр҃чьство данїилево. бл҃ви ѡ҃:~

1. Бѣше мѫжь живыи въ вавѹ̈лѡнѣ, емоуже има ѡакимь. *2.* и поатъ женѫ именемь сосанѫ, дъщи хелкїева. красна зѣло и божщи сѧ бг҃а. *3.* родителѣ же ея праведна, и наоучиста дъщере своѫ по законоу мѡусеѡвоу. *4.* бѣше же ѡакимь богать зѣло. и бѣ градина близь двора его. и съхождаахѫ сѧ къ немѹ жидове, понеже славнѣиши҃и бѣше въсѣ. *5.* и избрашѫ два старца ѿ // f. 365v: людїи сѫдити въ лѣто то҃. ѡ и҃же гл҃а гь҃. ѡако изыдеть безаконїе ѿ вавѹ̈лѡна, ѿ старець сѫдїи. *6.* прѣбываста въ домѹ ѡакїмовѣ, и прихождаахѫ къ немоу въси прѣти сѧ *7.* и бы҃ егда ѿхождаахѫ людїе въ полоудн҃е въходѧщи сосана, и хождааше въ градинѣ мѫжа своего. *8.* и съматрѣваста ея ѡба старца по въсѧ дн҃и. въходѧщѫ и исходѧщѫ, и быста въ похотѣнїи еи, *9.* и развратиста оумь свои. и оуклониста очи свои ѡако ни възрѣти на нб҃о, ниже поминати сѫ҃ праведны҃. *10.* и бѣста ѡба пожеланїе имаща на на҃. и не исповѣдаста дроугъ къ дроугѹ болѣзни своѫ. *11.* ѡако стыдѣста сѧ исповѣдати помышленїе свое, ѡако хотѣста быти съ неѫ. *12.* и блюдѣста ѫ по въсѧ дн҃и, желаѫща и зрѧща еѫ. *13.* и рѣста дроугъ къ дроугоу поидѣмь въ домь свои, ѡако врѣмя е҃ ѡбѣдоу. *14.* и ше҃ша разидоста сѧ дроугъ ѿ дроугѹ. и пакы ѡбращьша сѧ прїдоста единамо. и ѡтязаста сѧ сама виноѫ исповѣдаста похотѣнїоу своемѹ. и тако ѡбщее състависта врѣмя, когда оуловчити ѫ и ѡбрѣсти единѫ. *15.* И бы҃ внегда блюдѣста ея да ѡакоже прїиде по ѡбычаю тъчиѫ съ двѣма ѡтроковицама, *16.* и никтоже не бы҃ тоу; развѣ два҃ старъца ѡна҃ съкрывена стрѣгѫща ея. *17.* и гл҃а ѡтроковиц҃а принесита маслѡ и смѣшенїе, и дв҃ри ѡграды затворита ѡако да измыѫ сѧ, *18.*

[43] The text is published here as close to the copy as possible. I have retained the above-the-line letters, the titles above the letters, and the accents, for the verses. The capital letters are as they are in the copy. I have retained the original punctuation. For the sake of convenience I have introduced digits in italics but I have not marked the aspirations.

и сътвориста ꙗкоже рече. и затвориста дв҃ри wградныѫ, и излѣзостѣ принести повелѣное има. и не видѣ ста́рца пон҃е съкрыве// f. 366r:ни бѣхѫ *19.* и бы́ егда изыдоста wтроковици, въстаста wба ста́рца и рѣста *20.* сѐ дв҃ри wградныѫ затвориш҃, и никтоже не вн҃ить на҃. мы же похотѣнїа твоего хощемь, wбѣщаи сѧ и бѫди съ нами *21.* аще ли нн҃, то҃ хощемь рещи ꙗко бѣше съ неѫ юноша и того ради т҃пасти wтроковици т҃ сѐбе. *22.* и възы́ше сосана и р҃е. тѣскно ми є҃ т҃ въсѫдоу аще бо сѐ сътвора, съмрьт ми є҃. аще не сътвора, то҃ не[44] вбѣжѫ т҃ ржкоу ваю. *23.* болшее ми є҃ не сътворши ми, въпа́сти въ ржцѣ ваю н҃ели съгрѣшити пр҃ѣ бг҃ѡ҃. *24.* И възъпи гласѡ҃ велїемь сосана, възъписта же и wба старца противѣ єи. *25.* и текь єдинь т҃връзе дв҃ри градныѫ. *26.* и ꙗко вслышашѫ кли́чь въ градѣ домашнїи, вънидошѫ т҃ странныи҃ двереи видѣти сълꙋчившее сѧ єи. *27.* егда же исповѣста ста́рца словеса сїа; и встыдѣшѫ҃ рабї еѫ зѣло. ꙗко не слыша сѧ таковое сло́во w сосанѣ. *28.* И бы́ на вт҃рїа, ꙗко събрашѫ҃ людїе къ мѫжѹ еѫ ꙗкѹ҃моу. пр҃їидоста же и wба ста́рца плъна безаконїа и помышленїа, на сосанѫ вморити а. *29.* и рѣста пр҃ѣ народѡмъ. поустити́ти за сосанѫ дъщерь халкїевѫ. wни же поустишѫ *30.* и ꙗко приведошѫ а ближикы єи. *31.* сосана же бѣше млада зѣло, и красна ѡ́бразомь. *32.* безаконнїи же рѣшѫ главѫ єи т҃крыти, бѣше бо покрывена ꙗко да насытѧт сѧ красоты еѫ *33.* видѣвши ѫ въси. *34.* Въставша же wба старца посрѣ҃ людїи, и положиста ржцѣ оба на главѣ єи. *35.* wна // f. 366v: же плачащїи сѧ възираааше къ бг҃оу. ꙗко бѣ с҃рцѣ҃ еѫ вповаѫ на бг҃а. *36.* рѣста же wба ста́рца. хожа҃аховѣ по градинѣ wба. и въше҃ сїа҃ съ двѣма wтроковицама, и затвори дв҃ри wградныѫ. и пѫсти wтроковица, *37.* и пр҃їиде къ неи юноша иже бѣше съкрывень, и бы́ съ нею. *38.* мы же wба сѫща въ ꙗглѣ градины, и видѣхѡ҃ безаконїе и҃ текохwвѣ на н҃а҃. *39.* и не могохwмь ѧти его, пон҃е wнь паче на҃ можааше. и т҃връзь дв҃ри градин҃ныѫ и избѣже. *40.* сиѫ же емша въпрашахwмь еѫ, кто бѣ юноша; и не хотѣ повѣдати намь. w семъ послоꙋшаите. *41.* и вѣрова имь съньмь, ꙗко старце҃ и сѫдїамь люд҃скыимь и wсѫдишѫ а на съмр҃ть. *42.* И възъпи сосана гласомь велїемь и р҃е. бг҃же пр҃вѣчны҃ съкрꙋвеныи҃ вѣдителю. съвѣдыи въсѣ пр҃вѫ҃е бытїа и҃. *43.* ты вѣси ꙗко въ льжѫ послꙋшьствоваста w мнѣ; и сѐ ѕмираѫ ничтоже сътворивши; т҃ и҃же сїа лѫкавноваста на ма. *44.* и оуслыша гь҃ бь҃ моленїе еѫ, *45.* вѣ́домѣ єи на

[44] не written over the line.

погꙋбленїе. Въздвиже[45] бь дхо стыи отрока юношж, емоуже има данїиль. *46.* и въздпи гласомь велїемь гла. чисть азь w крве еж *47.* и wбратишж вси людїе къ немоу глаще. что ѥ слово се еже ты глеши; *48.* съ же ставь посрѣ х и ре си це ли ародивїи снове ıави; не испытавше истинж wсждисте дъщере ıслевж. *49.* възвратите са на сждище лъжж бо сїа свѣтельствоваста w неи. *50.* и възвратишж вси людїе съ тыцанїемъ. и рѣшж емоу ста рци. ше сѣди посрѣ на, и извѣсти намь о то ıако тебѣ //f. 367r: е дась бь старѣишинтво. *51.* данїил же ре къ ни. разведѣте х далече wсобь, и азь въпрошж ıа. *52.* и ıако разведошж х, и призва единого w ни и ре емоу. ветшалче. нынѣ приспѣшж грѣси твои, иже творѣше прѣжде. *53.* сждїе неправедныи, и неповинныи х wсжжаеши, и працаеши повинныи. глацоу боу. чиста и праведна не оубивати. *54.* нынѣ оубо сиж аще еси видѣль, ръци по кыимь садо видѣль еси бесѣдоующщж; wнь же ре. по тръно. *55.* гла емоу данїиль. право сльга на своѫ главж. се бо аггль бжїи растрьгнет та, *56.* и wпвсти его. повелѣ привести и дроугаго, и ре емоу. плема ханаане, а не ıоудїно. красота прѣльсти та, и похотѣнїе развратн срце твое. *57.* си це сътворили есте дъщери ıслевѣ. да wни божще са бесѣдовати къ вамь, нынѣ дъщи ıоудинѣ не прѣтръпить безаконїа вашего. *58.* Нынѣ оубо гли ми, по кыимь садомь видѣ си х бесѣдоующи х съ же ре. по чесминож. *59.* гла емоу данїиль. право сльга и ты на своѫ главж. ожидает бо аггль гнь разсѣщи та на полы ме чемь, ıако да потрѣбит вы.

60. И[46] въздпи на рw гласомь велїемь и блгаго прослави ба, спсающаго вповающи х на нь. *61.* и въсташа на wба ста рца, ıако видѣвь х данїиль w оусть х лжа изышешж. *62.* и сътворишж има, ıакоже wни съ лжкавьствомь хотѣхж сътворити ближнемоу своемь. по законоу мwусеwвоу повишж ıа, и спасе са кръвь неповинна въ тъ дь *63.* хелкїи же и жена его, //f. 367v: прослависта ба w дъщери своеи сосанѣ. и съ ıwакимw мжжемь еж, и съ жжиками въсѣми. ıако не wбрѣте са неправда w неи. *64.* данїиль же бы великыи прославлень бгомь и въсѣмь народомъ, w того дне. съ нимже и мы коупно прославлѣемь оца и сна и стго дха, нынѣ и прно. и въ вѣкы вѣкw, аминь:—

[45] В written in red ink; же written over the line.

[46] И written in red ink.

BIBLICAL QUOTATIONS IN THE ORATION FOR THE NATIVITY OF THE THEOTOKOS BY ST. JOHN DAMASCENE IN TWO MIDDLE BULGARIAN TRANSLATIONS*

Tsvetomira Danova

When there exist two translations of a work made in one and same period, this raises many questions related to textual criticism, linguistics, and literary criticism as well as the problem of the reception of the biblical text used in the work. On more than one occasion some authors (Bláhová 1982: 67; Алексеев 1985: 74–75, 76; Алексеев 1999: 69–70 and others) have pointed out the significance of and the opportunities for investigating the biblical quotations in non-biblical books and the importance of the results both for the translated text in question and for the biblical text. The present article will set out some preliminary observations on the translation of the biblical quotations in two fourteenth-century translations of the Oration for the Nativity of the Theotokos by St. John Damascene[1].

Students of the rhetorical prose of St. John Damascene note as its characteristic features the tendency of the author to quote Scripture and to explain passages in it that are more difficult as well as to use many biblical reminiscences, which presupposes a public with theological competence (Louth 2002: 230). The Bible and its imagery have such a strong presence in the oration under discussion that the exceedingly large number of biblical quotations and references is one of the reasons why Kotter, who published these works by St. John Damascene, voiced in his edition of the Greek text doubts as to the authorship of the Oration for the Nativity of the Theotokos (Kotter 1988: 149). Other research scholars such as Louth, however, do not accept without reservations the arguments advanced by Kotter (Louth 2002: 226). The question of the authorship of the Oration will not be discu-

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[1] BHG 1087; CPG 8060; Kotter 1988: 147–182.

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ssed here. It is beyond doubt, however, that its text interprets the Nativity of the Theotokos exactly in the spirit and style of St. John Damascene, a peculiar synthesis of poetic eulogy and philosophical and theological thinking which finds inspiration and solid backing in Sacred Scripture.

The oration is known in two Middle Bulgarian translations. One of the translations belongs to a larger and more widely represented group of sources, the group of the well-known Zographou Collection, a menaion panegyric covering the period from 1 September to 19 January and kept in the Zographou Monastery on Mount Athos under № 107 (Зогр 107). Research indicates that the codex was written in the 1480s most probably on Mount Athos or in Tarnovo (Иванова 1969: 107–108). From the group of the Zographou Collection I have so far also used the following manuscripts: Пог 873, РАН 302, ЦИАИ 182, РМ 4/5, Гилф 56, УУБ 1, МСПЦ 139 and Хил 496[2]. The other Middle Bulgarian translation is found in MS № 307 from the collection of the SS Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia (НБКМ 307). Collection № 307 contains vitae and orations chosen from menaion panegyrics and from the triodion panegyric. This text dates from the fourteenth century and comes from eastern Bulgaria (Цонев 1910: 248–249). Other manuscripts from the same group as НБКМ 307 which have been used in the study so far are Хил.473, Цет.64, ZIII.c.24, Хил 457, ZIII.b.20 and Хил 439[3].

Twenty-one exact biblical quotations and over 120 biblical allusions are noted in the index to the edition of the Greek text of the Oration for the Nativity of the Theotokos (Kotter 1988: 556–569). But as there are some minor discrepancies between the index and the quotations that are marked by the editor as exact in the text of the Oration, in the present article the material will be refined in the process of investigation. Besides this, one should note that the present article will discuss only the exact biblical quotations from two translations of the fourteenth century. Their Greek text is quoted from the edition by Kotter (Kotter 1988) and is collated with the Septuagint text (Rahlfs 1950) and the edition of the New Testament of Nestle-Aland (Nestle, Aland 1996).

[2] Information on the manuscripts in BHBS (Иванова 2008: 110–111, 121, 161, 129–130, 61–62, 136–137, 86–88, 153).

[3] Information on the manuscripts in BHBS (Иванова 2008: 149–150, 160, 174–175, 147, 170–171, 141–142).

The biblical quotations that show no differences either between the two Middle Bulgarian translations or between them and the Slavonic tradition of the respective biblical books will only be listed here. They are[4]: **Ps 2:7** (Kotter 3, 38) – Κύριος εἶπε πρός με · υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε – гⷣ рече къ мнѣ сн҃ъ мои есн ты, аꙁъ дн҃е роднꙫ тѧ – Зогр 107, f. 24a, НБКМ 307, f. 212a[5]; **Ps 117:27** (Kotter 4, 17) – θεὸς κύριος, καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἡμῖν – бⷣъ гⷣь и ꙗви сѧ намъ, Зогр 107, f. 24b, НБКМ 307, f. 212b[6]; **Is 6:3** (Kotter 10, 22) – Ἅγιος, Ἅγιος, Ἅγιος, Κύριος Σαβαὼθ – стⷣъ. стⷣъ. стⷣъ гⷣь сававѡѳъ, Зогр 107, f. 28a, НБКМ 307, f. 216b; **Is 8:1** (Kotter 7, 1) – τόμον καινὸν – свитѡкъ нѡвь, Зогр 107, f. 25b, НБКМ 307, f. 214b и **Lk 8:8**[7] (Kotter 3, 34) – ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούειν, ἀκούετω – имѣѫ҃н ꙋшн слышатн. да слышн҃, Зогр 107, f. 24a, НБКМ 307, f. 212a.

The biblical quotations translated in different ways in Зогр 107 and НБКМ 307 are presented not according to their sequence in the Oration, but according to their order in the Bible.

There is only one quotation from Genesis, Gen 3:16. In the Oration it is divided by an authorial text and a quotation from Lk 1:28, which have been omitted here (omissions are indicated by dots). Gen 3:16 and Lk 1:28 are the first quotations from the Bible that are used by the author. Their inclusion provides one of the main themes that create the image of the Theotokos in the work: the contrast between "the two virgins" (Лосский 2003: 728), Eve and Mary. Gen 3:16 is part of a pericope from the Old Testament lectionary (known as the Prophetologion or Paremejnik), Gen 3:1–20, which is read during the first week of Great Lent on Friday at Vespers[8]. The Middle Bulgarian

[4] As the discrepancies between these quotations in Зогр 107 and НБКМ 307 concern only orthography, the Middle Bulgarian translations are quoted only from Зогр 107.

[5] гⷣь рече : р҃е гⷣь in УББ 1 from the group of Зогр 107; аꙁъ дн҃е роднꙫ тѧ : и аꙁ дн҃ь роднꙫь те in Хил 473 and ZIII.b.20 from the group of НБКМ 307.

[6] бⷣъ гⷣь и ꙗвн сѧ намъ : гⷣь бⷣь и ꙗвн се намъ in ЦИАИ 182 from the group of Зогр 107 and in Хил 473, ZIII.c.24 and ZIII.b.20 from the group of НБКМ 307.

[7] The quotation is missing in Гилф.56 from the group of Зогр 107 and in ZIII.c.24 from the group of НБКМ 307.

[8] Indications of the liturgical use of the Old Testament lections from Genesis and Isaiah are given in accordance with the Grigorovič Paremejnik as published in the edition by Ribarova and Hauptova (Рибарова, Хауптова 1998: 429–436).

translations of the quotation have been collated with the text from the Grigorovič Paremejnik (*Gr*) from the late twelfth century in the edition by Ribarova and Hauptova (Рибарова, Хауптова 1998) and also with the full *čet'i* text (the text for reading) from the Book of Genesis (*G*) in the edition by Mihailov (Михайлов 1900) as well as with the text of Genesis from the Palaea Interpretata (*P*) in the edition by Slavova (Славова 2002). Where needed, variant readings are supplied outside the apparatus from other Old Testament lectionaries in the edition by Brandt (Брандт 1894) and full *čet'i* copies of the Book of Genesis in the edition by Mihailov (Михайлов 1900)[9].

Gen 3:16

Kotter 1, 9 ἐν λύπαις τέξῃ τέκνα ... πρὸς τὸν ἀνδρά σου ἡ ἀποστροφή σου

Sept. Gen 3:16 ἐν λύπαις τέξῃ τέκνα. καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα σου ἡ ἀποστροφή σου

Зогр 107, f. 22b въ печалн [1] рожднш чада ... къ мжжѕ [3] твоемѕ възвращенїе твое

НБКМ 307, f. 210a въ жалостн [1]... породн [2] чада къ мжжоу [3] своемоу [4] възвращенїе ѥа [5]

I. [1] печѣлехъ *Gr G P*; [2] рожднш *Gr G P*; [3] мужевн *P*; [4] твоемоу *Gr G*; [5] възвращенне твое *Gr G* възвратнш са *P*;

II. въ жалостн НБКМ *307*: вь печалы *ZIII.c.24*.

The translation in Зогр 107 follows the biblical text from *Gr* and *G* and gives a variant reading only in the case form – въ печалн attested to in the Lobkovski and Ofonasievski Old Testament lectionaries[10]. НБКМ 307 presents a translation that differs lexically and grammatically. The only coincidence it has is with the Palaea Interpretata and it concerns the reflexive possessive pronoun своемоу. In Gen 3:16 ἐν

[9] The same principle is valid also with regard to the quotation from the Book of the Prophet Isaiah.

[10] Variant readings from the edition by Brandt (Брандт 1894: 122); for information about the manuscripts see the work by Mihailov (Михайлов 1912: XCII–XCIV, XCIX).

λύπαις is translated as въ скорѣхъ in the Arhiv Chronograph[11] of the fifteenth century and as въ болѣзнехъ in the Ostrog Bible. It is difficult to say whether the replacement of жалость with печалы in MS ZIII.c.24 from the NBKM 307 group is a correction on the basis of the biblical text or is used automatically because of the preceding sentence, where λύπη is translated as печаль – ἡ λύπη εἰς χαρὰν μεταβέβληται (Kotter 1, 8), печаль въ радость прѣложи сѧ (НБКМ 307, f. 210a).

The exact quotations from the Psalter in Kotter's index are four in number – Ps 2:7, Ps 117:26, Ps 77:14, Ps 95:11. For the collation different copies of the Psalter are used – the Sinai (*Sin*), Sinai-Byčkov (*SinB*), Pogodin (*Pog*), Bologna (*Bol*), Čudov (*Čud*) and Tomič redactions (*T*) and the Norovskaya Psaltir (*Nor*).

Ps 77:14

Kotter 8, 17–18 καὶ *ὁδηγήσαντος* ἐν νεφέλῃ ἡμέρας καὶ ὅλην τὴν νύκτα ἐν φωτισμῷ πυρός.

Sept. Ps 77:14 καὶ ὡδήγησεν αὐτοὺς ἐν νεφέλῃ ἡμέρας καὶ ὅλην τὴν νύκτα ἐν φωτισμῷ πυρός.

Зогр 107, f. 26b *и наставлѧша* wблакwмъ [1] въ дн҃е [2], и въсѧ нощь просвѣщенїемъ [4] wгнѣ [5]

НБКМ 307, f. 215b wблакомъ [1] въ дн҃е [2] наставн нхь. и всѧ нощь [3] просвѣщенїемъ [4] wгнѣ [5]

I. [1] въ wблацѣ *Nor*; [2] дн҃н *Nor*; [3] въ просвѣштенне *Sin Nor*, [4] проценнемь *SinB*; [5] огньно *Pog*

II. НБКМ 307 дн҃е : дн҃н ZIII.c.24

Ps 95:11

Kotter 2, 27s εὐφραινέσθωσαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσθω ἡ γῆ

Sept. Ps 95:11 εὐφραινέσθωσαν οἱ οὐρανοί, καὶ ἀγαλлιάσθω ἡ γῆ

Зогр 107, f. 23b да възвесел҃т сѧ [1] нб҃сѧ и раꙋ҆ет [2] сѧ землѣ.

НБКМ 307, f. 211a възвеселнте сѧ [1] нб҃а. и раꙋ҆н сѧ [2] земле.

[11] A variant reading from the edition by Mihailov (Михайлов 1900: 19); for information about the MS see the work by Mihailov (Михайлов 1912: XXIV–XXVII).

I. [1] да веселѣтъ сѧ *Nor Pog Sin SinB om. Čud*; [2] да радоует сѧ *Nor*;

II. НБКМ 307 възвеселите сѧ : въздвелите се *Хил 457*.

The translations of the quotations from the Psalter in the index show that either there is no difference between the two Middle Bulgarian translations (Ps 2:7 and Ps 117:26 above) or that the differrences are not large ones. In Ps 77:14 the translation of that part of the quotation which is quoted accurately by St. John Damascene is the same in both Middle Bulgarian translations, with the exception that the verb наставнти has been transposed in НБКМ 307 in comparison with the Greek text of the Oration and its translation in Зогр 107 and that the pronoun нхь has been added there. It is difficult to say whether the addition of нхь in НБКМ 307 is due to the influence of the biblical text or is a decision made by the translator in order to explain that the point concerns ὁ λαὸς κυρίου. In Ps 95:11 the difference between Зогр 107 and НБКМ 307 is in the forms of the imperative mood and one should note that НБКМ 307 uses, with very few exceptions, only the imperative forms developed from the present-tense stem of the verb: out of thirty-nine cases of use of the imperative in the Oration, thirty-four are formed from the present-tense stem of the verb, while the remaining five use forms with *да*. The translations of Ps 77:14 and Ps 95:11 in Зогр 107 and НБКМ 307 coincide completely with some of the Slavonic versions of the Psalter: in the case of Ps 77:14 both Зогр 107 and НБКМ 307 coincide with *Bol, T* and *Čud*, while in Ps 95:11 Зогр 107 coincides again with *Bol* and *T*, and НБКМ 307 also coincides with *Bol* and *T* with the exception of the imperative form, which is typical of its translation.

The Oration has two more quotations from the Psalter that are marked by Kotter as exact, Ps 97:4 and Ps 67:16–17, but the second of them is not quoted in full and exactly by St. John Damascene in the Oration, and this is why it will not be discussed here.

Ps 97:4[12]

Kotter 6, 16s Ἀλαλάξατε τῷ κυρίῳ, πᾶσα ἡ γῆ, ᾄσατε καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε καὶ ψάλλετε

Sept. Ps 97:4 ἀλαλάξατε τῷ θεῳ, πᾶσα ἡ γῆ, ᾄσατε καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε καὶ ψάλατε

[12] The variant reading in Ps 97:4 – τῷ θεῳ] τῷ κυρίῳ, noted in the Septuagint, can be seen both in the copies of the Slavonic translation of the Psalter and in a copy of the Middle Bulgarian translation in Зогр 107. Obviously St. John Damascene quotes the biblical text with the variant τῷ κυρίῳ.

Зогр 107, f. 25a въспонте [1] гв҃н [2] въсѣ ꙁемлѣ. въспонте и раꙋ҆ите сѧ и понте.

НБКМ 307, f. 213b въскликнѣте б҃ꙋ [3] вса ꙁемлѧ. въспонте и раꙋ҆нте сѧ и понте.

I. [1] въскликнѣте *Bol Nor Pog Sin SinB T*; [2] б҃ꙋ *Bol* гв҃н *Nor*; [3] г҃ю *Sin* гв҃н *SinB Pog T*; *om. Čud*

II. Зогр 107 гв҃н : гг҃ы МСПЦ 139

In the translation of Ps 97:4 Зогр 107 follows faithfully the Greek text of the Oration, while НБКМ 307 probably quotes the biblical text as Kotter's edition does not mention a variant reading for τῷ κυρίῳ. The translation of НБКМ 307 coincides in full with the text of *Bol*. Besides that, MS МСПЦ 139 from the group of Зогр 107 shows interference on the part of the copyist, probably under the influence of the biblical text.

From the Song of Songs we have only one accurate quotation.

Song of Songs 1:3

Kotter 9, 38 μύρον γὰρ ἐκκενωθὲν ὄνομά σου

Sept. Cant. 1:3 μύρον ἐκκενωθὲν ὄνομά σου

Зогр 107, f. 27b мѵро вѡ нзлїанно нма твое

НБКМ 307 – text is missing.

In this case St. John Damascene indicates the quotation and its Scriptural origin: immediately after the quotation he adds φησὶν ἡ γραφή (Kotter 9, 39), р҃е писанїе (Зогр 107, f. 27b). The quotation from the Song of Songs marks an especially ecstatic moment in the poetic eulogy of the Theotokos. It is curious, however, that this quotation is missing in НБКМ 307. Its translation in Зогр 107 coincides with Methodius's translation of this book from the Bible (Алексеев 2002: 24) and with the interpretative translation (Алексеев 2002: 64). The fact that the particle γὰρ was also rendered in Зогр 107 but is missing in the Greek text of the Bible shows that the criterion followed in the translation was first of all the Greek text of the Oration and after that possibly also the Slavonic version of the relevant book of the Bible.

The quotations from the Book of the Prophet Isaiah noted as exact in the index in Kotter's edition are four: Is 6:3 and Is 8:1 (see above),

Is 9:6, Is 35:3. To them I shall add also Is 54:1, which is not marked in the index as exact (probably a technical omission), but is indicated as such in the text. The Grigorovič Paremejnik (*Gr*), the fourteenth-century MS F.I.461[13] and fifteenth-century MS F.I.3[14] have been added to the collation.

Is 9:5[15]

Kotter 4, 20–22 παιδίον ἐγεννήθη ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐδόθη ἡμῖν, καὶ καλεῖται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ μεγάλης βουλῆς, *τῆς παγκοσμίου σωτηρίας* ἄγγελος, θεὸς ἰσχυρός.

Sept Is 9:5 *ὅτι* παιδίον ἐγεννήθη ἡμῖν, *υἱὸς* καὶ ἐδόθη ἡμῖν *οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐγενήθη ἐπὶ τοῦ ὤμου αὐτοῦ*, καὶ καλεῖται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος[16]

Зогр 107, f. 24b отроча родн сѧ намъ н дⷭ҃ намъ [2] . н нарнцает сѧ [3] нма его [4] велнкаго съвѣта [6] , *вьсемирнаго спсенїа* агглъ. бъ крѣпокъ.

НБКМ 307, f. 212b младенець [1] родн сѧ, н дасть сѧ намъ [2] . н нарнцает сѧ [3] нма емоу [5] велнко нзволенїе [6] *вьсемоу мироу* спснтель, агглъ

I. [1] отроча *Gr*$_a$ *Gr*$_b$ дѣтнць *F.I.3*; [2] дⷭ҃ъ бъı *Gr*$_a$ данъ намъ бы *Gr*$_b$; [3] н нарнчетъ сѧ *Gr*$_a$ н прозывае сѧ *F.I.3*; [4] емѧ *Gr*$_b$ [5] его *Gr*$_a$ *F.I.3*; [6] велнка свıата *Gr*$_a$ *Gr*$_b$ велнка съвѣта *F.I.3*

Though the quotation is indicated as exact, it is not full and is interwoven in to the author's text, which here is given in italics. Is 9:5–6 also comes from a pericope which is read on two liturgical dates: at Vespers for the Nativity of Christ (*Gr*$_a$) (Рибарова, Хауптова 1998: 17, 429) and on Monday at Matins during the third week of Great Lent (*Gr*$_b$) (Рибарова, Хауптова 1998: 123, 431). In НБКМ 307 there are omissions in comparison with the Greek text: ἡμῖν and θεὸς ἰσχυρός are missing, while Kotter's edition notes

[13] For details on the MS see (Николова 1994: 110–118; Попова 1996: 57–63).

[14] For information on the MS see (Мострова 1995: 14).

[15] This verse from the Book of Isaiah is missing in MS F.I.461.

[16] Concerning the absence of θεὸς ἰσχυρός in the bible text, see the variant readings in the Septuagint. Obviously, St. John Damascene quotes a biblical text in which θεὸς ἰσχυρός is not missing.

only the omission of θεὸς ἰσχυρός. The compound form of велнкаго in Зогр 107 is attested in the Lyapunov Old Testament lectionary[17]. Both Middle Bulgarian translations here follow the Greek original, reflecting the fluctuation of its text and adding fluctuations of their own. But still, the translation in Зогр 107 is nearer to the pericope containing this verse, while НБКМ 307 gives its own translation. In spite of the lexical variety characteristic of НБКМ 307 and its too free translation in many cases, the reason why НБКМ 307 gives a different translation of Is 9:5–6 is probably failure to recognize the biblical text, because of the incomplete quoting of Is 9:6 by St. John Damascene, on the one hand, and the additional absence of θεὸς ἰσχυρός in НБКМ 307, on the other. By contrast, at the end of the Oration there appears a biblical reminiscence, again based on Is 9:5–6, in which НБКМ 307 translates quite accurately, in accordance with the Slavonic biblical tradition, the passages μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος as велнкаго съвѣта аг҃гл҃ъ – οὐ λειτουργὸν δεξαμένη ἄγγελον, ἀλλὰ τὸν τῆς μεγάλης βουλῆς (Kotter 11, 9), неслоужѫщаго прнемлщнн аг҃гл҃а, нѫ велнкаго съвѣта аг҃гл҃ъ (НБКМ 307, f. 217a). Here the translator has recognized the prophetic words of Isaiah, and has probably even supplemented them, because at this place in НБКМ 307 there is an addition, аг҃гл҃ъ, which is not recorded in Kotter's edition.

Is 35:3[18]

Kotter 9, 45 *ἴσχυσαν* χεῖρες ἀνειμέναι καὶ γόνατα παραλελυμένα

Sept.Is 35:3 ἰσχύσατε, χεῖρες ἀνειμέναι καὶ γόνατα παραλελυμένα

Зогр 107, f. 27b *вкрѣпишѫ* рѫцѣ [1] прѣстарѣвшїи сѧ [2], и лыста [3] ослабленнаа [4]

НБКМ 307 – text is missing

I. [1] рѫкъı *Gr F.I.3*; [2] wслабенъı *Gr* рaслаблены *F.I.3*; [3] колѣна *Gr F.I.3*; [4] wслабенаѣ *Gr* рaсыпана *F.I.3*

[17] A variant reading after Brandt (Брандт 1894: 13); for information on the MS see in Mihailov (Михайлов 1912: CI).

[18] This verse from the Prophet Isaiash is missing in MS F.I.461. Is. 35:3 is also part of the Old Testament lection, see (Рибарова, Хауптова 1998: 430).

The translation in Зогр 107 does not coincide with the biblical manuscripts used for the collation.

Is 54:1 is quoted in the epistle of S. Paul to the Galatians (Gal 4:27). Is 54:1 is a pericope for Vespers on Great Friday (i.e. Holy or Good Friday), while Gal 4:22–27 is given as a reading from the lectionary for the Acts and Epistles (known as the Apostolos) for the feasts of 9 Sept. (SS Joachim and Anna) or 8 Sept. (the Nativity of the Theotokos) (Христова-Шомова 2004: 279). Here the quotation is discussed at the same time in the textual tradition of the Book of the Prophe Isaiah and of the Epistle to the Galatians. As a quotation from Galatians this biblical text is collated with the body of texts presented in the study of Hristova-Shomova cited above and here referred to as *Asl*. In the textual tradition of the Apostolos there are no variant readings for this verse, but in the textual tradition of the Book of the Prophet Isaiah there are variant readings in the Old Testament lectionary and in the *čet'i* text.

Is 54:1; Gal 4:2

Kotter 4, 18 *Εὐφραίνου, ῎Αννα* στεῖρα, ἡ οὐ τίκτουσα· ῥῆξον καὶ βόησον, ἡ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα.

Sept. Is 54:1 εὐφράνθητι, στεῖρα ἡ οὐ τίκτουσα, ῥῆξον καὶ βόησον, ἡ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα (= Nestle–Aland)

Зогр 107, f. 24b *радꙋ́н сѧ Анно* неплоды нерадѣ́ащїа. разстрꙑгнн н вꙑзꙑпн небwлѣвшїа [3]

НБКМ 307, f. 212b *Весели сѧ Анно.* ꙗко неплоды рождъши [1] ѿвръзи [2] и вꙑзꙑпи неболѣвшїа 3

I· [1] неплодъı нераждащѣ *Gr F.I.461 F.I.3 Asl*; [2] растрꙑгнн *Gr Asl* вꙑзгласн *F.I.461 F.I.3*; [3] не радѣ́ащїа *F.I.461 F.I.3*;

II. рождъшн НБКМ 307 : радѣ́ающн *ZIII.c.24*

The translation of Is 54:1 and Gal 4:27 in Зогр107 is exact and coincides with the biblical text used liturgically, *Gr Asl*. НБКМ 307 gives its own different translation. Probably, led by the context, the translator conveys the prophecy of Isaiah as an event that has already taken place: childless Anna should exult, because she has given birth to a daughter from whom ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς πορφύραν περιβαλλόμενος (Kotter 4, 8–9); цр҃ь славы въ плъскѫ

багрѣнницѫ wблъкъ сѧ Зогр 107, f. 24a, цр҃ь славѣ пльть багрѣнице прѣwдѣавь НБКМ 307, f. 212b.

Zach 6:12

Kotter 4, 3 ἀνατολὴ ὄνομα αὐτῷ

Sept. Zach 6:12 Ἀνατολὴ ὄνομα αὐτῷ

Зогр 107, f. 24a вѣстокъ нмѧ емѹ

НБКМ 307, f. 212a вѣстокъ нменоуемоу [1]

I. [1] нмѧ емѹ *GB OB*

II. нменоуемоу *НБКМ 307*: нме ѥмоу *Хил 473 Цет 64 ZIII.b.20 ZIII.c.24* *Хил 439*

If we compare the quotation from the Book of the Prophet Zacharias with the biblical text from the Gennadij Bible (*GB*) and the Ostrog Bible (*OB*), we see that the translation in Зогр 107 again coincides with that from *GB* and *OB*. In all copies, except Хил 457, which have been investigated, the translation in НБКМ 307 has been corrected undoubtedly on the basis of the biblical text.

The quotations from the New Testament are from the Gospels according to Matthew, Luke and St. John and from the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans. Nineteen Gospel manuscripts from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries (the list of these manuscripts is in an appendix at the end of the article) have been used to collate the quotations from the Gospel. In collating the quotations from Matthew and John, use has also been made of the editions of these Gospels in 1998 and 2005 (Алексеев и др. 1998; Алексеев и др. 2005).

Mt 1:23; Is 7:14

Kotter 4, 13–15 *ἥτις* ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσουσι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ, τουτέστι μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν ὁ θεός

Nestle-Aland: *ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθενός* ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσουσιν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ (= Sept. Is 7:14), ὅ ἐστιν μεθερμηνευόμενον μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν ὁ θεός

Зогр 107, f. 24b ѩже въ чрѣвѣ [1] прїѧметь [2] и родитъ сн҃а [3] и нарекѫ [5] нмѧ емѹ емманѹилъ [6]. снрѣчь с намн бъ҃.

НБКМ 307, f. 212b ѩже въ чрѣвѣ [1] прииметь [2] и родитъ сн҃ь [4] и нарекѫть [5] нмѧ емоу емманоуилъ [6], еже есть сказаемо [7] с намн бъ҃

I. [1] ѧтровѣ *F.I.461 F.I.3*; [2] прнеметь *Gr* ꙁачьнеть *F.I.461 F.I.3* прнємлютъ *At Ban Mar* прнютъ *1342*; [3] снъ *Gr F.I.3 Arkh At Mar OE Sav Trg 1342 1354 OB*; [4] сна *F.I.461 As Ban Gal Lond ČudE OB*; [5] нареть *Sav* прозовешн *F.I.461 F.I.3*; [6] енъмановнлъ *Gr As Ban Nik*; [7] юже юсть скаꙁаемоую *Mar* нже ѥ скаꙁаемо *Ban*

The text is missing in *Zogr Dobr Dobš T.*

II. НБКМ 307: наречеть *ZIII.c.24*, еньмановнль *Хил 457*, нже *Хил 457* скаꙁаемоую *Хил 473*.

St. John Damascene indicates that he is quoting the prophet Isaiah (κατὰ τὸν Ἡσαΐαν – по Ησаїн Зогр 107, f. 24b, по Ісаню НБКМ 307, f. 212b), but gives the text as it occurs in the Gospel according to Matthew. The quotation from Mt 1:23, Is 7:14 will once again be discussed in the textual tradition both of the Book of the Prophet Isaiah and of the Gospel according to Matthew. Is 7:14 is part of a pericope, Is 7:10–16, which is read at Vespers for the Nativity of Christ. As a New Testament text, Mt 1:23 is part of two pericopes read on the Sunday before the Nativity of Christ and at Matins on the same feast (Алексеев и др. 2005: 13). Both Middle Bulgarian translations of this quotation from the Book of Isaiah, a quotation well-known and used in worship, coincide (with minor differences) with the Old Bulgarian Gospel and Old Testament lectionary texts. The only difference is in the translation of τουτέστι – снрѣчь Зогр 107, еже есть скаꙁаемо НБКМ 307. Probably guided by the instructions of St. John Damascene and by the Greek text Зогр 107 has translated only the quotation from Isaiah without taking into account its New Testament addition, while НБКМ 307 has probably quoted the Gospel text, where еже есть скаꙁаемо is a translation of ὅ ἐστιν μεθερμηνευόμενον. From the variant reading in MS Хил.457 from the group of НБКМ 307, where еньмануиль, нже ѥ скаꙁаемо, which we see in the Banitsa Gospel, is used, it can be seen that in this concrete case the copyist has not only recognized the biblical quotation, but has also quoted it from the Gospel text which he was familiar with. The translation of this quotation in НБКМ 307 is in full agreement with several Gospel copies: *Arkh OE Trg 1354*.

Mt 7:16

Kotter 5, 3 Ἐκ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς

Nestle–Aland: ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς

Зогр 107, f. 24b ѿ плѡ̂ [1] ѯ̑ [3] познаете [4] нхъ [5]

НБКМ 307, f. 212b ѿ плода [2] нхь [3] познанн бж̑дт̑ь [4]

I. [1] плода *As Tert*; [2] плѡ̂ *Ban Gal Zogr Lond Mar Nik OE Trg ČudE 1342 1354*; [3] свонхь *Ban*; [4] познанте *As Mar Nik*; познаж̑ са *Ban*; [5] ѣ *As Zogr Mar OE Trg*; ѣ *Gal*; є *Nik*; ѣѥ 1342.

This quotation is introduced into the Oration with the words καθώς φησί που ὁ κύριος (Kotter 5, 2), ѣкоже ре̑ нѣгдѣ гс̄ь (Зогр 107, f. 24b), ѣкоже н нидѣ ре̑ гс̄ь. (НБКМ 307, f. 212b). Зогр 107 again translates the quotation as we know it from part of the Slavonic Gospel tradition of the text (Зогр 107 = *Lond*, *1354* and *OB*), while НБКМ 307 translates ἐπιγνώσεσθε with познанн бж̑дт̑ь, a form that is not otherwise attested in the tradition of the text.

Lk 1:28 and Lk 1:42 are quoted twice in the Oration.

Lk. 1:28

Kotter 1, 10–11; 12,12 Χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη, ὁ Κύριος μετὰ σοῦ

Nestle–Aland: χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη, ὁ κύριος μετὰ σοῦ

Зогр 107, f. 22b, 30a рад҃н са wбрадwванна /блг҃тна гс̄ь с тобwж̑.

НБКМ 307, f. 210a, 218a Рад҃н са wбрадованна гс̄ь с тобож̑.

блг҃тна = *Arkh As At Ban Gal Dobš Dobr Zogr Mar Nik OE T*

wбрадованна = *Lond Tert Trg ČudE 1342 1354 OB*

Зогр 107 hesitates over the translation of κεχαριτωμένη. The translator uses wбрадованна in translating the quotation from the beginning of the Oration. In this quotation a text by the author is combined with a quotation from Genesis. In quoting Lk 1:28 at the end of the text the translator uses блг҃тна, as also in ὦ παρθένε θεοχαρίτωτε (Kotter 10, 4), w дв̄о̄ бг̄wблг҃тна (Зогр 107, f. 28a). НБКМ 307 translates κεχαριτωμένη only with wбрадованна (x2) and w дв̄це̄ бг̄wбрадованна (НБКМ 307, f. 216b). The translation of κεχαριτωμένη as wбрадованна is linked with the Athonite redaction of the Gospel text (Славова 1990: 76). In addition to Gospel manu-

scripts linked with the Athonite redaction, the translation using wбрадованнаа can be seen also in a number of original and translated works that are earlier than the Athonite redaction of the Gospel[19].

In the Oration Lk 1:42 is quoted three times – 9, 17; 11, 26; 12, 13 (respectively Зогр 107, f. 27a, 28b, 30a; НБКМ 307, f. 216b, 217b, 218a) while in Kotter 9, 17 the quotation is noted in the index, but is not marked as the other exact quotations are.

Lk 1:42

Kotter: Εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξὶ, καὶ εὐλογημένος ὁ καρπὸς τῆς κοιλίας σου.

Nestle–Aland: εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξὶ καὶ εὐλογημένος ὁ καρπὸς τῆς κοιλίας σου

Зогр 107: блг҃ословена ты въ женахъ, и бл҃венъ пл҃о҆ чрѣва твоего.

НБКМ 307: бл҃вена ты въ женахь, и бл҃вен пл҃о҆ ѫтробы твоеѫ.

I. чрѣва = *As At Ban Gal Dobš Dobr Zogr Lond Nik OE Sav T Tert 1342 1354*

ѫтробы = *Arkh Mar Trg ČudE*

II. НБКМ 307, f. 217b, 218a и is missing in *ZIII.c.24*

The translation of κοιλία as чрѣво is characteristic of the Cyrillo-Methodian translation of the Gospel (Добрев1981: 46) and, as one can see, also of most of the Gospel manuscripts. The translation of κοιλία as ѫтроба is met in a limited number of copies and the use of ѫтроба in the Marianus Tetraevangelion, for instance, is believed to be a later correction (Добрев 1981: 46–47). In addition to the quotation from Luke, κοιλία can be found two more times in the Oration: ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς κοιλίας ὑμῶν ἐπεγνώσθητε (Kotter 5,2), ѿ чрѣва вш вашего позната быста (Зогр 107, f. 24a), ꙗко ѿ плода чрѣва ваю позната сѧ (НБКМ 307, f. 212b) and ὁ τῆς κοιλίας καρπός (Kotter 9, 15–16), чрѣва плѡ̂ (Зогр 107, f. 27a), ѿ ѧтробы пл҃о (НБКМ 307, f. 216b). As one can see, Зогр 107 translates κοιλία only as чрѣво,

[19] They have been enumerated in detail in the article by Hristova-Shomova (Христова-Шомова 2007: 65–66). To them we can add also the translation of Lk 1:28 by John Exarch in "Bogoslovie" радоуи сѧ, обрадованаꙗ, гс҃ съ тобою (Sadnik 1981: 144), and also in the translation of this work from the fourteenth century, which again has раѹи се wбрадованна гс҃ с тобою (Weiher 1987: 278).

while НБКМ 307 does so four times with ѫтроба and once with чрѣво. In the latter case the word refers not to the womb ofthe Theotokos, but to the womb of her mother Anna. It is difficult to decide whether the translation in НБКМ 307 is due to lexical preference or to the influence of a specific Gospel manuscript.

The index to Kotter's edition indicates three accurate quotations from the Gospel according to John.

Jn 1:14

Kotter 3, 32 ὁ Λόγος σάρξ...ἐγένετο, καί ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν.

Nestle–Aland: Καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο καί ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν

Зогр 107, f. 24a слово плⷴ.. бы̑ н вьселн са въ ны [1]

НБКМ 307, f. 212a слово. н плть бы̑.. н вьселн са въ ны [1]

I. [1] насъ *Dobš 1342*

Both Зогр 107 and НБКМ 307 translate Jn 1:14 in the way found in most copies of the Gospel.

Jn 1:29

Kotter 6, 19 ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου

Nestle–Aland: ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου

Зогр 107, f. 25b агнецъ бж̏їн вьзⷭмлан грѣхы [4] мнрв [5]

НБКМ 307, f. 213b агньца [1] бжна [2] вьзⷭмлѧщаго [3] грѣхы [4] мнрⷭ [5]

I.[1] агнець *As At Ban Gal Dobr Dobš Zogr Lond Mar Nik OE Sav T Tert Trg ČudE 1342 1354 OB*; [2] бж̏ін *As Ban Gal Dobr Dobš Zogr Lond Mar Nik OE Sav T Tert ČudE Trg 1342 1354 OB* бже *At*; [3] вьзⷭмлан *As At Gal Zogr Mar OE Lond Tert Trg ČudE 1342 1354 OB* вьземан *Sav Dobr Dobš T*; [4] грⷭ̑ѣ *ČudE*; [5] мнра *Sav ČudE* вьсего мнра *As At Ban Gal Dobr Dobš Zogr Lond OE T Tert Nik 1342* мнра вьсего *Mar*

The Greek text of the Oration on the Nativity of the Theotokos which contains Jn 1:29, ὅτι ἐτέχθη ἡμῖν μήτηρ θεοῦ ἐν ἁγίᾳ προβατικῇ, ἐξ ἧς τεχθῆναι ηὐδόκησεν ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ

αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου, has variants[20] consisting of omissions, some of which are reflected in НБКМ 307: ꙗко родн сѧ намь мт҃н б҃жїа. въ ст҃хь ꙗслехь сп̂обльшїн сѧ положнтн, агньца б҃жна възземлѧщаго грѣхы мнр҃ов. They are probably the cause of the grammatically different translation of Jn 1:29 in НБКМ 307. The translation in Зогр 107 coincides with *1354, Trg, OB*, and apart from the grammatical difference, the version in NBKM 307 also coincides with these Gospel manuscripts.

Jn 12:24

Kotter 2, 19–20 Ἐὰν μὴ ὁ κόκκος τοῦ σίτου πεσὼν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀποθάνῃ, αὐτὸς μόνος μένει.

Nestle–Aland: ἐὰν μὴ ὁ κόκκος τοῦ σίτου πεσὼν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀποθάνῃ, αὐτὸς μόνος μένει.

Зогр 107, f. 23a ѧще зрънο пшеннчное п̂ѧ въ земли не ѵмрет, то единο пр҃ѣбѫ҃де҃

НБКМ 307, f. 211a ѧще зрънο пшеннчно падъ на земли н не ѹмр҃е҃, то единο пр҃ѣбываетъ

St. John Damascene introduces the quotation with the express indication that these are the words of Jesus Christ – ὡς αὐτὸς Χριστὸς ἀπεφήνατο (Kotter 2, 19–20), ꙗкоже самъ х҃с҃ нзꙑвн Зогр 107, ꙗкоже самъ х҃с҃ нзрече НБКМ 307. The differences between the two translations have parallels in the Slavonic Gospel tradition, parallels that are typical of manuscripts which differ in date and character[21]. The translation of Jn 12:24 in Зогр107 has no correspondences in the Gospel manuscripts and their editions, but in the edition of the Gospel according to John (Алексеев и др. 1998) it coincides entirely with the Dobrilov gospel (Алексеев и др. 1998: 58) and with a thirteenth-century Gospel from RNB (the Russian National Library) in the Gilf. 1 collection (Алексеев и др. 1998: 39, 58). The version in НБКМ 307, apart from the addition of the conjunction н, coincides with the text of *Lond, 1342* and *OB*.

[20] See the critical apparatus to the edition of B. Kotter (Kotter 1988: 175).

[21] As the differences between the Slavonic gospel manuscripts with regard to Jn 12:24 are rather numerous, they have not been studied here (see Алексеев и др. 1998: 58).

Two quotations from the Apostolos, Rom 5:20 and Ephes 5:23, are indicated in Kotter's index as precise ones. But Ephes 5:23 is not quoted accurately in the Oration, and therefore will not be discussed here. The text of Rom 5:20 has been collated with the Apostolos published by G. Voskresenskij (Воскресенский 1892) and the variant readings are given in accordance with the four redactions offered by him and noted here as A1, A2, A3 and A4.

Rom. 5:20

Kotter 8, 6 *Ὅπου γὰρ* ἐπλεόνασεν ἡ ἁμαρτία, ὑπερεπερίσσευσεν ἡ χάρις.

Nestle–Aland: *οὗ δὲ* ἐπλεόνασεν ἡ ἁμαρτία, ὑπερεπερίσσευσεν ἡ χάρις

Зогр 107, f. 26b *ндеже* бѡ вмножи сѧ грѣхъ, прѣизобилова бл҃гть.

НБКМ 307, f. 215b *ндеже* прѣвмножи сѧ [1] грѣхь, тоу изобилова [2] бл҃гть.

I. [1] ндеже бо вмножи сѧ грѣхъ *A1, A4*, ндеже вмножи сѧ грѣхъ *A2, A3*; [2] пренизобилова *A1*, низъобилова *A2*, преизлишьствова *A3*, прѣизбыточьствова *A4*;

The translation in Зогр 107 coincides completely with the earliest, i.e. the Cyrillo-Methodian, redaction of the Apostolos from the edition by Voskresenskij (Воскресенский 1892: 2; Христова-Шомова 2004: 18). НБКМ 307 again gives its own translation.

This analysis of the biblical quotations in the Middle Bulgarian translations of the Oration for the Nativity of the Theotokos by St. John Damascene enables one so far to draw the following conclusions. In twenty out of the twenty-two quotations the translation in Зогр 107 coincides with the Old Bulgarian translation of the quotations in the relevant book of the Bible, a translation reflected either in most of the manuscript tradition or only in some of the copies. Where a book of the Bible has liturgical and non-liturgical variants, Зогр 107 gives the liturgical version. Out of the twenty quotations (in НБКМ 307 there are omissions) there are thirteen such coincidences in НБКМ 307. This can be explained by the fact that НБКМ 307 more often translates the quotations together with the author's text. The attitude of the

translators to the quotations from the Bible reveals not only their knowledge of the Bible, but also the ideas that guided their work as translators. To convey the text exactly to the maximum degree is the fundamental principle of translation followed by Зогр 107. This is the principle adhered to also in translating biblical quotations: to comply with the original. According to preliminary observations, however, НБКМ 307 is rather free in its treatment of the Greek text. Very often, influenced by the context, НБКМ 307 takes the liberty not so much to translate as to interpret the text. This works in two directions: firstly, the context of the Oration suggests an interpretation by means of a biblical reminiscence – Kotter 3, 6 (from Gen 1:7) καὶ πρὸς ὕψος μετεωρίσας τὸ στερέωμα, и на высотѫ възвысн твръ Зогр107, оутвръдн нбо вышнее НБКМ 307; Kotter 4, 4 (from Eph 2:18) πατέρα προσαγωγὴν ἐσχήκαμεν, wцѣ прнведенїе нмамы Зогр107, wцоу, нсходатаꙗ wбрѣтохwмъ НБКМ 307; secondly and conversely, the biblical allusion has an impact on the translation of the Oration (by way of the meaning or with a concrete addition from the text of the Bible) – Kotter 3, 3 (from 2 Cor 12:4) κατὰ Παῦλον τὸν τῶν ἀρρήτων ὑπήκοον по Павлѣ нензрѣнныи слышателю Зогр 107, Павелъ, нже слыша нензрѣныа таины НБКМ 307; Kotter 11, 20 (from Lk 1:29) τῷ ἀσυνήθει τοῦ ἀγγέλου προσφθέγματι, неwбычнѣ аггла провѣщанїемъ Зогр 107, неwбычнѫ аггло[ ] пророченню, егда вслыша аггльскыѫ бесѣды НБКМ 307; Kotter 3, 34 (from Mt 19:12) ὁ χωρῶν χωρείτω, въмѣщаѩн, да въмѣстнтъ Зогр107, могын въмѣстнтн. да въмѣстнтъ НБКМ 307; Kotter 11, 1–3 (from Jn 5:2) χαίροις, προβατικὴ, раѹн са wвчїн Зогр 107, раѹн са wвчаа кѫпѣлн НБКМ 307. As one can see, the translator of НБКМ 307 is also familiar with Scripture, but uses it and quotes it much more freely than Зогр 107. Though they are not many, there are also examples of interference on the part of separate copyists (based on the biblical text) in the copies of the two Middle Bulgarian translations.

The variant readings of the Old Bulgarian biblical text that are attested in both translations do not, for the time being, give grounds to draw conclusion as to whether the relevant book of the Bible belongs to any textual tradition, in spite of some coincidences in the texts of the Psalter and the Gospels. On the one hand, the quotations are not sufficient in number for such an analysis, and, on the other, more

Slavonic copies of the relevant books from the Bible would need to be adduced. The analysis of the extremely rich material provided by the biblical reminiscences in the Oration under study will also be very valuable in this respect.

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KING DAVID AND ROYAL PENANCE IN MEDIEVAL BULGARIA DURING THE NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES

Desislava Naydenova

It is well known that Old Testament tradition underlies the political ideology of the new Christian states, which take as prototype for their structure and political programme the chosen people of the Old Covenant[1]. Medieval rulers, who could make only limited use of the Roman heritage as a reference point, sought legitimation in the biblical models of government and state. The essence of reign, its roots and nature, are among the major themes of the Old Testament, which therefore functioned as a major source to explain the conditions under which the sovereign, following certain patterns of behaviour, obtains or loses his legitimacy. One of these long-standing models was King David. His life offered a rich source for various analogies. He was the first ruler of the chosen people, pleasing to God, the founder of a new dynasty, an excellent commander, but at the same time a cursed, repentant and forgiven sinner, exponent of all the flaws inherent to the royal institution (Dagron 2003: 114–124; Shepard 2003; Kuyumdzhieva 2008; Rapp 2010).

This study focuses on the motif of the repentant ruler. After sending his general Uriah to a certain death, so that he (David) could marry his wife, the beautiful Bathsheba, the king was hit by misfortune: the first child of this marriage died seven days after birth. However, the second child, Solomon, was saved thanks to the intervention of the prophet Nathan and David's repentance. This episode is two-sided: on the one hand it puts the ruler, like everyone who has committed a sin, under the authority of the clergy; on the other hand, the image of the penitent David serves as a confirmation for believers that repentance can restore God's mercy.

[1] This issue has been investigated repeatedly in the scholarly literature. See, for example, Garrison 2000; Dagron 2003.

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In this article I shall mainly discuss the importance of repentance for the identity of the state, nation and power, as a constitutive element of the ruler's dignity, which subsequently gained importance for the legitimation and limitation of power in the state. Special attention will be paid to certain works and events in Bulgarian history during the ninth and tenth centuries, which show that there was a practice of imposing on the ruler penance which he duly carried out.

The establishment of Christianity as the official religion of Bulgaria during 864–870 led to a radical change in the political and cultural development of the country. Based on the Byzantine state-political and cultural model, a new state of imperial type was set up, with its specific structures, institutions and practices[2]. I shall not discuss in detail the ready-made concepts introduced into medieval Bulgaria through translated literature[3], ideas of empire as a reflection of the Heavenly Kingdom and of the nature of imperial power and royal holiness, since much has been written on these issues already (Hunger 1965; Pieler 1970; Pieler 1981; Beck 1981; Dagron 1994; Simon 1994; Meens 1998; Karamboula 2000; Dagron 2003). I shall address only a few main points that are important to this survey and to the legal understanding of penance[4]:

[2] The main signs of this change are the Cyrillic alphabet, the new capital and title of the ruler and patriarch (Божилов 1983; Божилов, Гюзелев 1999: 254; Николов 2006). With the adoption of Christianity, the Bulgarian state established itself not only as political entity, but also as a sacred structure, approximating the characteristics of Christ's Church. In this respect the Bulgarians are seen not only in ethnic but also in religious terms as God's people, the New Israel. The new capital is the royal city, the new language is the imperial language (Билярски 2002; Билярски 2005).

[3] The principles underlying legitimate rulership and the relations between the two authorities are the main themes of 'mirrors of princes' and collections of epigrams (Hunger 1978: 157–169; Dagron 2003: 16–18). More specifically on the issue of legitimacy as reflected in directions to the rulers, see Simon 1984; Čičurov 1985; Prinzig 1988. For the old Bulgarian translation of some Byzantine 'mirrors of princes' in the tenth century, and the political concepts reflected in the Old Bulgarian original and translated literary works of the Golden Age, see Николов 2000; Николов 2006: 151–230; Nikolov 2007; Николов 2009.

[4] Several cases are known, which have become *exempla*, where the ruler is subject to penance and is denied access to the church temple. Thus in 390 Theodosius I (379–395) was not allowed into the Episcopal Church of Milan, after he gave an order in a moment of anger to kill the rebellious population of Thessaloniki. Upon signing a decree which provided a thirty-day delay of the death sentences, the Emperor entered the temple and, lying on the ground and tearing his hair, beating his forehead on the ground and shedding tears, he prayed to God for forgiveness. In 833, Louis the Pious (814–840) publicly took off his robe, put on sackcloth and confessed his sins. Because of a fourth marriage, Patriarch Nicholas the Mystic (901–907, 912–925) twice

1. The Emperor rules in accordance with the example of the 'Heavenly Basileus'. His authority, however, is limited in two aspects: in relation to God, as his rulership over the country must be seen as service to God and the ruler's actions must be pleasing to God and focused on the pursuit of Christian morality; and in relation to his subjects, because the king has to rule in accordance with law to promote the happiness and prosperity of his subjects. The Emperor is above the law in the sense that he changes and creates laws, but at the same time he is subject to the law, because rulership that is not based on the rule of law becomes tyranny and loses its legitimacy.

2. The Emperor is both a sacred figure and a layman. The Emperor is a divine image in virtue of the title that he has obtained temporarily, but in his body and origin he is only an image made of clay. The sin of the kings is in the nature of their power. The empire is conquered and preserved by violence. It can be transmitted hereditarily only by fleshly commerce, which deprives it of its sacred character. Power is sacred, but whoever exercises it is never wholly innocent and at any time may be an offender, and according to medieval understanding, the supreme law is that of God and the redemption of sins is possible through repentance.

3. ThePatriarch (the clergy) is the person who should exercise control over the ruler[5]. Correspondingly, the cleric is the person who imposes the appropriate form of penance.

4. The ruler personifies the state to such an extent that the prosperity or misery of the people, the rise or demise of the state depend on his personal qualities. In most cases, since his behaviour affects the entire society (non-compliance with the law of God can lead to loss of God's benevolence, which might have meteorological and political implications), he should be subjected to public penance.

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prohibited Leo VI (887–912) from entering Hagia Sofia, in 906 and 907. In 969 Patriarch Polievkt (956–970) denied access to Hagia Sofia to John Tzimiskes (969–976), who had murdered his predecessor and relative Nicephorus Phocas (963–969) (De Jong 1997; Dagron 2003: 105–114).

[5] Through anointing (Biliarsky 2006) and coronation the Frankish rulers were subject to canon law insofar as this ritual made them equivalent in rank to the bishops and they were therefore subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop's court (Nelson 1977).

It must be specifically noted that the imposition of public penance on the ruler cannot be construed as juridical repression of his institutions and functions. It is relevant only to his personality and is justified as a *cura animarum*. This is due to the specific nature of penance, which is a form of punishment, but has no legal force as a sanction. The purpose of penance is to give absolution, to bring reconciliation (Kottje 1964; Kottje 1995; Meens 2000; Meens 2007; Körntgen 2007). The Christian Church knows both public and secret penance. The first provides for exclusion from the sacred liturgy, wearing of certain clothes or hair cut short for a given period of time. The imposition of public penance is the prerogative of the bishop. In the Eastern Church the penitent goes through four successive levels, each of which has a period determined by the canons. During the sixth and seventh centuries secret penance gradually supplanted the public practice. Its distinctive features are the primary role of the priest, the secret, sacred nature of confession and the granting of absolution after certain kinds of sanction have been imposed: fasting, recitation of psalms, vigils, prayers, giving alms, etc. In most cases, however, for a long period of time the mixed forms of public and secret penance continued to exist (Kottje 1987; Meens 1995; Meens 1998). In the legal texts still existing in the Bulgarian state during the period (Synagogue of Fifty Titles of John Scholastic (Nomocanon of Methodius), Nomocanon of Fourteen Titles, Kanonarion of John Nesteutes, Ѕаконъ соудьнъıи людьмъ (The Law for judging people) and Ѕаповѣди сѵ̃ъıхъ о̑ць (Orders of the holy Fathers) (Найденова 2005; Naydenova 2005–2006) both forms of penance can be found[6].

[6] Unifying the laws of the Empire and the canons of the Church, the Nomocanon becomes one of the main expressions of the concept of 'symphony' between the secular and ecclesiastical authorities. At the same time, it discusses in detail the system of public penance governed by decisions of the Ecumenical Councils, by the canons of St. Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian and Gregory of Nyssa. As a separate text the four levels of public penance are included in some late copies of the Nomocanon with Fourteen Titles (Максимович 1995). The most important source on secret penance is the Kanonarion of Jannes Nesteutes (Ed. Суворов 1901). The Ѕаконъ соудьнъıи людьмъ (Law for judging people) (Закон судны людем; Vašica 1971: 147–198) provides for certain offences not only the imposition of penance along with secular punishment, but also a combination of both types of penitential practice: in two cases (Art. 4 and 7) public penance is accompanied by fasting on bread and water.

Of particular interest among the legal texts are the *Responsa Nicolai papae ad consulta Bulgarorum* (Responses of Pope Nicholas). It should be remembered that the Pope's regulations were part of western European canon law and since the end of the fourth century they had been regarded as equivalent to Conciliar decisions (Freehof 1955; Jasper, Fuhrmann 2001). Penance is discussed in several places in the *Responsa*, with some of them referring to penance imposed on the ruler and the cases where Pope Nicholas I (858–867) recommended him to undergo such penance. Response 83 states: '... you are not allowed to judge the clergy as it is more appropriate that you be judged by them.' (*Non autem vobis licet clericos iudicare, cum vos magis ad ipsis conveniat iudicari* (Nicolai I papae epistolae: 595). It is evident from response 16 that King Boris I (852-889) wanted to know whether he should undergo penance because he passed judgement on a Greek who pretended to be a priest and punished him by cutting off his ears and nose (Nicolai I papae epistolae: 577). In response 17, with reference to the killing of the boyars who rebelled against the conversion to Christianity as well as their families, the Pope tells the Bulgarian ruler that he can obtain forgiveness and mercy for his deed only if he repents (Nicolai I papae epistolae: 577). Probably King Boris really repented, as is evident from the Chronicle of Abbot Regino. It says that he manifested such perfection that during the day he appeared before people in royal robes, while during the night he dressed in rough clothes, he secretly entered the church and prayed lying on the floor of the temple, spreading out only a sackcloth on the floor (Reginonis abbatis Prumensis Chronicon: 95–96). Another place in the sources refers specifically to penance performed by the ruler. One of the letters of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Nicholas the Mysticus, to Tsar Simeon (893–927) refers to the fact that he (Simeon) prayed night and day for forgiveness for his previous war against the Byzantines, and in every way, through fasting, tears, contrition of heart, tried to cleanse himself of sin (Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople: № 5, 34–35).

Part of the practice of public penance carried out by the ruler is the celebration of a litany in moments critical for the country, such as the threat of natural disasters (famine, drought, earthquake) or barbarian invasions, as well as at the beginning of military campaigns. No specific days for the litany are defined in the Typikon of the Great Church, but in the West they generally take place on Wednesdays and Fridays, the days of public penance. The bishop, barefoot, carries religious relics, and the participants in the procession sprinkle their

head with ashes and ask God for forgiveness. A three-day fast (Monday to Wednesday) is mandatory and customary. In Constantinople the relics are carried by the Patriarch or the Emperor, who goes along with all other actors in the procession and has no distinctive clothing (Cameron 1979; MacCormick 1984; MacCormick 1986; Baldovin 1987: 28–129, 134, 158–166, 183; De Jong 1997).

That such a custom[7] was not alien to the Bulgarians can be seen from the *Responsa*, where it is mentioned that the Bulgarian King would like to know whether the secular authorities are permitted, in times of drought, to impose fasting and arrange church services (Nicolai I papae epistolae: Sar. LVI, 587–588). This information is supplemented by the newly discovered sheets of the Glagolitic *Euchologium Sinaiticum* containing prayers against enemy invasion, rain and earthquake (Минчев 1998; Шнитер 2003). The imposition by the ruler of universal repentance is also mentioned in the *Annales Fuldenses*, which recount the Hungarian invasion of Bulgaria in the 895–896. According to the information contained in them, after suffering two major defeats, the Bulgarians turned to their old ruler (Boris) and asked him to advise them how to get out of the impending danger. He ordered a three-day fast and reminded them to repent and then to seek help from God (Annales Fuldenses: 130).

It is noteworthy that such prayer processions are usually inspired by the ruler. This fact can be explained by the idea of imperial piety and royal holiness, whose main task is the common good, understood as the salvation of the soul. Indeed penitential texts deal with the sins of the individual and their redemption. The fact that none of them makes direct mention of collective penance does not mean that they do not advocate such an idea. It is sufficient to mention some of the prohibitions related to eating unclean animals or the entry of women into church immediately after birth, during menstruation, etc. The violation of these prohibitions may adversely affect the entire community and lead to deprivation of God's support (Kottje 1964; MacCormick 1984; Meens 1995; Meens 2000). In this sense, the repentance of the king is even more important. He personifies the state

[7] The organization of religious processions is associated (Николов 2006: 48, note 2) with the fact established by A. Turilov (Турилов 1999), that the victory over pagan reaction in the country is marked very early in the calendar of the Bulgarian Church as a Christian holiday, under the date March 28. This practice is reminiscent of the annual church celebrations in Constantinople for the miraculous salvation of the Byzantine capital from the attacks of the Avars.

to such an extent that the prosperity or misery of the people and the rise or demise of the country depend on his personal qualities (Nelson 1977; Meens 1998)[8]. Penance, which has a public nature, results from an understanding that personal sins have an impact on all people and therefore God's forgiveness and support have to be collectively prayed for.

Although not mentioned directly in the canonical collections, because of its nature some canon lawyers consider entering a monastery as part of the act of penance (Dallen 1986). In this connection, I should like to draw attention to the events of the dynastic crisis that followed the enthroning of Tsar Peter (927–976). It is not clear why Simeon made Peter, the son of his second wife, his successor as ruler, while he made Michael, the son of his first wife, become a monk (Theophanes Continuatus: 419). Several bronze seals found in the village of Ravna (Varna region) indicate that, at least for some time, Michael was heir to the throne and holder of the title *kanartikin*. It is not clear why he was forced to enter a monastery (Божилов, Гюзелев 1999: 271–272). Simeon's decision to entrust power to his youngest son foreshadowed future unrest. As early as 928 or 929, Simeon's son Ivan rebelled against his brother. His attempt to usurp the throne failed. He was captured, imprisoned and taken to a monastery. The Emperor Roman I Lakapin (920–944), however, managed to secure his release and establishment in Constantinople (Theophanes Continuatus: 419; Божилов 1995: 308; Божилов, Гюзелев 1999: 278–279; Симеонова 2006). A new rebellion broke out in 930, led by Michael. Soon afterwards he died and his supporters fled to Byzantium (Theophanes Continuatus: 419; Божилов, Гюзелев 1999: 278–279).

Reports of banishing deposed rulers to monasteries as a measure against possible contenders for the throne are also of particular interest. Despite leaving some scope for changing the punishment by decision of the Emperor, the Byzantine *Ecloga* punished by death anyone accused of rebellion or conspiracy against the ruler[9].

[8] It is also noteworthy that the importance of the ruler's repentance in the context of his prayers to God as a factor in the prosperity and salvation of his people was discussed in very early Old Bulgarian translated works such as the Chrysostomian collection *Zlatostruy* (Chrysorrhoas) and Cyril of Jerusalem's *Catecheses* (Николов 2006: 179–180).

[9] Title XVII, Art. 3 Ὁ κατὰ βασιλέως φατριάζων ἢ βουλευόμενος ἢ συνωμοσίας κατ' αὐτοῦ ἢ τῆς πολιτείας τῶν χριστιανῶν ποιῶν, τὸν μὲν τοιοῦτον ἥρμοζε κατὰ τὴν ὥραν θανατοῦσθαι ὡς τὴν τοῦ παντὸς κατάλυσιν

Banishment to a monastery has no specific legal nature. This is a well tested method, an alternative to the heavy prescription of the law, by which rulers can get rid of pretenders to the throne, a reliable guarantee for the elimination of claimants. In the early ninth century this measure became a major weapon against political opponents (Sprigade 1964; Noetlichs 1994; Wood 1994: 184, 224). The Frankish rulers even used their monasteries as a kind of prison (De Jong 1995: 252–266). It is possible to link the practice of enforced banishment to a monastery with the practice of penance. For the ideology of the medieval ruler it is important to present political opponents as in need of repentance, as sinners praying for forgiveness. Violation of the oath of allegiance to the ruler represents a breach of the oath to God[10], because all rulership comes from God. Rulers are established by Him and anyone who rebels against them rebels against God's decision and his crime must be punished as such.

When considering the question of legitimacy of authority and the search for legal responsibility on the part of the ruler, although it is not directly connected to the practice of imposing penance, we should pay attention to Regino's notices about the fate of Boris's son, Vladimir-Rasate (889–893). In the autumn of 893, after engaging in robberies, spending his time in feasting and debauchery and attempting by any means to turn the newly converted people back to pagan rituals, he was dethroned, deprived of his sight and imprisoned (Reginonis abbatis Prumensis Chronicon: 96). I shall not comment in detail on the statement about his anti-Christian behaviour, as this issue has already been addressed several times. Most likely his attempt to reorient his foreign policy towards union with the German Kingdom led to unrest

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μελετήσανττα. ἀλλ' ἵνα μή τινες καὶ ἐχθρωδῶς πολλάκις διακείμενοι πρός τινας ἀκρίτως φονεύσωσιν ἀπολογίαν ἐσχάτως προφέροντες, ὡς κατὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἐλάλησεν, δέον τὸν τοιοῦτον κατὰ τὸν τόπον ὑπὸ στερεὰν παραφυλακὴ γίνεσθαι καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀναφέρεσθαι καὶ καθὼς λοιπὸν αὐτὸς ἀνακρινεῖ καὶ βουλεύσεται ποιεῖν (Ecloga: 226).

[10] Interesting observations in this connection are made by De Jong (1997). The author pays special attention to the fact that from the middle of the seventh century Visigothic and Frankish monasteries, as part of public space, began to serve as places where imposed penance could be performed. Banishment to monasteries was associated with the loss of public prestige and became the royal punishment for political prisoners as part of the gradual replacement of public by secret penance (Ibid., 877–893).

in the country and his removal from the throne (Илиев 2002). It is the punitive measure that is of interest in this case. The fact that such a penalty is not attested in other episodes of Bulgarian history does not necessarily mean that the statement must be rejected. Deprivation of sight was usually applied to rulers who had been forcibly removed from the throne, people who had lost their standing with the authorities in power and those involved in political conspiracies. It was seen as a manifestation of charity, as it was a lighter punishment than the death penalty. In most cases it was followed by sending the persons to a cloister and by penance. As long as blinding was used especially systematically on political opponents in the Middle Ages, we cannot say with certainty whether this measure became known in the Bulgarian state under the influence of Eastern or Western tradition. As a penalty it is mentioned in the Eclogue (Ecloga: 228) and Agricultural Law, Art. 42, 68 and 69 (Византийский земедельческий закон: 112–113, 121). Various testimonies are preserved regarding its application in Byzantium to former emperors and participants in government conspiracies[11]. It should be noted that in western Europe blinding had a stronger legal nature: it was imposed as a punishment by the king's or bishop's court. In terms of political ideology blinding had a public function and a important symbolic significance. Those subject to this sanction had a high social status that made their offence much more dangerous to society. This also required public punishment, which was associated with a loss of prestige and authority.

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My observations on the question of legitimacy and limitation of the power of the ruler in the Bulgarian kingdom by the performance of penance are confined to the period of the ninth and tenth centuries. This is due not only to the specifics of the source material and the political history of Bulgaria in the subsequent period, but also to

[11] This problem is discussed in detail by Judith Herrin (Herrin 2000). This punishment was unknown to Roman law. It remains a measure for the unfree. According to the author, removing of eyes is institutionalized in Byzantium as a sanction according to the Persian model and applies mainly to high-ranking officials. There is evidence that people were specially trained for that. The Franks did not understand the legal meaning of blinding and more often sent their political opponents to monasteries. An exception in this respect is the Visigothic Kingdom, which to a large extent attempted to imitate the Empire.

changes in the Byzantine political ideas (Dagron 2003; Angelov 2007) about imperial power which provided the model followed by the Bulgarian state. Between 1170 and 1178 Theodore Balsamon was assigned the task of explaining the ambiguities and possible inconsistencies in the Nomocanon. He accepted the view that the emperor was subject neither to the laws nor the canons. Thus the 'power norms', as Demetrios Chomatianos says later (Simon 1984) became more important than the 'legal norms'. The biggest innovation, however, was with regard to the assumption of power, which became a sacrament. In his comment on the 12th canon of the Council of Ancyra Balsamon notes that anointing during coronation has the same effect (as baptism) for the removal of sins. This in practice takes over the functions of penance.

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CONVOCATO OMNI REGNO: THE COUNCIL OF 893 AND ITS "REFLECTIONS" IN CONTEMPORARY HISTORIOGRAPHY

Angel Nikolov

It is difficult to reconstruct the events that took place in Bulgaria in the early years after the retirement to monastic life of the longlived Prince Boris Michael (852–889; † 907), when the country was ruled by his son Vladimir (889–893), and their interpretation has frequently provoked debate and disagreement in contemporary historiography (Дуйчев 1972: 357–364; Стефанов 1995; Илиев 2002). This is only logical, considering the almost complete silence of extant Byzantine sources. Here we shall analyse the single most detailed account of Vladimir's policy, his dethronement in 893 and the accession to power of his brother Simeon (893–927), from the Chronicle compiled around 908 by Regino († 915), former Abbot of Prüm Monastery (892–899) in Lotharingia.

For the year 868, Regino entered an account of the conversion of the Bulgarians to Christianity and the wondrous piety of Boris-Michael, who ultimately "forsook the earthly kingdom to rule eternally with Christ in Heaven; and having placed his elder son on the throne in his place, he was tonsured, took the habit of holy asceticism and became a monk, devoting himself to unending charities, vigils and prayers. Meanwhile, his son, whom he installed as king and who could not compare with his father in piety and zeal, took to plundering, succumbed to drunkenness, revelry and dissipation, and tried by all means possible to return the newly converted people to pagan rituals. When his father learned about this, filled with wrath, he took off his monastic habit, put his warrior's belt back on, donned his royal attire, and, taking with him the God-fearing ones, he took up arms against his son. Shortly thereafter, he captured him without much difficulty, gouged his eyes out and sent him to prison. Afterward, having called together his whole kingdom, he placed his younger son on the throne, warning him in front of everyone that he would meet the same fate if in any way he betrayed true Christianity. Having taken care of that, he

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took off his belt, donned once again his monk's habit, reentered the monastery, and spent the rest of his earthly life in holy retirement"[1].

Most scholars of the 19th and early 20th century treated Regino's unique account with undisguised mistrust and even contempt, as its reliability is practically impossible to verify[2]: with the exception of *The Miracle of St George with the Bulgarian*[3], the extant Byzantine and medieval Slavonic sources either only vaguely mention or completely ignore the circumstances surrounding Vladimir's dethronement and Simeon's accession. Considering this, it is not surprising that for a long time, Regino's phrase "*convocato omni regno*" failed to attract scholars' attention. It should be noted, however, that in the first part of his *Letters on the History of the Serbs and Bulgarians*, first published in *Moskovskaya beseda* in 1854–1855, the Russian scholar A. F. Gil'ferding pioneered the notion that the German chronicler was referring to the convening of a council. Gil'ferding's free translation renders Regino's words as follows: "then convening a council from across his whole country, he installed his younger son as king" (Гильфердинг 1868: 86).

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[1] *Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon* s. a. 868: ...divina inspiratione commonitus regnum terrenum dimisit, ut in caelis aeternaliter regnaret cum Christo; et ordinato in suo loco regem filium suum maiorem natu, comam capitis deposuit habituque sanctae conversationis suscepto monachus effectus est, elemosinis, vigiliis et orationibus die noctuque intentus. Interea filius eius, quem regem constituerat, longe a paterna intentione et operatione recedans predas coepit exercere, ebrietatibus, comessationibus et libidinibus vacare et omni conamine ad gentilitatis ritum populum noviter baptizatum revocare. Quod cum pater audisset, nimio zelo accensus sacrum habitum deposuit et militiae cingulum resumpsit et cultu regio indutus, adsociatis sibi Deum timentibus, filium persecutus est: quem mox absque difficultate coepit, occulosque eius effodit, et in carcerem misit; deinde convocato omni regno suo filium iuniorem regem constituit, interminatus coram omnibus, similia fore passurum, si in aliquo a recta christianitate deviaret. His ita patratis, deposito cingulo et resumpto sanctae religionis habitu in asterium ingressus in sancta conversatione reliquum vitae presentis tempus duxit (Regino 1890: 96).

[2] See e.g. Šafařík 1837: 593; Палаузов 1852: 27–28; Иречек 1878: 196–197; Соколов 1879: 126–127, 220–222. It is significant that some of the historians of the period do not make any mention of Regino (Дринов 1875: 5; Дринов 1971: 439). Golubinskiy was deeply suspicious of any of Regino's accounts (Голубинский 1871: 254). See also Трифонов 1927: 10.

[3] The author of *The Miracle* describes Vladimir's dethronement by his father as follows: "And while he was still alive living a monastic life, and Vladimir was [prince] in his stead, God's blessing and that of Michael was on Simeon, and he took the throne, after driving out his brother" (Лопарев 1894: 20; Снегаров 1954–1955: 226). See also Турилов 2000; Турилов 2001.

While preparing the second part of the first volume of his *History of the Bulgarian State during the Middle Ages*, Vasil Zlatarski (1866–1935) paid considerable attention to the account in the German chronicle, and in 1925 he published an article in which he described Regino as "one of the most conscientious Western chroniclers" and gave absolute priority to him over the Greek sources *The Life of the Fifteen Martyrs from Tiberioupolis* and the *Long Life of St Kliment of Ohrid* in reconstructing the events of 893, because the latter sources "deliberately avoid mentioning Boris's actions, as these would stain his holiness, which they sing praises to" (Златарски 1925: 284–285).

Zlatarski argues further that the phrase "*convocato omni regno suo*" "should apparently be taken to mean that Boris convened a people's council. As one of the forms of government, the popular council…, which was initially composed of the entire armed Bulgarian people led by the boils or bolyars, existed, as is well known, in pagan Bulgaria also, and played the role of a supreme authority above the state ruler....With the strengthening of central authority from the early 9th century on…, and particularly after the conversion to Christianity, when absolutism was given full sanction by the Church in accordance with the Byzantine principle that the state ruler receives his power from God and is His deputy on earth, the popular council lost its original significance and turned into a consultation body convened only in emergencies. If in 893 Boris saw fit to convene a popular council from across the kingdom which, based on the Byzantine model, included not only the clergy and the bolyars, great and small, but also representatives of all regions of the state, then this shows that the issues to be considered by this council were of utmost importance, concerned the life of the state as a whole, and hence required the approval of the whole people" (Златарски 1925: 285–286).

Having thus assumed that Vladimir's formal divestment of power and the enthronement of Boris Michael's third son had taken place at a specially convened popular council, Zlatarski specified the venue as Preslav, the city where, according to the *Bulgarian Apocryphal Chronicle*, Simeon "took the kingdom" (Златарски 1925: 286)[4]. Zlatarski proposed that at the same council, the new prince – as was his father's intent – "proclaimed to the whole people" that the capital was being moved from Pliska, where "the pagan customs and *mores* retained their tenacious grip", to Preslav, where Simeon could surround him-

[4] See the latest edition of the *Bulgarian Apocryphal Chronicle* in Тъпкова-Заимова, Милтенова 1996: 196.

self with people "who were entirely loyal to the new religion, having sincerely embraced Boris's Slavic policy and reconciled themselves to the idea of absolute autocracy" (Златарски 1925: 286–287).

Zlatarski did not stop here, however; based on the later and ambiguous Russian references to a *prelozhenie knig*, which took place 30 years after the conversion of the Bulgarians, 77 years after the Seventh Ecumenical Council, and 6406 years after Adam, Zlatarski asserts that in 893, St. Methodius' disciples in Bulgaria completed the translation of the liturgical books, and that as a consequence the council in Preslav "rejected the Greek language, and the Slavonic-Bulgarian language of the people was solemnly declared the official state language, and it was decided to introduce the Slavonic-Bulgarian books and service into the Church" (Златарски 1925: 288).

Although it is not devoid of a certain degree of scholarly merit, the reconstruction suggested by Zlatarski is based mainly on circumstantial evidence and assumptions, and should be treated as an ingenious hypothesis. It should be noted that to a large extent, this hypothesis owes its existence to considerations and reasons of a totally non-scholarly nature. In the mid-1920's, the idea was proposed to mark the 1000th anniversary of the Age of Simeon, and Zlatarski was very actively involved in the organization and staging of the anniversary celebrations. The country had recently suffered a devastating blow to its national aspirations in the First World War, and was in the grip of a severe economic crisis and bloody political upheavals. During this period the political and cultural elite developed the idea of uniting Bulgarian society around the monarchic institution as the embodiment of religious and national values whose roots reached down to the ancient traditions of the medieval Bulgarian state.

Repeating the arguments of the above-mentioned article of 1925 (Златарски 1971: 255–261), the second part of the first volume of Zlatarski's 1927 *History of the Bulgarian State during the Middle Ages* provided an actual ideological basis for the planned commemoration. Incidentally, although the same arguments are found in several other articles of that time (Zlatarski 1926: 640–644; Златарски 1928: 107–110), in his speech on Simeon I's state and political ideas at the celebratory meeting at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences on May 14th, 1929, Zlatarski refrained from mentioning a council convened in 893. Again, however, he ascribed the so-called "nationalization of the Bulgarian state and church" (i.e., the introduction of Slavonic/Bulgarian as official language in the state, church and schools) to the beginning of Simeon's rule (Златарски 1931: 195).

The official state celebrations of the millenium of Simeon's rule, generously funded by the government[5] and on a scale never witnessed before, began on May 12, 1929 near the ruins of the medieval palaces of Preslav. The newly-built church dedicated to SS Cyril and Methodius was consecrated and a military parade was held; among the ruins of the recently excavated round church, Zlatarski spoke about the age of Simeon I[6], and, at the "popular feast" that followed, Tsar Boris III (1918–1943) himself delivered a speech[7]. The "sacred flame of the ancient Bulgarian kings", lit during the consecration of the new church in Preslav, was carried by relay cross-country to Sofia by "the entire Bulgarian youth, united in home sports and gymnastic organizations". Meanwhile, on May 14, 1929, the new building of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences was officially declared openm and at the celebratory meeting marking the occasion, in the presence of Boris III, Zlatarski delivered the above-mentioned speech on Simeon's state and political ideas[8]. On May 15, 1929, the day on which the Bulgarian church remembers the saintly prince Boris-Michael, the "sacred flame" was met by the Tsar in Sofia while large torch processions marched past the palace and through the streets of the city, marking the 50th anniversary of the country's liberation fromTurkish rule and the tenth anniversary of Boris III's accession to the throne[9].

Zlatarski's exceptional, and fully deserved, authority and charisma, along with the clearly expressed "royal approval" of his works, contri-

[5] Central State Archive – Sofia, F. 3 k, Op. 1, a. e. 1189, f. 20 (Council of Ministers' Decree of April 12th, 1929 granting 800,000 levs for the celebrations).

[6] Newspaper *Zora*, No 2959/ May 15th, 1929, p. 1 ("Remembrance of the past, lesson for the present", anonymous report).

[7] Central State Archive – Sofia, F. 3 k, Op. 1, a. e. 1189, ff. 21–22 (events programme), 41–43 (the tsar's speech).

[8] It is indicative of the spirit of the 1929 celebrations that in his speech before the same audience, Academy President Prof. Miletich remarked rather pompously that "the opening of the new Academy building …is happening during those festive days when we are celebrating the millennial historical past of Bulgaria... Today in this temple of Bulgarian scholarship will be sung praises to the millennial unfaltering march of the Bulgarian people's genius, which in an unrelenting fight with the evil spirits of the centuries-old enemies of all things Bulgarian has defended the cultural legacy of our forefathers" (Милетич 1931: 189). See also the newspaper *Zora*, No 2960/May 16th, 1929, p. 3 ("Celebratory meeting of the Academy of Sciences", anonymous report).

[9] Prince Boris of Turnovo became tsar after the voluntary abdication of his father Ferdinand (1887–1918) on October 3rd, 1918 as a result of the breaching of the Bulgarian front line at Dobro Pole (Macedonia), the capitulation of Bulgaria and the march to Sofia undertaken by mutinous army units.

bute to the wide currency of his hypothesis about the decisions of the council of 893 in both Bulgarian and foreign historiography. As an example, in 1930 the British scholar Runciman's (1903–2000) work *The History of the First Bulgarian Empire*, which was dedicated to Tsar Boris III, reproduced Zlatarski's key arguments, presenting them to readers as unquestionable fact (Runciman 1930: 134–136)[10]. Overly positive to the general picture of the events of 893 depicted by Zlatarski is also the attitude of G. A. Ininskiy (1876–1937), an expert on Old Bulgarian literature. However, he presumes, a hypothesis similar to the one expressed a few years earlier by Lavrov (Лавров 1928: 205), that the expression *prelozhenie knig* referred to a decision of the council for the replacement of the Glagolitic with the Cyrillic alphabet, developed by Presbyter Constantine (the future bishop of Preslav) at the wish of Prince Simeon, "who through the new alphabet, which was much simpler and easier to master, desired to facilitate and speed up the process of Slavicisation of the Bulgarian church and state" (Ильинский 1931: 87)[11].

It is not possible here to trace in detail the adoption of Zlatarski's hypothesis about the decisions of the council of 893 in a series of studies on the history and literature of medieval Bulgaria and its elevation to near-axiom status[12]. However, quite a while ago Mutafchiev (1883–1943) warned that "the opinion widely held at home", i.e., the view that at this council it had been decided for Slavonic/Bulgarian to be declared the official language of the state and the church, was entirely arbitrary (Мутафчиев 1986: 177). In the past several decades some distinguished scholars did not even mention such a council in their works, striving to break with the tradition of uncritical acceptance of poorly substantiated and heavily ideologically biased con-

[10] We cannot but agree with A. Bryer's view that in this book S. Runciman reproduced meticulously some of Zlatarski's erroneous ideas (Bryer 2006: xlix).

[11] Compare some similar speculations made relatively recently by Alekseev (Алексеев 1999: 160–161), as well as the objections raised (Николов 2006: 191). See also Георгиев 1962: 72–73 (the author maintains that in 893 the Glagolitic alphabet was replaced with the Cyrillic one; however, in his view, the latter is a very ancient writing system which was not created by Constantine of Preslav).

[12] We shall confine ourselves to the following titles: Bobčev 1929: 106; Obolensky 1948: 87; Soulis 1965: 25; Гюзелев 1969: 470–476; Vlasto 1970: 168; Obolensky 1971: 97; Browning 1975: 57; Milkova 1978; История 1981: 237–238, 270; Fine 1983: 130–131; Добрев 1985: 155–159; Александров 1991; Божилов, Гюзелев 1999: 224–225; Curta 2006: 177.

structs[13]. Among the more recent studies devoted to the subject of interest should be noted an article by Boyadzhiev (Бояджиев 2000)[14] as well as Polyvyaniy's commentary on the decisions ascribed to the council of 893: "It is possible to challenge from different standpoints the authenticity of practically every one of the decisions supposedly taken by Simeon; but from our point of view the idea of their adoption simultaneously should be rejected outright" (Полывянный 2000: 45)[15].

Despite all this, no serious scientific debate has been held so far on the subject in question. Instead, some historians and philologists have shown a keenness to both defend Zlatarski's outdated concepts and 'enrich' them with new 'details'[16]. Thus, for example, taking as his starting point a brief remark in John Exarch's *Hexameron*, Andreev argues that it was the council of 893 which legalized the opportunity for power in Bulgaria to be transferred not only from father to son but also from brother to brother (Андреев 1971: 100–101; Андреев 1995; Божилов, Гюзелев 1999: 225). Dragova maintains that the anonymous *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklya* (Летопис 1967: 192–201) contains references to the Old Bulgarian account of the activities of the council of 893, based on which the author attributes to it also a decision to bind Bulgaria to the Church of Rome (Драгова 1997). A recently published book by Kaloyanov makes a full-blown attempt to reconstruct the council "agenda", but the author's conclusions can only be described as preposterous and beyond proof (Калоянов 2007).

In 1993, at the conference dedicated to the 1100th anniversary of the Preslav council, Kochev remarked with feeling that even if there were no references whatsoever to a council of 893-894, a historian must presume such a council had been convened. (Кочев 1995: 52; Кочев 1993: 27). Although Zlatarski did sometimes have recourse to such logic and created "out of nothing" his own account of a council held in Bulgaria in 918 that was not referred to in any historical source, the analysis of Regino's information provides sufficient rea-

[13] See, for examplem Божилов 1983; Божилов 1985; Shepard 1991; Божилов 1995; Shepard 1995; Shepard 1999; Турилов 2003.

[14] The author argues consistently against the relationship artificially established by Zlatarski between the council of 893 and the enigmatic *prelozhenie knig*.

[15] See also Podskalsky 2000: 125–126; Николов 2005: 112; Николов 2006: 115–123.

[16] The fragmentary and vague references scattered across various sections of the most recent general history of Old Bulgarian literature (История 2008: 52, 81) testify to the absence of a clear shared view on the events of 893.

sons to argue that Boris-Michael did convene a council from all the corners of his state. At any rate, this is what the German chronicler meant, although it is not known what the sources of his information were on events in Bulgaria[17] and to what extent he adapted the information to the purposes of his work and the tastes of his contemporaries and readers.

It must be noted that for the ninth-century Franks, blinding as a type of punishment was not an arbitrary act of barbarism, but a special prerogative and a potent show of legitimate imperial power that was most probably modelled on Byzantine practices (Bührer-Thierry 1998: 87, 89, 91)[18]. It is possible that it was precisely the blinding of the impious ruler of the Bulgarians by his father the monk that attracted Regino's attention to the situation in Bulgaria in 893. There were several cases of blinding of representatives of the ruling Carolingian dynasty in the history of the Frankish Empire, the most notable being the blinding in 873 of Carloman, the youngest son of Charles the Bald (840–877), king of the Western Franks, who, in disregard of his deacon's office, abandoned his monastery and became involved in an armed conflict with his father. In the past Trifonov suggested that Regino deliberately fabricated the story of Vladimir's blinding by his father and had placed it almost immediately after the episode with Carloman's blinding so as to strengthen his readers' belief in the justice of such a severe punishment (Трифонов 1927: 26–28). Although this theory is dubious and beyond proof, Trifonov's logic initially took him in the right direction: i.e., in order to understand Regino's Bulgarian story, we must examine his chronicle more closely.

It transpires that the German chronicler had personal and quite significant reasons to show interest in Vladimir's fate; as abbot of the Prüm Monastery, Regino had taken into his custody and tonsured Hugh, the only (illegitimate) son of king Lothaire II (855–869), who had been blinded in 885 by Emperor Charles III the Fat (881–888) for

[17] Plausible, though impossible to prove, is Duychev's conjecture that Regino's account of Vladimir's despicable behaviour and paganism reflects intentional rumours which spread in the West through the Byzantines or after the dethronement of the Bulgarian ruler (Дуйчев 1972: 360).

[18] According to Herrin, only the Visigoths intentionally adopted the Byzantine custom of blinding their political opponents, while the rulers of the Carolingian dynasty, acknowledging the specifics of the Frankish system of succession, began to use this punishment consistently – although rarely – against unruly sons and nephews challenging their power (Herrin 2000).

trying to conquer the former lands of his father. Though rather laconic in his chronicle, no doubt Regino was intimately acquainted with the fate of his tonsured charge and the trial and the sentence pronounced by the emperor himself in September 885 at the council in Frankfurt, which was most probably specially convened for this purpose[19].

The emperors' practice of frequently convening councils (*Reichsversammlungen*, *Hoftagen*) with the participation of the most influential secular and ecclesiastical dignitaries was a major element of the Frankish state tradition. However, the composition of the council was not rigidly prescribed, and to a large extent was dependent on the nature of the issues under discussion. Consequently, the terms employed to refer to these councils that are found in the extant sources varied a great deal and rather arbitrarily, e.g. *conventus*, *placitum*, *concilium*, *colloquium*, *synodus* (Eichler 2007: 7–28; McKitterick 2008: 28, 40, 222–233). If we examine closely Regino's account of Vladimir's blinding, it becomes apparent that the expression *convocato omni regno suo* belongs together with the terminology used by the Frankish historians to refer to state councils convened by their emperors. Particularly telling is the similarity between Regino's account and the *Chronicle of Moissac*, which under the year 813 describes the council convened by Charlemagne (768–814) in connection with the coronation of his heir Louis the Pious (814–840) as co-emperor: *Et in ipso anno mense septimbrio iamdictus imperator Karolus fecit conventum magnum populi apud Aquis palatium de omni regno vel imperio suo. Et convenerunt ad eum episcopi abbates comites et senatus Francorum ad imperatorem in Aquis* (Buc 2000: 205)[20].

In view of the above considerations, it could be presumed that somehow Regino had learned about the events of 893 and was struck by the apparent similarity between the blinding of the delinquent Bulgarian prince and the establishment of justice and "pure" Christianity at a state council through analogous practices among the Franks. It is also impossible to reject completely the possibility of an

[19] *Annales Fuldenses* s. a. 885: *Imperator cum suis apud Francofurt colloquium habuit…* (Annales 1891: 103). For details, see Maclean 2003: 149–150.

[20] See also McKitterick 2008: 102. It is worth noting also the description of the Aachen Council called by Louis the Pious in December 818: Qua hieme imperator in eodem palatio conventum populi sui celebravit publicum et renuntiantes sibi missos de omni regno suo quos pro statu sanctae ecclessiae, restaurando deiecta vel confirmando stantia, miserat, audivit (Vita 1829: 624. 18–21). For details on the council, see Lesne 1920.

alternative interpretation, i.e., that the Regino embellished and adapted the initial brief account of Vladimir's blinding which had come to his knowledge to suit the tastes and expectations of his readers, by adding the vague reference to a council symbolizing the legitimate power and the harmony between rulers and subjects.

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